00026534

THE
ASIATIC SCOIETY OF BOMBAY
Town Hall, Bombay.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 02 January, 2016

LIFE

AND

CORRESPONDENCE

OF

MAJOR CARTWRIGHT.

VOL. I

G. WOODFALL, ANGEL COURT, SKINNER STREET, LONDON.

LIBRARY
OF THE
HUNTINGTON
BRANCH
OF THE
AMERICAN SOCIETY

Drawn & Engraved by H. Meyer.

John Cartwright

London. Published Feb. 21. 1826 for the Proprietor Miss Cartwright by Henry Colburn New Burlington Street.

THE

LIFE

AND

CORRESPONDENCE

OF

MAJOR CARTWRIGHT.

EDITED BY HIS NIECE,

F. D. CARTWRIGHT.

26534

"He was one whose enlightened mind and profound constitutional knowledge placed him in the highest rank of public character, and whose purity of principle and consistency of conduct through life commanded the most respectful attention to his opinions."

FOX, IN A SPEECH ON PRESENTING MAJOR CARTWRIGHT'S PETITION IN 1795.

"Nihil æquè ac Libertatem hausit: Civis, Senator, Maritus, Gener, Amicus, cunctis vitæ officiis æquabilis, opum contemptor, recti pervicax, constans adversùs metus."

TACIT. HIST.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

HENRY COLBURN, NEW BURLINGTON-STREET.

1826.

26534

00026534

TO HER

WHOM THE SUBJECT OF THESE MEMOIRS ALWAYS JUSTLY ACCOUNTED

" HIS DEAREST AND BEST FRIEND",

THE FOLLOWING PAGES

ARE AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED.

CONTENTS.

VOL. I.

		Page
	INTRODUCTION	xiii
1740.	John Cartwright born	1
	His family	2
1745.	Goes to Newark School—To Heath Academy	4
1758.	Leaves home when about sixteen, with intention to join the Prussian army—Enters the Navy	7
1759.	Joins Lord Howe	10
	Engaged in the sea-fight between Lord Hawke and Conflans	13
	Leaps from the deck of a 74 to save the life of a brother officer	26
1763.	Commands the Spy, and afterwards the Sherbourne cutter	30
1766.	Goes on the Newfoundland station	31
1767.	Made Deputy Commissary	31
1768.	Discovers Lieutenant's Lake	33
1770.	Quits the Newfoundland station	42
1772.	Writes a pamphlet on the Rights and Interests of Fishing Companies—Plan for the supply of oak timber for the Navy	44
	Extracts from Letters to Miss D.	45
1774.	"American Independence", first Edition published...	53
1775.	Extracts from ditto, second Edition	53
	Appointed Major of the Nottinghamshire Militia ...	69
1776.	Lord Howe offers him the situation of first Lieutenant—Letter to Miss D.	72
	Correspondence with Lord Howe, containing his motives for declining to accompany his Lordship	74
	Publishes "Take your Choice"	82
	Letter from Dr. Price	95

		Page
1776.	Letter from Duke of Portland	97
1777.	His style of writing—Consistency of conduct	97
	Principles contained in his first work, the same as those with which he ended his political career	98
	Extracts from the work	99
	Conversation with the Duke of Richmond	99
	Presents an address to the King on the subject of America	100
	Letter to Edmund Burke, Esq.	103
	That gentleman's answer	105
	Letter to the Earl of Shelburne	107
	Lord Shelburne's answer	112
	Letter from the Earl of Effingham	113
1778.	Receives an invitation to stand for Nottingham	121
	Letter from Sir Cecil Wray	123
	Plan for the defence of Portsmouth	128
1779.	Plan for Naval Surveying	130
1780.	Resolutions passed at the Westminster Committee	133
	Founds the Society for Constitutional Information	134
	List of Members	135
	"Declaration of Rights", "People's Barrier", published	136
	Marries Miss Dashwood—Writes "Letters to the Deputies"	139
1781.	Death of his Father	140
	Buys the Family Estate	141
1782.	Meeting at the Moot Hall, Mansfield	144
	Speaks in Westminster Hall	145
	Marquis of Rockingham brings forward the question of Reform—Anecdote on that subject	148
	Letter from Sir W. Jones	150
	Disapproves of the coalition	154
1783.	Letters from Dr. Jebb	154
1784.	Publishes "Internal Evidence"	162
1785.	Meeting of the county of Nottingham—Major Cartwright publishes "A Nottinghamshire Farmer's Address"	163
1786.	Death of his brother's wife, and consequent adoption of the writer by Major and Mrs. Cartwright—Acquaintance with Mr. Wilberforce	163

		Page
1786.	Reflections on Jebb's Life, in Aikin's Biography.....	165
1787.	Exertions in unison with Mr. Clarkson, respecting the abolition of the Slave-Trade	167
1788.	Unfortunate speculation	168
	Anecdotes of Major Cartwright's scrupulous integrity	170
	Buys an estate in Lincolnshire	173
1789.	Offered the interest of Government at Retford	180
	French Revolution	182
	Letter to the President of Constitution.	182
1791.	Suppression of Riots in Lincolnshire.	186
	Meeting to celebrate the demolition of the Bastile ...	188
	The Duke of Newcastle sends him a message on the subject through his brother Captain Cartwright...	188
1792.	Major Cartwright declares his resolution to appear in uniform with his regiment.—Regiment not called out	189
	A recent Act of Parliament made use of to get rid of him	189
	Letter to the Duke of Newcastle in consequence. ...	190
	Friends of the People instituted	192
	Society of Friends to the Liberty of the Press founded	192
	Opinions relative to a Republic.	192
1793.	Publishes a Letter to a Friend at Boston.....	194
	Petition presented by Mr. (now Lord) Grey.	197
	Prosecutions.....	198
	Letter to the Duke of Richmond respecting Mr. Muir	198
	Daniel Holt tried	199
1794.	Letter to the Duke of Portland for permission to see Mr. Horne Tooke	203
	Extracts from letters to Mrs. Cartwright during Horne Tooke's trial.	205
	Evidence on that trial.	214
	Letter on the subject of marriage	225
1795.	Publishes his "Commonwealth in Danger".....	228
	Letter to Mr. Fox.....	231
1796.	Writes "Constitutional Defence of England".....	234

		Page
1796.	General Election	234
	Letters relative thereto	234
1797.	Letter from Horne Tooke	239
	Mutiny at the Nore	240
	Petition and Counter-Petition from Boston	241
	Major Cartwright publishes "The Appeal".	242
	Letter from Capel Lofft, Esq.	242
	From Major Cartwright respecting the * * * Union Society.	243
1798.	From Earl Stanhope	247
	From Mr. Fox.	247
	From Mr. Sharp	249
	Mr. Northmore's friendship for Major Cartwright	255
	His letter to the Writer, Jan. 1825	256
1799.	Piracies of Dr. Cartwright's inventions	258
	Extracts from Letters to Mrs. Cartwright.	258
	Letters to the Rev. E. Cartwright, from 1791 to 1801	263
1800.	Design for a Naval Temple	287
1801.	Major Cartwright publishes letter to Wyvill	296
	Letters from Mr. Wyvill	297
	To Mr. Addington	301
	To Mrs. Cartwright	302
1803.	Publishes "Letter to the Electors of Nottingham"	309
	Review of proceedings at that election, in a letter addressed to the Speaker	310
	Representations on the unprotected state of the Coast	311
	Flying drawbridge and Britannic Spear	311
	Election at Nottingham	312
	Award of £1250.	314
	Letter from Mr. Fox	315
	Letter to Mr. Fox	316
1804.	To Mr. Vansittart	318
	First Edition of the "Ægis"	319
	Letter from Mr. Wyvill on that publication	320
1805.	Lets his Estate in Lincolnshire and removes to Enfield.	321
	Publishes "The State of the Nation"	322

		Page
1805.	Attempts to get a meeting of the county of Middlesex	326
	Lord Stanhope's opinion of county meetings	327
	Letter to Mr. Cobbett	327
1806.	Publishes a Second Part of the "Ægis"	328
	Dedication to Mr. Fox	329
	Extracts from Mr. Wyvill's Letters	336
	Letter to Mr. Wilberforce	339
	Withdraws from the Whig Club	342
	Invited to stand for Boston	343
	Extracts from hand-bills	344
1807.	Letters to Mr. Whitbread	348
	Letter to Lord Hawkesbury	354
	To Mr. Smith	357
1808.	Affairs of Spain	358
	To the Viscount Materosa	359
	Lord Stanhope presents Major Cartwright's Petition	367
	Meeting on the Affairs of Spain	368
	To the Viscount Materosa	369
	To the Duke of Bedford	376
	Correspondence with Mr. Wyvill	381
	To Mr. Northmore	383
1809.	Lord Selkirk publishes Letter to Major Cartwright	392
	Answered by Major Cartwright, Major Worthington, and Mr. Pearson	393
	Meeting at Hackney	393
	Publishes "The Comparison"	394
1810.	Correspondence with Mr. Whitbread	395
	Meeting at Hackney	430
	Major Cartwright removes to London	405
	His habits of life	405
	Fondness for children	407
	Letter to the Writer	408

ERRATA.

VOL. I.

Page 59, line 4, for ' Sharpe ' read ' Sharp '.
134, last line, for ' Fitzpatric ' read ' Fitzpatrick '.
343, line 10, and elsewhere, for ' Paul ' read ' Paull '.

VOL. II.

Page 48, line 8, for ' Grays ' read ' Greys '.
166, line 13, for ' Semphill ' read ' Sempill '.
247, note, for ' Senhor ' read ' Señor '.

INTRODUCTION.

THE compiler of this work cannot plead the hackneyed excuse that she has been persuaded to the undertaking solely by the pressing solicitations of her friends. From the moment in which the object of her veneration was snatched from his family, it seemed that to dedicate her pen to his memory was the only alleviation so great a loss admitted; and a variety of motives which afterwards suggested themselves to her mind, convinced her, that, in so doing, she was likewise fulfilling a necessary and almost unavoidable duty.

This resolution was not, however, unattended with reluctance and apprehension; reluctance arising from the dislike of publicity, and apprehension lest the task should be executed in a manner unworthy of its object.

It will therefore be easily imagined with what feelings of heart-felt gratification she received from

the relations and intimate friends of her deceased uncle a confirmation of her own opinion, attended with every encouragement which kindness could suggest.

A work originating neither in motives of personal interest nor of literary ambition, may surely hope to disarm the severity of criticism, and to claim the support of a liberal public. Many errors in its composition will doubtless be discovered; but wilful misrepresentation cannot justly be attributed to its writer. A strict adherence to, and a diligent search after, TRUTH, were the leading principles of Major Cartwright's mind; and in her anxiety to follow, in this particular, his venerated example, consists the only merit of his biographer.

In the progress of the work one difficulty has occurred; that of adhering implicitly to the injunction of Major Cartwright himself, who, in a paper found after his decease, expressed a wish, that should any biographical sketch of him be attempted, "he should not be the subject of frivolous details, but that little should be said, except on subjects of political interest." To comply with this wish in its strictest sense, was the writer's

first impulse; but subsequent reflection has induced her to think that whatever tends to illustrate his character, in private as well as public, cannot justly be considered frivolous, and that in suppressing all private letters or anecdotes, she would be doing an injustice to that very cause which was so near his heart.

Still, however, she has endeavoured to keep his injunction in mind, and has therefore suppressed much, which, as relating to himself, *he* might have thought frivolous, but which many other persons might have considered both interesting and instructive.

It remains only to be observed, that in two or three of the letters a few passages have been omitted, in order to prevent unnecessary repetition.

FRANCES DOROTHY CARTWRIGHT.

LIST OF PLATES.

VOL. I.

PORTRAIT to face the Title-Page.
CHART of the Country about Lieutenant's Lake, Page 33.

VOL. II.

DESIGN for a MONUMENT to the memory of Major Cartwright, to face Title-Page.
PLAN of NAVAL SURVEYING, Appendix, Page 335.

LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

MAJOR CARTWRIGHT.

JOHN CARTWRIGHT* was born on the 17th of September (old style), 1740, at Marnham in Nottinghamshire.

It is not intended to enter into any details respecting the well-known antiquity of his family; it is only necessary to state that, like many other families which suffered by their exertions in the cause of Charles the First, its possessions had diminished to a small portion of their original extent.

Major Cartwright's father married, in 1731, his

* Though the subject of these memoirs was never styled Major in his own family subsequently to the loss of his rank in the militia, yet as it was the appellation most commonly given him by the public, it has been thought adviseable to retain it through these pages.

cousin Anne Cartwright, daughter of George Cartwright, of Ossington*, in Nottinghamshire, and had by her five sons and five daughters. The names of his sons are as follow: William, who obtained, through family interest, a place in the Treasury, and died before his father. George, who is well known as the author of a Journal of Sixteen Years' Residence in Labrador. He served during the German war, as aide-de-camp to the Marquis of Granby, and was a man of great strength of mind, as well as personal courage. John, the subject of this Memoir. Edmund, celebrated as an elegant poet and useful mechanician (particularly in the invention of the power-loom); and Charles, who, at an early period of life, when a lieutenant

* The following note, attached to the pedigree of the family, affords some curious particulars respecting the manner in which the abbey of Ossington came into their possession. "Hee [Edmund Cartwright] was a scholar and Master of Artes of Jesus College, Cambridge, where hee was intimately acquainted with his countryman and fellow student, Thomas Cranmer, son of Thomas Cranmer, of Aslacton, whose only daughter Cartwright married: which Cranmer, becoming afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, tooke his brother Cartwright and sister into his house, and, at the dissolution of the abbeys, provided for him the abbey of Mauling in Kent, Rowney in Bedfordshire, and Ossington in Nottinghamshire, which are at this day worth three thousand a-year, and married his heir, Hugh, to one of the Lord Cobham's daughters."—It is lamentable to observe that so great a man as Archbishop Cranmer should have made the spiritual reforms he laboured to establish subservient to the temporal interests of his own connections.

on board the Argo, distinguished himself in taking the Dutch fort of Commenda, on the coast of Africa; for which he received the thanks of the African Company*.

Mr. Cartwright, Sen. possessed very considerable talent and energy of character, which were manifested on many occasions connected with the affairs of the county in which he resided. He effected the abolition of the practice of giving vails to servants, which had become an intolerable abuse. The Duke of Norfolk proposed this step at a county meeting, and Mr. Cartwright was the first person who put it into execution, though it was expected that the attempt would be attended with very unpleasant consequences.

To his exertions, the public are indebted for the execution of that noble work at Muskham near Newark, where the road for more than a mile is preserved from the effects of flood, by being carried over thirteen well-constructed brick arches.

Though the expense was only computed at 8000*l.*, yet so great was the unwillingness manifested in those days for executing such public improvements as would now be adopted without hesitation or difficulty, that it was thirty years before Mr. Cartwright could obtain the concurrence of the persons most interested in the work. This gentleman's

* Though only a lieutenant, and the fifth son of a man of moderate fortune, he refused to take his share of the prize-money, amounting to about a thousand pounds, and insisted on distributing it among the sailors who served under him.

opposition to levies being made on the county, which were resorted to instead of raising a constitutional militia, was the first occasion of the Nottinghamshire militia having been embodied.

Major Cartwright once jocularly observed of his father, that "he had a genius for encountering difficulties"; perhaps it may be thought that some of his sons, in particular the subject of these memoirs, inherited the same propensity in no common degree.

At five years of age, John Cartwright was sent to a grammar school at Newark, and afterwards to Heath Academy, in Yorkshire. It appears that very little attention was paid at either of these seminaries to the improvement of the pupils, for to the latest period of his existence he bitterly lamented the deficiency* of his early education, which, except a very slight knowledge of Latin, left him unacquainted with any language but his own. This circumstance cannot be attributed to himself, for he manifested through life a remarkable thirst for knowledge, and in many particulars he made up by self instruction, for the neglect and inattention of his early preceptors.

In mechanics and practical mathematics, his

* This deficiency he lamented to his friend Mr. Northmore, and often applied to him and Mr. Holt White, for solutions of any difficulties in the learned languages. To the latter gentleman the writer is indebted for the appropriate motto from Tacitus in the title page of this work.

brother Dr. Cartwright* often found him a useful associate, and it was delightful to observe with what animation these two brothers entered into each other's feelings and pursuits.

When an ingenious thought suggested itself to the fertile mind of the inventor, it was almost invariably communicated to the Major, whose pride and satisfaction on the occasion were greater than his own.

To those who delight in tracing to early impressions, the subsequent bias of the mind, it may not be uninteresting to observe, that great part of Major Cartwright's childhood and his vacations from school, were spent under the roof of John Viscount Tyrconnel, who had married his father's eldest sister. This nobleman was a whig of the old school, and his god-son used to relate many amusing anecdotes of his political zeal: among others, that when divine service was performing in the chapel at Belton, the old lord was observed to be greatly agitated during the reading of the prayer for the parliament, stirring the fire violently, and muttering impatiently to himself, "Nothing but a miracle can mend them."

Though rather an eccentric character, Lord Tyrconnel was a man of learning, integrity and

* The mechanical inventions of this ingenious man need not be enumerated, but it is impossible to pass over in silence those qualities which from his retired mode of life are less known to the public: his philanthropy, his liberality, and, above all, that singular absence of jealousy of rival inventors, which was so conspicuous a feature in his character.

benevolence. The aspersions thrown upon him by Savage are wholly unfounded; and it is to be regretted that Dr. Johnson should have given any credit to the assertions of one whose uniform practice of slandering his benefactors ought to have invalidated his testimony.

The remarkable gentleness of Major Cartwright's disposition, which was the more striking from being united with so much activity and courage, necessarily excited in all who were connected with him, sentiments of the fondest attachment, and it may be added that these sentiments were more deeply felt as their object advanced in life*.

It is not therefore surprising that, on leaving Heath School, it should be the earnest wish of his parents, as well as of his aunt, Lady Tyrconnel, who, after her husband's death, resided in her brother's family, and was greatly attached to his children, to retain him at Marnham†, in order that

* His grandfather, on the father's side, resided at Marnham during his infancy. He had been brought up to the bar, was a man of great legal knowledge, and though he never practised was much consulted by his friends and neighbours. His character is said to have greatly resembled that of his grandson John, for whom his fondness was very remarkable. In the latter part of his life, when dozing in his chair from age and infirmity, he would frequently wake, and stretching out his hand to pat his head, enquire if that "brave lad Jack" were there?

† When Major Cartwright was about six or seven years of age, an old gentleman of large fortune in the neighbourhood, who had no family of his own, was very desirous of adopting him, telling his father that as he had four other sons, he might spare him that fine whiteheaded little fellow to bring up as his heir. Mr. Cart-

he might be trained to agricultural pursuits and assist in the management of the family estate.

But under a calm and contemplative exterior, a desire for more active employment was springing up in the mind of the youth, and as Europe was at that time filled with the glory of the great Frederick, who was raising to the rank of an independent nation, an insignificant province of the German Empire, he was seized with an ardent desire to join as a volunteer the army of that extraordinary sovereign. Leaving his father's house in a moment of boyish enthusiasm, he proceeded with this intention as far as Stamford, but was easily persuaded to return when informed by the steward who had pursued him, of the distress and alarm which a step so rash and inconsiderate had occasioned to his family. His wish to embrace an active profession was then complied with, and he soon after entered the naval service of his own country. This circumstance would hardly have been thought worthy of mention, if it had not already appeared before the public in an incorrect manner, particularly in a foreign work entitled "Dictionnaire des Contemporains," where it is positively asserted that he served some years in

wright replied, that though he was much obliged by the kind wish of his neighbour, yet he could never consent to see his child in any other hands than his own. "I have never ceased to thank my father", said Major Cartwright, "for this determination, which probably saved me from being brought up as a mere fox-hunting 'squire of fortune."

the army of the King of Prussia. The particulars already related are well known in the family, but the writer never recollects to have heard them mentioned by himself. He was indeed so little of an egotist that he could seldom be induced, without absolute necessity, to speak of his own feelings, but it is probable that he secretly rejoiced that he was prevented from joining the army of a military despot.

A mind so uprightly constituted must ere long have revolted at being the instrument of oppression and injustice, and the next step after symptoms of such disinclination would have probably led him into the dungeons of Spandau or of Magdeburgh.

In a letter dated the 19th July, 1758, addressed to his mother, he thanks his parents for their kindness in permitting him to enter so honorable a profession, and trusts that his conduct in it will make them amends for the uneasiness his former folly had occasioned.

A few days after he joined the Essex, commanded by Captain Walter Stirling, which ship was employed in the vicinity of Cherbourg, and about a month after he had been at sea he writes, "I have just time to tell you that on Friday we took a French frigate of twenty-two guns; she is a new ship and came out of Brest ten days ago, with several gentlemen on board, by way of reconnoitering our fleet. The captain will probably give the command of her to our first lieutenant, Mr. Chads,

and as he is unexceptionable as to character, a good seaman and brave fellow, I shall do all I can to get my brother Charles on board him.

"We left the bay of Cherbourg Friday morning, and anchored here in Portland Road, but expect to go to France, as there are transports taking in light-horse to join us."

"TO WILLIAM CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

"1st September, 1758.

"HONOURED SIR,

"We left Portland Road yesterday morning, but were obliged at night to put about, and are now about seven or eight leagues from land, and expect to be at Dartmouth to night. We almost give up the hopes of another landing in France this season, as the weather grows rough, and it would be attended with loss of the transports; last night five or six of them were missing.

"I am told the commodore is to have a command against Pondicherry: I wish it was true, for there would then be a fine chance for commissions."

"Monday [1759].

"Yesterday morning we got sight of Cape Frehel, and anchored in such a place that with it and St. Malo we nearly formed a triangle.

"Before day-break we sent pilots to sound in shore, and when the day dawned all the flat boats were manned. They had soon their complement of soldiers, and were joined by cutters and long

boats, and all others that could be spared, almost to sinking with men. When the commodore made the signal they all put off and rowed away in fine spirits. The commodore and Prince Edward* went into the Pallas Frigate, to go close in shore and cover the landing at Cherbourg."

The young sailor was present at the taking of Cherbourg and the destruction of its naval basin, and it was on this occasion he used humourously to relate, that he obtained the first and only plunder that ever came to his share, in the shape of a large melon, which he gathered from a gentleman's garden at Cherbourg.

In 1759 he joined the Magnanime, Lord Howe commander, and experienced from that nobleman a degree of kindness and attention which was never effaced from his grateful remembrance. He always spoke of him as one of the best and greatest of men, and even to the latest period of his life could not mention his old commander without being visibly affected by the recollection of his noble qualities.

On his arrival on board the Magnanime he thus writes to his mother:

"7th March.

"HONOURED MADAM,

"I got to Portsmouth on Monday, and waited on Lord Howe yesterday; the ship is ready to

* Afterwards Duke of York, and brother to his late Majesty George III.

go to Spithead, having got most of her stores, and will have her guns on board to-morrow.

"When I was with Lord Howe, he asked me if I had been at court whilst in town, to which I replied in the negative: he told me I ought to have gone, and that if he had been in London, *I should have gone.*

"His lordship intends that Sir Harry Heron, Noel*, Valiant, and myself, should be in a mess together with the gunner, who is to have the arrangement of our domestic affairs. We are to put in twenty pounds each for a stock, which will afford us to live very well.

"We think ourselves under great obligation to his lordship for considering us. I cannot say more at present than love and duty to every one from

"Your most affectionate son,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

"July 10.—Off Ushant.

"We expect to keep this Ushant in sight till the end of September, and have little hopes of seeing Monsieur Conflans come out. This is the most insipid work possible, but it is not without its advantages to me, for I have more time to perfect myself in mathematics, and am going to learn the principles of ship building with our schoolmaster, who is by profession a shipwright.

"By Lord Howe's directions some of us are also learning the exercise of the firelock, and when I

* Afterwards Lord Gainsborough.

have no duty to perform, naval history and my pencil find me pastime. I don't know, however, when I have had more duty on my hands; having lately changed my quarters, I command four guns on the lower deck, and about thirty men.

"I have had through the kindness of Lord Howe, a second introduction to Prince Edward, which his lordship thinks may be advantageous to me, as we flatter ourselves with the hopes of his Highness's coming on board the Magnanime next summer.

"I hope you will soon hear of the taking of Quebec. I shall then know what to think of the condition of our enemies. I shall, however, be sorry to hear of a peace.

"I forgot to tell you that when we were at Torbay, Lord Howe was pleased to be very merry and smart with Lord Gainsborough and myself, respecting our visits to the Grove. He told Lord Gainsborough he would endeavour to prevent any boats going ashore at the Grove, to disturb him in his gallantry to Miss ———, and that he would lend him a boat at any time, but that he could not in honour refuse the same privilege to Mr. Cartwright, as he was a fair rival: his Lordship added a great deal more, and can be as humourous as any body when he pleases, but that is as often as you will catch my father dressing for a ball*.

* Lord Howe was habitually taciturn, with a grave and solemn expression of countenance. The sailors gave him the nickname of "Black Dick"; and Major Cartwright used to relate,

"My duty waits on Lady Tyrconnel, and all the polished corners of the Temple."

On the 20th of November in this year (1759), took place the celebrated sea-fight between Sir Edward Hawke and Conflans, at which the young sailor was present. Though of the twenty-six men under his command, thirteen were killed by his side, he escaped with only a slight scratch from a splinter, which grazed the side of his face.

So close was the fight, that in ranging alongside the Hero, the cat-head of the Magnanime was carried away, and the anchor suspended to it was snapt asunder.

After having struck her colours to the Magnanime, the Hero escaped during the night into a French harbour. This unwarrantable conduct obliged Lord Howe to make a representation in person to the Duke d'Aguilon, who commanded on the French coast, and the crew of the Hero were in consequence considered as prisoners of war, and as such were accounted for in an exchange of prisoners, which afterwards took place.

Lord Howe being selected to make an attack on that part of the French fleet which escaped into the river Vilaine, only one lieutenant and two midshipmen were chosen by his Lordship to accompany him, of whom Mr. Cartwright was one, a

that it was a saying amongst them, "We are going to have some fun in the fighting way, for Black Dick has a smile on his face."

circumstance which gave him extreme satisfaction, as will be seen in a letter addressed a few days after the engagement, to his aunt Lady Tyrconnel. Though written in the intervals of active duty, by an inexperienced youth, this letter may be almost considered at this day as a literary curiosity, and cannot fail to interest the nautical reader, who will be struck with a resemblance between the manœuvre projected by Lord Howe, and that which Nelson so happily executed at the battle of Trafalgar*.

"Magnanime at anchor in Abraham's Park,
"23d November, 1759.

"HONOURED MADAM,

"It is with the greatest satisfaction that I acquaint your Ladyship, I have at last had a part in an engagement, in which, though we were successful, I think we can claim no honour; for we were considerably stronger than the enemy, both in the number of our ships and in the bravery of our men; and though it is esteemed ill policy to despise an enemy, I own I cannot help it. I will not try your patience any longer, but proceed to relate our transactions since we left Torbay on the 14th instant. The Admiral made sail that evening for his station, but could not gain it so soon as

* For a farther account of this action, and of Admiral Hawke's gallant reply to the master of his ship, who remonstrated with him on the danger he ran by being laid alongside the French admiral, the reader is referred to Dodsley's Annual Register for the year 1759.

he proposed, the wind dying away; and about the time he arrived off Brest he received intelligence of the French fleet, which put to sea on Thursday morning, and were steering for Quiberon Bay to attack our small fleet there, but the captain of the Juno who had sent this intelligence, had at the same time despatched the Swallow to inform Mr. Duff, who commanded in Quiberon. On Saturday afternoon the Admiral sent a letter to inform all the ships in the fleet of the news, and to desire they would prepare for action; which was effectually done on board the Magnanime.

"I must not begin the engagement till I have explained our particular situation in it; for while we were the first ship, Lord Howe proposed to run down the whole fleet, saluting each ship as he passed with his broadside, till he could come up with the Admiral. For a considerable time we had great hopes of being the leading ship; and in every face there was an appearance of the greatest joy, which was not in the least abated until wayward fortune or some envious demon interrupted this noble plan by some secret spell which abated the Mag's swiftness, and the Warspight, Dorsetshire, Torbay, Defiance and Resolution outsailed us. Notwithstanding this disappointment, however, the seamen were in great spirits: indeed it is impossible for fancy to point out a scene so noble as that of two fleets of men-of-war beginning to engage.

"The Resolution was the third ship in the skir-

mish, and behaved gallantly; so did old Baird* of the Defiance, who engaged a seventy-four in an old thirty-gun ship. We entertained ourselves with viewing the many broadsides which were exchanged, till we were near enough to engage ourselves, when our attention was pretty well taken up; for we had an admiral and two large ships upon us. We should soon have struck the Admiral's flag, had it not been for a most melancholy accident, which was, the Montague and Warspight falling on board of us, they being at the same time foul of each other; that when the three ships were thumping one another, I expected little less than diving for French cockles. We could not prevent this; for the loss of our fore-yard rendered the ship very difficult to manage: however, we were lucky enough to get clear, after a few mi-

* After the engagement was over, Sir Edward Hawke sent round to all the captains of the fleet to enquire how they had fared during the action. Captain Patrick Baird having had a finger shot off, returned the following brief message: "My compliments to the Admiral, and tell him I have only lost a *tobacco-stopper*." Being examined as an evidence on a court-martial, respecting the practicability of throwing succours into Gibraltar, he was asked if he should have thought it his duty at all hazards to follow his instructions? "If an admiral", said he, "were ordered to throw succours into hell, in my opinion he ought to attempt it; and the Old Defiance should be at his service to lead the van." This singular old gentleman had received his education among the Jesuits; and it was supposed that he was appointed to accompany Lord Anson, on account of his knowledge of the coasts of Chili, where he had resided for many years in the habit of a priest.

nutes, though not without considerable damage on all parts. We had now almost despaired of having any further share in the action; and some say Lord Howe shed tears; but it is certain that he wrung his hands, and said, 'We have lost the honour of the day.'—I can scarce conceive how he bore it so well, to have his laurels torn from him in so disgraceful a manner, and the Admiral's ship snatched from him in the heat of the action: not to mention his noble plan of running through the whole fleet and attacking Conflans himself, being entirely defeated. His Lordship, however, spied a ship to leeward, and, pointing to her, told the people she should be theirs: we made more sail presently, and bore away for her, intending to rake her; but being disappointed in that, we came close under her quarter, and shot up along-side, where we poured in our broadside, after receiving hers. This sickened her so much, that she struck before we could fire above half our next; and well it might; for, without assuming the privileges of a traveller, I can assure you, that some of our guns touched her very sides, when they were fired; and Captain Lochart, of the Chatham, who was a-stern, said he saw our shot pierce both sides, and then drop into the water. The boarders were called out, and just got upon our gun-whale, when she steered from us, we sheering the opposite way, that we did not then take possession of her; which has proved unlucky, for we were obliged to come to an anchor; and it blowing very fresh, and the night pretty far

advanced, we could not send a boat aboard of her, and she then came to an anchor, not far from us, for fear of running ashore. We had scarce parted with her, before we saw seven or eight Frenchmen run close by us; but they altered their course upon sight of us, and did not fire a gun, when they might every one have raked us, as we lay at anchor and were disabled. In the morning we saw the honorable Monsieurs that struck to us, with another that struck to the Royal George, walking off under an easy sail; but as they were going directly upon the rocks, we did not choose to follow. The Royal George sunk one, the Torbay another, and the Resolution took the Admiral's ship that we first engaged; but we had killed the Admiral and almost every officer, with a vast number of his men. The two ships that struck, and afterwards ran aground, were yesterday burnt by our boats; and I hear were the Soleil Royal and the Robuste: the latter was our's, though some say she is L'Orient, of eighty-seven guns. We have been unfortunate in the loss of the Resolution, who ran ashore the night we engaged, and my old ship, the Essex, who went to her relief in the morning. We have saved most of their men, but the two ships are beating to pieces, and I suppose we shall burn them before we go, as we have already done the two Frenchmen who ran upon the rocks. All Wednesday we lay repairing our shattered masts and rigging; and as it blew very fresh, we had not the least communication with the fleet, who

were at an anchor above a mile a-head: but yesterday morning Lord Howe went on board the Admiral, where he was received with the utmost joy, and heartily thanked for his service. While he was in the boat he cautioned the people to say nothing of our engagement, but to hear first what was said of it: and when they got alongside of the Royal George, they were asked if that was not the Magnanime's boat; and upon their answering in the affirmative, were told that every ship would have been taken, if our whole fleet had behaved as they did. And when my friend Dalrymple (who is on board the Admiral) saw them, he gave a bottle of brandy in the boat, and made much of them: and now they pass among their brother tars by the appellation of the fighting Mags.

"Sir Edward Hawke himself ran into the midst of their fleet, and had seven ships upon him, firing both his broadsides at once, which made the Royal George appear very terrible to these sons of *soupe maigre*, who thought of nothing but flight. I find there were nineteen of them, and that seven escaped entirely, and are gone to Rochfort, and that those seven who passed us just after the engagement have retired behind an island in sight, which, with the five that are taken and destroyed, make up the number. We have completed our jury masts and yards this morning, and are now under sail to join the Admiral, and we are in some hopes of being the leading ship to attack the seven I last men-

tioned. We had fifteen killed and about seventy wounded; amongst the former was our second-lieutenant, Mr. Price, and the young fellow I mentioned to my father, who lived near Gainsborough; his name was Hall. Mr. Price was standing by one of my guns when the shot hit him: it was a 48-pounder, and wounded thirteen men out of twenty-six that I commanded. If we had fallen in with these fellows about thirty leagues to the westward, I believe not above one or two would have gone home to tell the tale, and we could then have pursued without fear of rocks and shoals, with which we are now surrounded. In the bottom of the bay, called Abraham's Park, lies Crosac, a town seemingly of some consequence, by two large churches we can see.

"I have been keeping my watch upon deck, and from what I can now learn, we are not in any likelihood to destroy these remaining Frenchmen, for they have hoven all their guns and stores overboard; and when they were as light as possible, hauled up into creeks and corners, where it is impossible to come at them. I saw a flag of truce go from the Admiral to the shore just now, but upon what occasion I am at a loss to guess. I don't see any thing that should keep us here any longer, unless I am deceived with regard to the ships, that I imagine we shall sail for England to-morrow. We shall be in dock a good while, for we shall take much repairing.

"Saturday Morning.

"We are going to attempt these ships that are up the creeks, and I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that at my request his Lordship has given me leave to go in the boat with him. He and our young lieutenant were going, and as I was the first that asked, I obtained leave, which at first was almost denied me. We go armed with a brace of pistols and a cutlass, and his Lordship is already gone aboard the Admiral, where I am to follow as soon as his Secretary has finished some papers which I am to take.

"Give me leave to trouble you with duty, love, and compliments, &c. and to subscribe myself

"Your Ladyship's

"Obedient Servant and dutiful Nephew,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

"P. S. I wish it were in my power to convey an idea of Lord Howe, but I cannot express it: he is all in all."*

"Monday, 26th Nov.

"I could have sent this by the Vengeance, on Saturday, but flattered myself I should have ac-

* Of Lord Howe's constant attention to the good of the Service, Major Cartwright used to give the following instance:—During an action (the writer believes it was that mentioned above) Lord Howe remarked a small vessel, with two large spars attached to her, which was nevertheless very ably manœuvred: as soon as the action was over, he sent to the Admiral to enquire by whom she was commanded, and finding it was a young officer of the name of Hammond, requested that he might have him as first-lieutenant on board his own ship. This gentleman is now Sir Andrew Snape Hammond, Comptroller of the Navy.

quainted you with the destruction of the ships in the river, but now I believe the enterprise is given up. I was vastly disappointed, as those opportunities seldom present themselves; and I was told that Hawke said he would introduce to the Admiralty every gentleman that went upon that service, as it was likely to be pretty warm. My friend Dalrymple is made acting lieutenant on board the Coventry, and I hope will soon be confirmed."

"TO W. CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

"2d of May, 1760.

"Capt. Hughes is expected to command our ship during the absence of Lord Howe, who is going again to Bath for his health. We are convoy to the outward-bound Indiamen, and I hope we shall have a cruise before we join Boscawen. Without a Spanish war, I despair of any thing more being done this war. As we are going on a very insipid service, where no experience can be gained, I should like, if it were possible, to employ this summer in the Nottinghamshire light horse, as nothing could be more agreeable than a campaign in Germany. On board an Indiaman the other day, I bought three pair of bottle-stands, of which I shall beg your acceptance. I could not meet with either china or tea, which I thought would suit my mother's taste, otherwise I should not have forgotten her."

"4th August, 1760.

"We are very impatient for Lord Howe's return for several reasons, as it would get us a cruise, or

else his Lordship would find us employment where we are, either of which would be preferable to our present inactive situation.

"I wish much to know what politicians in England say to the behaviour of the Dutch in India: I think it would be the greatest reflection on the nation, if money, or any lucrative satisfaction, should be accepted. Their barbarous massacre of our countrymen at Amboyna, and their shocking cruelties to the Chinese in Batavia, are yet unavenged. I could write a folio on this theme, but as it heats my brain, it would be an incoherent one.

"Pray thank my dear friends at Marnham for their letters, which are far more acceptable than fresh beef or sweet water, and I really believe them better anti-scorbutics; for good spirits are preservatives from illness.

"I hope to fill your parlour with some scraps of pencilling, with which I have amused my leisure hours.

"8th August.

"P. S.—We have at last got our own man, and I am glad to see him looking so well. He came on board in the forenoon, and has already begun to set every thing in order. I now find we are going off the Vilaine again, and I feel well assured it will not be so tiresome as it has been.

"Lord Howe has brought a young Dutch officer with him. Last night would give him but a mean idea of our service, to see us acting plays upon an enemy's coast; I heartily wish he may never see any more of it.

"The Namurs have challenged the Mags to play a set at cricket upon a little island; and I hope we may have an opportunity to beat them.

"Torbay, 22d February, [1761.]

"On Tuesday last I spent the day in a most agreeable manner at Mr. Yords, the beauty of whose grounds can hardly be surpassed. The rural appearance of the adjacent country, with villages and churches placed to the utmost advantage; the capacious bay, with the awful rocks and cliffs along the coast, the shipping, the sea, and the naked weather-beaten hills, all conspire to render the views delightful. I walk about as much as possible, and enjoy the smell of the fresh green. Next to the sight of a mistress or a friend after a long absence, the richness, perfume, lively verdure, and pleasing variety of the country, are to the drooping soul of a sea-worn sailor, sources of the highest enjoyment.

"Mag, 7th August.—At Sea.

"We have now been six hours in chase of a ship, which we hope to find a Frenchman; and, as we have been clear for action, and I am not wanted on deck, I find myself at liberty to address a few lines to my dearest mother. We were hurried out of port, to cruise for some ships laden with the commodities of the merchants at Martinico, and if we are so lucky as to fall in with them, shall no doubt find them an easy prey. The ship we are in chase of looks like a privateer.

"26th October.

"We were greatly alarmed last week by news of the late changes at court. We are informed that Mr. Pitt has resigned, and accepted 3000*l.* per annum for his life, and we begin to talk of giving up to France, thus relinquishing all the bones of contention, and so forth.

"Though I have often purposed to leave these political reflections, I find it a harder task than I imagined. All the arguments I can invent to support my own wise opinions have as little effect against state intrigues, as would be an old woman's attempt to silence thunder. I fancy the Magnanime cannot stay at sea above six weeks longer, for we now have seven feet of water to pump out of her at every watch; however the leak is a lucky circumstance, as the fresh water keeps the hold sweet, and pumping is a healthy exercise.

"The joy I felt at George's coming over, diverted my attention from the cause of his leaving Germany; if he expects to be all the winter in getting cured, his wound must be much worse than I had imagined.

"A letter from my father, packed up with my good mother's kind present, gave me immense pleasure, as it contained the recital of an affair so honourable to our aid-de-camp. Our dear Charles's manner of acting is also quite like himself; but if he has missed the opportunity of being with a commander-in-chief, he has been fortunate in choosing a good captain. O'Brien bears an excellent character."

It was during his service on board the Magnanime, that Mr. Cartwright turned his attention to the improvement of the exercise of the great guns on board ship, and these improvements are given by his friend Falconer in his marine dictionary, under the article "Exercise."

While under the command of Lord Howe, he fearlessly leapt from the deck of a 74-gun ship, in order to save the life of a brother officer; a circumstance which mere accident brought to the knowledge of his family; and it may be worth relating in this place, that about thirty years afterwards when walking with his wife and niece at Enfield, he plunged into the New River to save the life of a little boy*, who would undoubtedly have been drowned without his timely assistance. It is indeed a circumstance not a little remarkable in the life of one man, that his courage and presence of mind, were the means of rescuing four different persons from a watery grave. The first time was when a boy skaiting on the Trent near Marnham; the second was on board the Magnanime, as already

* It is hoped that it may not be deemed irrelevant here to mention the manner in which this poor child, an orphan from the parish of Clerkenwell, was wont to manifest the gratitude of an overflowing heart. He never attempted any verbal expression of thankfulness, but he was daily seen watching near the house of his preserver, and at the hour when the good old major took his usual walk, his little attendant followed him in silence, and was ready to open the numerous gates between his residence and that of his friend Mr. Holt White, towards which his steps were generally directed.

mentioned; the third was again on the Trent at Marnham, about the year 1770; and the fourth instance occurred at Enfield, in the case of the little boy above named.

While yet a midshipman, Mr. Cartwright, to whom inaction appears to have been particularly irksome, made a proposal to Lord Howe, to undertake the burning of some French men-of-war lying at the mouth of the river Charente*; but though his Lordship expressed a high admiration of the young man's spirit and intelligence, he considered the project as too hazardous to be attempted.

The following letter, written in a playful style to his sisters, is here introduced, as descriptive of his feelings and occupations during this early period of his life. To those who were personally acquainted with him, it will be amusing, as being probably the only ebullition of spleen, which either in joke or earnest ever escaped his lips or his pen. It is addressed to Miss Fadec Cartwright, the letters F, A, D, E, and C, being the initials of the names of his five sisters:

"Quiberon, on board the Magnanime,
"25th July, 1761.

"I do not know that I ever was in a much worse humour than at present, for I have not received one letter from England since we joined Boscawen, which is above a month ago. Always on the ap-

* An attempt was made to destroy a Spanish squadron at the mouth of the river Charente, by Sir Charles Pole, in the year 1803. This was also the scene of Lord Cochrane's more successful enterprize, six years afterwards.

pearance of a sail from Old England, I have given chase with the greatest eagerness after the letter-bag, but by an unlucky fate have been taken all aback with squalls of disappointment that had nearly carried away the mast of my patience; but for the future, like a prudent seaman, I shall close the topsails of my expectations. If my cruise be still unsuccessful, I shall scud away for the first port under my lee, until the arrival of a letter from Marnham, like the rainbow over Noah's ark, shall give me better hopes of sunshine.

"I have given you one reason for ill-humour, but lest you should not think that enough, I will relate a few more. In the first place, instead of a Lord Howe, we have got a man who loves syllabub and meats for the belly: secondly, we are likely to remain till Christmas, only to look at two or three French ships; and if we please we may tantalize ourselves with the beautiful variety of the country in sight, where our enemies are enjoying the gifts of nature in safety, while we are glad of a little fresh meat and sweet water. Add to this the loss of so much time which we might employ in cruising to our enemy's disadvantage and our own gain, in point of experience at least. If it were not for fear of being absent at any accidental service we may by chance perform, it would be more profitable to be taken prisoner for a few months, and to have the advantage of learning French and fencing, for when my turn of duty does not take me on deck, I can only employ my-

self in reading what I have read over and over, or in a little drawing, which is my favourite amusement when I can get into a snug corner by myself; sometimes indeed I have a little serious chat with a conversable person, and I am lucky enough to find my two last messmates of this description, otherwise we have very few among us. I mentioned one in my last letter, and the other is Mr. Metcalf, a son of Mr. Stephen Metcalf, who lives near Brig, in Lincolnshire. Our master being left behind, prevents my improving as I could wish in mathematics.

"I could add a thousand things to these, which would make a parson swear; but as I have only five minutes longer to send my letter in, I will ask you one question, and conclude: if you were in my place, whether you would not think yourself treated in the most inhumanest, most barbarousest, most neglectedest, most discontentingest, most grievousest, most baulkingest, and most unparalleledest manner in the world? Answer me this question.

"I remain your most peevish
"and most splenetick brother,
"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

In 1762 he was appointed lieutenant on board the Wasp, Captain Webster, and was chiefly employed in cruising in the Bay of Biscay.

From 1763 to the 14th of May, 1766, while only a lieutenant, he had the command first of the

Spy, and afterwards of the Sherbourne cutter. During this period none of his letters are preserved except the following, addressed to his next brother, Edmund, afterwards Dr. Cartwright, who, it appears, had at an early age shewn a talent for poetical composition.

"Deal, 20th September, 1763.

"I shall take the liberty to beg you will indulge me with a sight of some of those little pieces in the composition of which you sometimes amuse yourself. Give me leave to inform you, that I already rank one poet among my intimate acquaintance* (and he of no small note either); so you need not be shy for fear of not getting into good company. It is my ambition to converse with the geniuses (if I may not write *genii*) of the age, and learned men I honour exceedingly. Were I a potentate they should be respected at my court before nobles, and it should be glorious from the lustre of their wisdom.

"Though my soil was early under the care of slothful husbandmen, and has been denied the sunshine of a college; though it has been exposed to ruthless elements, those inveterate foes to human erudition; yet do not altogether consider the produce of a richer soil and happier culture as pearls cast before swine."

In 1766, on the 14th of May, he was made first-

* Falconer, author of "The Shipwreck."

lieutenant of the Guernsey, Captain Chads, on the Newfoundland station. By Sir Hugh Pallisser, then Commander-in-chief and Governor of Newfoundland, he was appointed to be his deputy or surrogate within the districts of Trinity and Conception Bays; and in 1767 he was made deputy commissary to the Vice-Admiralty Court in Newfoundland.

Without entering into a detail of the petty disputes among so mixed a set of persons as would naturally compose the population of a colonial fishing station, it may merely be observed, that he fulfilled the duties of his irksome office with that spirit of patient investigation, that anxious regard for truth, which accompanied every act of his life.

Among other acts of justice, which he accomplished with infinite labour and perseverance, was the protection of the poor Irish, who came over at the fishing season, and who were frequently imposed upon and ill treated by their employers. As the affairs of Newfoundland are doubtless on a very different footing at this day, the difficulties Mr. Cartwright had to encounter in his official situation could hardly be believed, except by an examination of the papers relative to these transactions*.

During the whole of his naval service, Mr. Cartwright appears to have possessed the full confidence

* See Appendix, No. 1.

of his superior officers, and to have been always ready to act with zeal and ability; while his kindness to all under his command made him an object of affection as well as of respect. Many of his younger brother officers, who afterwards rose to rank and distinction, acknowledged with gratitude the obligations they were under to him for the attention he paid to their improvement in the knowledge of their profession, and for the almost parental care he took of their morals.

Among others was that excellent man, the late Admiral Sir William Young, who sent for his old friend, on his death-bed, and reminded him, in the warmest manner, of their early friendship. Sir John Ord and Admiral the Honourable George Berkeley, also took pleasure in speaking of his kindness to them in early life; and Captain James King, who accompanied Captain Cook round the world, used to say, with tears in his eyes, that "his friend Cartwright was to him a father." *

In 1768 Mr. Cartwright penetrated to and discovered a lake which proved to be the source of the river Exploits, emptying itself into a bay of

* A few weeks before his death, and when in a state of great bodily weakness, Major Cartwright was gratified by a visit from one of the companions of his early youth, Admiral Charles Hamilton, son of Lord Anne Hamilton, who, accidentally hearing where he resided, came to express to him the same kind feeling of a grateful heart. The writer has observed with regret, that this gentleman paid the debt of nature not many months after the decease of his old messmate.

A SKETCH of the RIVER EXPLOITS the East End of Lieutenant's Lake and Parts Adjacent in NEWFOUNDLAND.

Taken on the Spot by Lieutenant De Cartaret of His Majesty's Ship Guernsey. 1768.

NOTE

Brooks represented by double lines are such as have the appearance from the breadth & capacity of their channels of furnishing the River in the early part of the Season with great quantities of Water, though some of them were dry in 1768 before the fall of Rain in the beginning of September. — Those smaller Streams marked with a single line but most of which at anytime much Water but they are never dry they are supposed to flow from Springs not far distant of which there are often a great number issuing out of the banks of the River some of them strongly impregnated with Iron

Scale of Leagues

Miles 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Leagues

the same name. This lake he called Lieutenant's Lake; and the accompanying chart is an exact copy of that taken by him upon the spot.

In a note attached to this chart, he thus describes the river of Exploits. "The banks of this river, from its source down to the Nut Islands, are at very unequal distances, being in some places half a mile, and at others only an hundred yards, apart; the distances not decreasing gradually as you go up, or gradually augmenting as you come down; for within a league of Lieutenant's Lake, there are places as broad as the lower parts, where the tide flows. Were it not for the several rattles on this river, and the great falls, it would be navigable for flat boats up to the lake. At every one of them except Flat Rattle, which is a shingle bank, the bed is an entire rock, with ragged prominences that make so many small cascades, while the falls exhibit one of the most awful and magnificent kind, the grandeur of which is heightened by the romantic appearance of the surrounding scene. After very deep snows are dissolved by a hasty thaw, this river swells above banks of twenty feet high, as appears by the wounds made by drift ice in the trunks of the standing trees. The ice of the lake, and all the upper parts of the river, frequently lodges on the shoals till it is piled up to a great height. The mighty mass of ice at length gives way, with a noise as loud as thunder, and the torrent rushes down with a fury and impetuosity which nothing can withstand."

Of this expedition he gave a full account in a letter addressed to Sir Hugh Pallisser, from which a few extracts will be given. Some further particulars will be found in the Appendix (No II.), respecting the Aborigines of Newfoundland, and especially of the brutal treatment which that ill-used race experienced from the fishermen of the island.

EXTRACTS FROM THE LETTER TO SIR HUGH PALLISSER,

Dated, " Foulinquet, 19 September, 1768.

" Presuming, Sir, that you might have a desire to know what occurred in our journey worthy observation, I have hurried over the inclosed unfinished sketch, to lay before your Excellency, and shall take the liberty to run over such particulars as may serve to convey an idea to you of the scenes that presented themselves to us.

" On the twenty-fourth of last month we rowed, in the evening, from John Cousens's house, near Indian Point, to Start Rattle, where we left the boat in the woods, and at sun-rise next morning, (Mr. Stow*, my brother, and five seamen, being on the south side; Cousens, myself, and five more, on the north side of the river,) we began our march, each person carrying his own provisions, consisting of fourteen pounds of bread, and seven pounds of meat. Our other burthens were also distributed as equally as possible. Early that day and throughout

* The Reverend Neville Stow, Chaplain of the Guernsey.

the same, we discovered so many wig-whams (most of which appeared to be the work of last winter), that we were in high spirits, fully expecting to find parties of the Indians in a short time. Towards night, having accommodated ourselves in a wig-wham, we spent what short time we had to spare, in searching for such things as might enable us to form the best judgment of what might be before us. The many remnants of split spruce roots, and other materials used upon the canoes, led us to conjecture, that this was a spot where the Indians stopped in their passage to the sea coast, to repair and fit their canoes for the summer hunting among the islands. The second day, in the morning early, we found a large raft lodged in the bank: it was of Indian construction, and composed with strength and ingenuity. The shores on each side continued an entire wood, as they had been from the first, still running chiefly upon birch and poplar, which I am informed is a certain indication of their having been once burnt. It is remarkable, that when a wood of almost entire fir is destroyed by fire, these other trees should, as it were, spring from their ashes; while scarce one fir in a thousand is restored, that before exceeded the poplars and birch in the inverse proportion of a thousand to one*. I could not at first very readily assent to this proposition; but observation has since recon-

* Shoots will spring up from the old stock of birch or poplar trees, but pines or firs perish when once hewn down, or burnt.

ciled it to my belief. The third day throughout, and the first part of the fourth, we still perceived much the same traces of Indians as before; Ranger's river being crost, the deer fence was seldom visible, and all other vestiges discontinued very much, in comparison of what we had hitherto seen. We now began to imagine that the Indians wholly abandoned these parts, to resort to the sea coast for the summer; only residing here in the winter, so long as they could subsist on the venison killed at their toils, and the furs taken in the course of the season; except indeed they might inhabit the shores of the large lake, which Cousens's Indian had formerly reported to lie at the head of this river, and to be the seat of their capital settlement. This prospect again revived our hopes, as the river's course making every step we trod an advance towards the western coast. The fifth morning my brother, and four of his party, having worn out their shoes, were obliged to return; but Mr. Stow and one attendant crossed the river to join us. It was early the same day we found the square house described in the references. It seemed to have been a very comfortable winter quarter; and more than ever confirmed our supposition with regard to the Indians' change of residence with the seasons. . . . . On setting forward the sixth day, we were obliged to leave behind us one man, to repair his shoes, and wait our return; and ere we had travelled three hours, found ourselves deserted by three fellows more, who were so sick of the river,

that they never stopt to be overtaken until they got back to Cousens's house. Our whole party, Mr. Stow and myself excepted, were now nearly barefoot: the scarcity of game we had met with, had reduced our provisions to a bare sufficiency for regaining the boat; our wished-for lake might be still far distant, without any other prospect of seeing the Indians, except there; besides very bad weather seemed now to be set in, as it had rained the greatest part of this and the preceding day.—All these obstacles and discouragements conspiring, we had almost thoughts of giving up our pursuit of the lake. . . . . At the place where we halted, the river had some unusual mud beds; and there were decayed weeds that seemed but lately to have driven down, and lodged in the cove; which appearing to me the most promising sign of a neighbouring lake that had any where presented itself, rendered my desire of proceeding, so long as a ray of light remained, too powerful to be withstood. Leaving the rest of the party to erect a lodging, and advancing about half a league, I had the satisfaction to discover an opening, which, in a few minutes, gave me an extensive view of the object that had so strongly excited my curiosity. A quick pace soon gratified my solicitude; and having, at the end of six days' labour, reached Sabbath Point, I then sat down to rest, and to enjoy the thoughts of being able to return without so blank an account of the expedition as seemed at one time probable. . . . . Upon Tacamahaca Point grew abundance

of the aromatic shrub of that name; which, in England, is an exotic imported from America. It resembles the leaves and branches of a pear tree, and grows amongst the stones along the upper edge of the beach. This is the only spot in this island where I have either seen it, or heard of its being produced, so that I am inclined to consider the Canadians as the transplanters of it from the Continent. It is probably used by them in medicine; for I have been informed that the leaf of it, applied to a green wound, is a good remedy. Upon this point, also, I passed a vacancy in the woods, where the remains of wig-whams appeared. The morning following, having left another man behind to mend his shoes, the rest of us, being only five of the original fourteen, went to view the lake, and walked about half way to the bottom of June's Cove, which we found to answer the description of such a place given by the Indian boy, June, where he said his father dwelt. . . . . .

" Over the western part of the lake, there hung such a fog and dark clouds, that we could not extend our view more than two leagues down. It is probably of much greater length, seeming to bend towards the south-west; but, from the form of the land, I do not imagine it is anywhere very broad. This river and lake, running for so long a distance, in so convenient a direction, I had a strong inclination to take a view from the summit of Mount Janus, which was the highest land we had seen from our losing sight of Labour-in-vain Mountain.

"The whole country that lay open to our view around the lake, as well as the shores of the river from end to end, is one unvarying scene of thick woods. Leaving the lake about noon, we travelled back with as much speed, as bad shoes and very rainy weather would admit of, reaching our boat the fifth afternoon. The practicability of getting a whale-boat into the lake, to carry a stock of provisions for enabling a party to visit Mount Janus and the country beyond it, made me wish to have been so provided, and unconfined to time, that I might have returned immediately, and made an attempt to have found a way quite across the island. At all opportunities I cast an eye on the naked beds of the brooks, and over the uncovered rocks, but without perceiving any indications of lead or copper that I was acquainted with: but in many places the water is strongly tinctured with iron. As I detain Mr. Munns, who has a fair wind and waits only for my letter, besides which, I fear, Sir, that I have trespassed on your time too far, I have the honour to subscribe myself

"Your Excellency's
"Most obedient humble Servant,
"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

Major Cartwright delighted in recalling to his recollection this particular period of his life, and he would remark, that he did not wonder at the attachment manifested by hunters and back-woods-

men, for the independence of a wild and savage existence.

He loved to describe the solitary scenery of Newfoundland and Labrador, and its awful effect upon the mind: the stillness of the almost impenetrable birch woods was rarely interrupted even by the deer, and still more rarely by the foot of the Indian; scarcely a bird was seen for a space of many miles, and these extensive regions compared with most others, were almost unenlivened by the presence of animal life. Still, however, he would say, that these scenes had charms for the young and active adventurer, whose day of toil and exertion which had been spent with only the occasional refreshment of a few whortle or cranberries, was rewarded by the fire of pine branches, over which he broiled his supper of reindeer's flesh, and by the sound unbroken sleep which was afforded by a bed hastily formed of the bark and leaves of the birch. On his return to England in the latter end of this year, he gives the following account of an Esquimaux woman who was brought over to this country:

"Since our arrival in England," says he, "I have had much entertainment of a singular nature. You must know we have brought with us one of those delicate ladies from Labrador, of whom I gave you last year some description. Her admiration of every new object is extremely striking. The grand hospital at Portsmouth being the only

building she had seen except the fishing-huts of Newfoundland, made a wonderful impression upon her. Notwithstanding her being brought up a barbarian in the full sense of the word, she is already become civilized and polite, but she has no lack of those passions which are said to be peculiar to her sex, and looks with very envious eyes on every woman whose dress is more beautiful than her own. She can hardly allow any Englishwoman to be handsome, but she is more just to the men—she herself is horribly ugly. I brought over eight dogs for my friends, but five of them died on the voyage."*

This woman was the first Esquimaux who came to this country. Captain George Cartwright afterwards brought over five others in December, 1772.

On the 21st of February, 1769, Mr. Cartwright was appointed to the Antelope, Captain Gayton,

* Major Cartwright used to relate many curious particulars of this woman; among others, that on being shewn the interior of St. Paul's, she was so struck with astonishment and awe, that her knees shook under her, and she leaned for support on the person who stood next her. After a pause of some moments, she exclaimed in a low and tremulous voice, "Did man make it, or was it found here?"

When the gentleman who had the care of her, informed her that they must now return to her country, as the money appropriated for their support was exhausted, she asked why they could not go into the woods and kill venison. The gentleman replied that he would be hung if he attempted to kill venison in England; on which the Esquimaux woman after bursting into a loud laugh, exclaimed in a tone of the greatest contempt, "Hanged for killing venison, oh you fool!"

and the Hon. John Byron having succeeded Sir Hugh Pallisser, continued Mr. Cartwright as deputy or surrogate, by a new commission, dated July, 1769.

In a letter written during this year (1770), to the editor of the St. James's Chronicle, on the subject of the ornamental designs for ships' heads, he humourously describes his surprise on seeing at the head of a new ship (the Queen of ninety guns), not, as he expected, an elegant personification of Charlotte of Mecklenburg, but a ferocious looking lion, whose extended jaws seemed to hunger after blood and carnage. In this letter he suggests the idea of a nautic order of architecture, an idea which he afterwards brought to maturity, in his designs for a temple of naval celebration.

On quitting the Newfoundland station in 1770, and resigning his office of surrogate, he gave in a memorial in behalf of his successor, representing that the pay of a lieutenant was very inadequate to meet the expenses attendant on such a situation. A remarkable trait of disinterestedness is thus exhibited in making this representation in favour of his successor, though he had incurred the expense for five years without any complaints of the hardship to himself.

During this year he was so anxious that justice should be done to Captain Bentinck's newly-invented chain pump, which had been rejected by the then surveyor of his Majesty's navy, that he wrote several letters on the subject, signed " In-

sularis", for the newspapers; inveighing much against the neglect of that useful invention. It does not appear, however, that he had any personal acquaintance with that gentleman, or that Captain Bentinck ever learned the name of his friendly eulogist.

On Mr. Cartwright's return from Newfoundland, he was invited by his original commander Lord Howe, at the commencement of a war with Spain relative to the Falkland Islands, to become one of his lieutenants on board the Queen. This invitation he gladly accepted; but the dispute being adjusted, and the Queen being made guardship at Spithead, he availed himself of the opportunity her peaceful destination afforded him, of returning home for the benefit of his health.

His constitution, naturally strong, had been greatly impaired by his long services abroad, particularly by the hardships he had encountered during a shipwreck on the coast of Newfoundland, on which occasion he had exposed himself to great fatigue and exertion, in the necessary duties of so arduous a situation. So materially was he changed in his appearance, that his family did not recognize him on his return. Instead of the fresh complexion and robust frame which he had carried to Newfoundland, he had become pallid and emaciated to an alarming degree. His health continued very indifferent for many years subsequent to this period*,

* About the year 1774, having been given up by many of the faculty, he consulted the celebrated Dr. James, who, by the use

and he never afterwards regained his former colour, or the plumpness of figure which he possessed in early youth.

During this interval he employed his leisure hours in writing a pamphlet on the Rights and Interests of Fishing Companies; and notwithstanding the bad state of his health, he was in the year 1772, extremely anxious to be sent on the northern expedition, of which the Hon. Capt. Phipps had the chief command. The attention he paid to this subject may be seen in the information with which he supplied the Hon. Daines Barrington, in his work on the possibility of approaching the North Pole; and it was probably owing in part to this circumstance that he afterwards took a lively interest in the northern expeditions of the gallant Captains Parry, Ross, &c.

In this year (1772) he also first drew up a Plan for a perpetual supply of English oak for the Navy*, which was highly approved of by many persons connected with the Ministry, and of which Dr. Douglas, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, can-

of his Analeptic Pill, threw out a smart fit of suppressed gout. To him, under Providence, Mr. C. always said that he owed his life. One day, when the Doctor called on him, Mr. C. pointed to some phials which lay on the table, and said they had been ordered by the Apothecary, adding, "Do you think they will do me any good?"—"Any good? no!" said the Doctor, "but they will do *him* some."

* The outline of this Plan will be found in the Appendix to the "Letter to the Duke of Newcastle", published in 1792.

didly remarked: "We are not honest enough for such plans as these."

This Plan, which he was during ten years *endeavouring* to recommend to the notice of Government, was afterwards partially adopted, without any acknowledgement of its author.

That it did not originate from any hope of benefit to himself, may be seen by an extract from a letter, addressed to the lady whom he afterwards married; from his correspondence with whom the writer has been permitted to take some passages, which appear to illustrate particular incidents, or to mark the characteristic turn of thought in which every action of his life originated.

"TO MISS D.

"May 12, 1772.

"On Thursday I shall call at the Admiralty again, and repeat my visits until I am admitted. No part of my scheme has been applied to the present timber bill: I will forgive them, if they will but adopt the principle of it, let them put it into what bill they please, or where they please.

"You have often heard me speak of Fuseli, the wild painter, now at Rome, and admire his greatness of mind, as well as the force of his genius. You will partake with me in the pleasure I enjoyed in hearing the following anecdote of him:

"By the interest of Sir Joshua Reynolds, he was employed to copy a capital picture at Rome for his Majesty; for which he was to be paid 1500 guineas. You must know that he has a bare maintenance;

and that a munificent friend in England is at the principal expence of supporting him while he studies abroad. While preparing for the execution of the above commission, he became acquainted with a very indigent, obscure young artist, an Englishman by birth, and was in a short time so much struck with his skill in painting, that he wrote home to excuse himself from making the copy, and to recommend his friend, whom he represented as so much his superior in the art, that he could not, in justice to his merit, accept of such an employment while he was disengaged. Is Fuseli, or Lord Clive, most to be envied?"*

"May 15th, 1772.

"Your kind letter fell into my hands immediately on my return from Lord Sandwich.

"His Lordship did me the honor to pay many handsome compliments to my scheme, but told me it was a thing of too great extent and consequence for him to put himself at the head of, as the business was not within the limits of his department.

"When I asked his opinion of it, he was too much of a minister to give me a direct answer; but he expressed a general approbation of the attempt, and of the execution, as far as he could judge; and he added, that should such a plan be introduced

* Major Cartwright used to relate another striking anecdote of Fuseli—that being offered a very lucrative appointment, as painter to a native East Indian Prince, he refused it with contempt, preferring to work his way to fame in Europe, rather than to devote his time and talents to the service of an ignorant Eastern despot.

into Parliament, he believed he should give it his support, &c. &c. Finding his lordship declined taking the lead in its favour, I asked him if there would be any impropriety in, or if he should have any objection to, my presenting it to Lord North: he acquiesced with great readiness, and after a little more conversation I took my leave. I shall therefore transcribe it as soon as possible, although without any expectation of its being well received. But I will do what I think right, and leave the rest to those who have the power."

"1st June, 1772.

"I have left my plan with Lord North, as I proposed, with a short letter. His Lordship will probably be surprised at so unaccustomed a method of approaching him on such an occasion. He may possibly be offended, but I would not waste my time in town now it is so precious, to have all the advantages of being graciously received at his levee. He will probably think my letter not sufficiently ceremonious, but he may assure himself it is in as courtly a style as I am capable of writing. You shall judge, however, how I have conducted myself in this matter, as writing to a prime minister may be thought a nice point, although I am of opinion we ought to correspond with them much in the same way as with other men."

"Weymouth, 3d July, 1772.

"I am now in the middle of Beattie's work on truth, which is worthy the subject: at Portland I read with great pleasure Lord Littleton's admi-

rable letter on the conversion of St. Paul, which does honour to the noble writer. Campbell's lives of the admirals and naval history will furnish me with employment, and will remove in some degree my shameful ignorance on a subject so necessary in my profession."

"6th Jan. 1773.

"To-morrow, my brother, the Esquimaux, and myself, are to dine with a select party of the Royal Society, among whom is to be Solander. We have had him frequently. My brother is in greater spirits with regard to his Labrador schemes than at first setting off; although he has hitherto experienced every loss and disappointment that could befal a man. With an excellent heart and understanding he early took a turn which has indeed found employment for an active disposition, and been a source of continual satisfaction to him, but it has at the same time prevented his tasting the more refined delight of society in a superior degree. He will therefore be happy in Labrador."

"1st February, 1773.

"My brother has succeeded in his wish with Lord Dartmouth, and will shortly be proprietor of the tract in Labrador he had fixed upon. Our Esquimaux friends are universally admired, and most so by the most intelligent. They are to make a visit at Marnham. *My* affairs are not in a bad way,—for I stand a good chance of being employed on a service which is to terminate in promotion. The ship that is fixed upon is now in

commission, that is, she is manned and employed; so that Lord Sandwich thinks it but right to make an offer to her present captain of going on the intended service, but there is reason to think he will decline it, and in that case I have a better chance than any other person."

"20th November, 1773.

"With me Reid's inquiry into the human mind succeeded Locke, and is now dismissed for Doddridge's Rise and Progress. This last was referred to by Dr. Munter, of Copenhagen, in his narrative of the Conversion of Struensee, which gave me a curiosity for reading it, but I cannot give any opinion of it as yet, having only read the dedication, but Reid's work I hold to be a very admirable performance. David Hume the historian, with wonderful talents for metaphysical refinements, had, in the opinion of his admirers, who were very numerous, overturned all the principles of belief, not only in religion, but of all existence both of matter and spirit, so that as Reid expresses it, 'There was according to his system no ground for believing any one thing whatever, rather than its contrary.'

"It is really amazing how universally, especially among the polite and lettered world, his pernicious tenets had spread themselves, together with other poisonous matter, blended with art and eloquence, in the writings of Voltaire and Rousseau; but however they may hurt the present generation,

posterity will benefit by these friends of infidelity, for truth will always benefit by discussion.

"I have met with few works better calculated to promote the cause of religion than Locke's 'Reasonableness of Christianity as delivered in the Scriptures.' I never once heard it quoted or spoken of; but I think it the most satisfactory book of the kind I ever met with in my life, and the best key to the inspired writings of the New Testament.

"It is with much satisfaction that I perceive how nearly you and I are likely to agree upon points of the highest importance. It would be disingenuous in me to deny that I had at one time a much better opinion of Hume's writings than I have at present, as it would be unfair did I not acknowledge that he has taught me many useful things.

"Reid acknowledges his great abilities, and it was not by denying his reasoning that he overthrew his doctrines, but by making the discovery of a truth which had lain hid from the learned ever since the days of Aristotle, whereby he shewed that his first principles were false, although they had been acknowledged for truth by all the learned of all intervening ages, and among the rest by two stedfast Christians, Locke and Bishop Berkeley*.

* In Major Cartwright's copy of Price's Dissertations, p. 956, the following note in his hand-writing, which appears to have the date of the year 1776, shews his continued attention to the subjects here spoken of.

"Perhaps it may be thought even by deists, a material ob-

"Sir Thomas More's Utopia has given me singular pleasure, for I had never heard it spoken of but by persons who did not understand it.—It is a work abounding with wisdom and philanthropy. The man who would wish to become superior to the power of gold and the lust of ambition, should make himself intimate with Sir Thomas More."

"Nov. 29, 1773.

"My friend * * * could not have flattered me more successfully than by attributing to me a disposition for making the best of every thing, as I take it to be one of the essentials in religion of every one who believes in a Providence, and of a Christian in particular; for I have no doubt but that it is our business to turn every hour and every minute in life to our advantage, whether it be prosperous or otherwise. I have always thought it extreme impiety to repine at the evils of life."

Mr. Cartwright spent part of the spring of the year 1774 at Bath for the recovery of his health, and there acquired many valuable acquaintances, among others William Melmoth, Esq., the author of Fitzosborne's Letters. On the 18th of May

jection to Hume's doctrine, that if it be true, it must necessarily follow that it is now beyond the power of God to communicate to men any knowledge whatever, not at present within the reach of that imperfect faculty of reason which he *at first* bestowed upon him. Must not he who can make so absurd a supposition have either a weak or a bewildered mind?"

he writes "I am become acquainted with the Dean of Durham, who was tutor to Lord North. The Dean has put my timber plan into the hands of Dr. Douglas, who is esteemed a learned and clever man.—My rides in the neighbourhood are rendered very agreeable by the company of a lady with whom I much wish you were acquainted. She has a very superior and highly cultivated understanding, and like myself is an invalid and a prospect-hunter.

"Judge Barrington, of whom you have heard me speak, has lately communicated to me a matter that is in agitation for another discovery in a very distant part of the world: and I believe I shall have it in my power to furnish him and Lord Sandwich with some very useful information on the subject, by means of a valuable manuscript of my late friend Captain Shelly, who had meditated the same undertaking. I shall endeavour to make it useful to Mrs. Shelly if possible, and, provided he should upon a perusal judge the manuscript to be of that consequence which I apprehend it will be to the officer chosen for the command, I shall make some stipulations in favour of the owner, as she sends it to me in the most handsome manner."

In 1774, Mr. Cartwright wrote his letterto Edmund Burke, Esq., and his mind began to be more and more turned towards political subjects, as appears by the following observations in a letter dated the 10th of August, 1774.

"My letters on American Independence are now in the press*. As a republication of them may possibly be displeasing to Government, I do not wish at present to be known as their author. —I am not afraid of the *law*, but should be glad of advancement in my profession.

"If Lord Sandwich should pay any attention to my interest it will be in the spring at the approach of the election. I am firmly persuaded he will, and equally so that my father will give him all his votes. But should they ever come into my hands it will be quite a matter of doubt that I should do the same. The subject of my letters and other considerations have of late caused me to consider the voting for Members of Parliament as a very serious duty, not to be sacrificed to interest; and whatever I may consider as my duty, I trust that I shall always have resolution to practise."

"April, 1775.

"I do not know if I told you I am likely to find

* It is a singular coincidence, that in this very year Patrick Henry first broached in America the idea of its independence. In a conversation which took place before the commencement of hostilities against the mother-country, Mr. Henry said "our *independence* will be established, and we shall take our stand among the nations of the earth." Colonel Overton relates, that at the word *independence* the company appeared to be startled, for they had never heard any thing of the kind suggested. Life of Henry, p. 94.

It is well known that the celebrated declaration of independence was not adopted by the legislature of the United States until two years afterwards, viz. on the 7th July, 1776.

a good advocate for my plan with Lord North in his secretary Mr. Eden.—On relating the particulars of his behaviour, which did him great credit, to my friend Mr. Cooke of Bedford Square, I found I was speaking to one who has been in intimate friendship with him and his family for many years. Mr. Cooke will do every thing which a superior understanding and the warmest heart can dictate to forward my plan.—He has often told me I do not pay attendance enough among the great to forward it properly."

"21 May, 1775.

"Through the interest of Mr. Cooke, I believe, a new friend is raised up in support of the timber plan in Sir William Bagot, who approves highly of it, and will give it his support in the House of Commons. Last week I called on Sir George Savile; he did me the honour to say he thought the proposal was the most eligible he had ever seen with regard to the forests, or that could be made both to serve the crown and the public."

"Sept. 4, 1775.

"I will agree with you in hanging Mr. Wilkes, if he can be *legally* tucked up; but no reflections, I beg of you, upon the cap of liberty.—The same words and the same symbols will still signify and express the same things, how much soever they may be abused by worthless men."

* * * * * * *

"The militia by its institution is not intended to

spread the dominion or to vindicate in war the honour of the crown, but it is to preserve our laws and liberties, and therein to secure the existence of the state. It is in allusion to this specific duty that I thought the sword held up in a posture of defence over the book, and the cap, the proper emblems of law and liberty, a suitable device.

"When I wrote last I believe I had not told you that I had carried a great point with regard to the colours of the regiment. The cap of liberty is to be displayed on the banners, as well as to grace our buttons.

"My patience and forbearance with the whole crew of ministers are now worn out, and I cease to make those allowances I did for a long time.

"But the Governor of the universe will, I hope, temper his justice with mercy, so that this heedless nation may not grow blinder and more hardened in heart by the effects of his righteous judgments.

"I thank you for the lines to the expected maid of honour. There is a pleasing and amiable turn of thought in them, but the poetry is of the feeble kind. Although I am myself no critic in poetry, I find that none but what the critics allow to be excellent gives me any considerable pleasure. Philosophical reading, and a habit of thinking rather closely, disqualifies one from enjoying ordinary or only tolerable poetry. When in pursuit of thought, one cannot bear the disappointment of meeting with only musical words; and, in the pur-

suit of additional knowledge, it is mortifying to find that only *sung* which has been said a thousand times before. But true genuine poetic fire will always gratify the reader, however philosophical, by the bold and brilliant points of light in which the subject is placed, especially if that subject be worthy of the poet, and be made subservient to morality. This, however, is a rule not always observed, and, in this particular, painters are also blameable;—surely that collection in which is admitted a single piece offensive to virtue ought to be condemned as imperfect, and the objection is only strengthened by the goodness of the painting.

"If the Board of Admiralty or Navy Board will be so kind as to dispense with my attendance till after the holidays, I will fly down to —— if it be only for an hour."

* * * * * * *

"My timber plan has at last been taken notice of, and referred by Lord North to the Board of Admiralty; they have just looked it over and referred it to the Navy Board [See Appendix, No. III.] as their council in matters of this nature. As this is an object of great extent, of the utmost importance to the public, and as I neither propose nor mean to solicit that any part of it should be made beneficial to myself, I can submit to dance attendance, to court attention, and to solicit the favour of those on whom the success of it will depend, which I could by no means do in order to advance my own interest. I shall therefore wait

upon all the Navy Commissioners before I attend at the Board, to pay them the compliment of communicating to them separately and previously the substance and draft of the plan. I was yesterday with the Secretary of the Admiralty, and this morning with Lord Sandwich, and now that matters are got into a train, I shall omit no possible attention, nor leave any stone unturned, great or small, which may contribute to the carrying my point; as I shall hope thereby to do the public an essential service. Should I, even by an omission of those complimentary attentions, which I should scorn to observe in my own private case, defeat my scheme just in the crisis of its fate, I should never forgive myself. When I set forward in any matter of this kind, my whole soul is engaged, as long as there is a possibility of effecting any thing to the purpose; and when I have done my best, I am the better prepared for, and proof against a disappointment."

"I am much amused when I hear people speak of abiding by and supporting their family principles: mine was a Tory family as I have been told, and Popery was once its religion; but as for myself I shall neither be Papist nor Tory, until I can believe in the infallibility of popes and kings. On every point which materially affects a man's moral conduct, either as an individual or as a member of society, he must judge and act for himself. I should fear that family or party reasons would not

always make very good arguments at that tribunal where every man is to answer for his own doings."

While preparing for the press the second edition of American Independence, he thus writes: "The abominable stupidity and waste of time in tea-drinking visits is enough to give one a surfeit of a town life. I declare upon my honour, I had rather spend my evenings in Newgate with Mr. Platt, the American rebel, pirate and traitor, as he is called, than in such assemblies. Hearing a very favourable account of that young man, I made him a visit last week, and spent a couple of hours very pleasantly.

"His case, in my opinion, reflects disgrace on all concerned with his ill-treatment. There are pains now taking to get him released by means of Habeas Corpus, before the suspending bill shall have received the royal assent.

"At present I am not only angry with the ministers, but with the opposition too, for I have had occasion to learn some of their sentiments, and fear there is little real public virtue among them. But notwithstanding this, I cannot reconcile it to myself not to attempt every thing which is within my power towards calling the attention of the people to the dangers which I apprehend their liberty is exposed to. There is but one class of men whose opinions I rely on in points of this

kind—those who oppose ministers against their own interest, and who are at the same time able to give a reason for the faith that is in them. My friend Granville Sharpe is of this number. He has given up his office at the Ordnance, rather than be concerned in carrying into execution orders which he esteems iniquitous. I am preparing my index, and shall send it to the printer's on Monday. While my thoughts and my heart are so much engaged on public affairs, you must hear of them; 'out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh.' When my work is out of my hands I shall be relieved from a pressure. I have been anxious to execute it in the best manner of which I was capable, as I entertain hopes that it may be instrumental in opening the eyes of the public. No man is infallible either in politics or in any other science; but there are some plain things in which every man of common sense may be infallible. The principles on which politics are built, are the principles of reason, morality, and religion, applied to the concerns of large communities, so that I do not allow political rectitude to be according to every man's judgment, but to be defined by the laws of God and nature. The Scripture is the ultimate criterion both in public and private principles, and unless a man be a fanatic or of a presumptuous turn of mind, I think he may be sure when he is right or wrong on almost every question of importance. As soon as I am delivered of my brat, I will make my visits; your friend H—— is at the top of the list. Would I

could find in those I have to deal with a moderate portion of integrity—I want but half a dozen honest men to save a city."*

At a time when no member of Parliament had sufficient decision of mind to propose the independence of America, Major Cartwright suggested the expediency of an union between Great Britain and her colonies†, under separate legislatures. President Laurens, on his release from the Tower, being asked his opinion of Major Cartwright's plan, declared, "that for the peace and happiness of mankind, it was probably better the union should not take place; since it would give the United Kingdom such a degree of strength as would make them formidable to the rest of the world."

Not contented with publishing his work on this subject, he afterwards caused a short argument to be printed, which, together with the tract

*. Mr. Horne Tooke was heard to declare in conversation, that half a dozen men of Mr. Cartwright's character and firmness in the different counties, would have put a stop to the American War. It is curious to observe by the above letter, that though Major Cartwright at the very commencement of his political career, had reason to lament the want of public integrity by which his exertions were thwarted, he continued for forty-nine years afterwards to labour unceasingly, and at times almost unsupported, in the same cause.

† It appears in the Memoirs of Evelyn, Vol. I. p. 439, that New England even in his day, manifested symptoms of resistance to the authority of the mother-country, and that conciliatory measures were then adopted in consequence of a report made to the council respecting that colony by Colonel Cartwright, an ancestor of the Major.

itself, was distributed at the door of Parliament to every member indiscriminately. From this argument, which is bound up with Major Cartwright's copy of American Independence, the following passages are extracted.

"The British Legislature *hath* the right of sovereignty and legislation over British America, or it hath *not* these rights.

"One of the above propositions must be true: the other must be false."

* * * * * * *

"Although propositions in morals or politics do not admit of absolute *demonstration*, yet in very many instances they are capable of *proof* equally satisfactory to the candid and upright enquirer."

* * * * * * *

"The subject of the pamphlet herewith inclosed, being extremely unpopular, and the work itself ill written, it has probably escaped your notice; but, in regard to the point in question, it may afford some satisfaction, as well as in respect of the general *confederacy* it proposes to substitute in the room of *legislation*, for the purpose of securing to us a continuation of the benefits derived from our American Colonies."

* * * * * * *

"As institutions strictly honest, and not a foreknowledge of future events nor absolute perfection, are what a people expect of their legislators, those, therefore, who were concerned in passing

the Declaratory Act, would now best recommend themselves to the public esteem, by the magnanimity of saying, 'We have erred; but we will try to do away our error, by striving, with all our powers, to cause the repeal of an act, which, from experience, and the new light thrown upon the subject by discussion, we are now convinced is inconsistent with the enjoyment of American freedom.'"

As this early production of Major Cartwright's pen is now become extremely scarce, some extracts from it will be given, not with a view of entering into the discussion of the American question, but to point out the nature of those principles on which his political conduct was founded.—And here we may remark, that the grand secret of his consistency was the perfect simplicity of the doctrines he inculcated. He was bewildered by no refinements; he took no shelter in subterfuge: he had nothing to explain away, and nothing to retract. The line between right and wrong was clear to his apprehension, and sacred to his observance. His principles not admitting of those subtleties and sophistries, the exercise of which sharpens the faculties of disputants in general, he was, by shallow reasoners, accounted deficient in acuteness; but he wrote neither from motives of spleen nor of vanity: TRUTH was his sole object; and to enforce her dictates, he would prefer repetition, or the blame of tediousness, rather than, by affecting ingenuity

or point, leave any part of his meaning misunderstood or unexplained.

It will also be gratifying to observe, that his intercourse for fifty years with political characters of every description (some of whom, we have seen, had already disappointed him), neither sullied the purity of his own native principles, nor abated that faith in public virtue, as the certain result of virtuous political institutions, which he in earlier life entertained.

From the Epistle Dedicatory to Sir George Savile, the following passages are selected.

"I am not ashamed to confess myself one of those weak mortals who can believe that the ease and luxury of life are contemptible in the eyes of a good man, when his country demands his labours, his counsels, or his sword. Being of opinion, then, that patriotism is a real and exalted virtue, I must necessarily believe that to decline its duties, is a meanness unworthy the manly character; and that its wilful violation is the most atrocious of crimes."

* * * * * * *

"Perhaps too, the public may be more indebted to you than they seem to consider, for; having by an uniform conduct through a series of years effectually overturned the darling but infamous maxim, that 'every man has his price'; an opinion which could only arise in the basest and most degenerate heart."

* * * * * * *

"These unhappy men do not only forfeit by this conduct all title to trust and confidence in society, but, what is still worse, they expressly exclude themselves from the benefits of religion*, saying in effect that our Saviour's mission for the purpose of teaching morality and bestowing salvation on mankind, so far from being an instance of divine wisdom and goodness, was executed like the vague schemes of purblind mortals to no manner of purpose, for so long as it is their assertion that every man has his price, so long do they assert that it is impossible to obey the laws of Christ in any tolerable degree."

The first letter contains an appeal to the good sense and feeling of the Legislature, and points out the true glory that it would obtain by adopting a liberal policy towards the colonies, in favour of whose rights he argues in a plain, simple, and unaffected style.

In the second letter he observes that "we have no need of profound learning, an intimate acquaintance with antiquity, nor even with the history of the respective provinces and their different origins; neither do we want copies of grants, charters, or acts of parliament, in order to judge of

* Major Cartwright always affirmed in conversation as well as in his writings, that both the Jewish and Christian dispensations were (when not perverted by the inventions of men) so remarkably favourable to human liberty, that there scarcely needed any other proofs of their divine origin. See "People's Barrier," p. 85, and many others of his subsequent publications.

the question before us. If we comprehend but the most well-known principles of the English constitution; if we comprehend but a few of the plain maxims of the law of nature and the clearest doctrines of Christianity, all which are so simple and clear as to be understood by hundreds, nay thousands of plain men, who know not that they are possessed of so useful a treasure, we have knowledge enough on this occasion."

"The only requisite wanting beyond this, is a heart strictly devoted to truth and virtue, without which we shall never understand any doctrine which does not soothe our passions."—P. 7.

"It is a capital error in the reasonings of several writers on this subject, that they consider the liberty of mankind in the same light as an estate or a chattel, and go about to prove or disprove their right to it, by the letter of grants and charters, by custom and usage, and by municipal statutes. Hence we are told that these men have a right to more, those to less, and some to none at all. But a title to the liberty of mankind is not established on such rotten foundations. 'Tis not among mouldy parchments, or in the cobwebs of a casuist's brain, we are to look for it; it is the immediate gift of God, and the seal of it is that free will which he hath made the noblest constituent of men's nature. It is not derived from any one, but it is original in every one; it is inherent and unalienable."

"The most antient inheritance cannot strengthen this right, the want of inheritance cannot impair

it. The child of a slave is as free-born according to the law of nature, as he who who could trace a free ancestry up to the creation. Slavery in all its forms, in all its degress, is an outrageous violation of the rights of mankind; an odious degradation of human nature. It is utterly impossible that any human being can be without a title to liberty, except he himself have forfeited it by crimes which make him dangerous to society."—P. 7.

"All the subtilties and refinements, all the arguments that the wit of man can invent, will never be sufficient to justify any species of arbitrary dominion, while we retain a knowledge of this short and simple proposition, 'The good of society is the end of civil government,' nor will they ever justify a discretionary taxation by a prince or government, the people being unrepresented, so long as we know that 'a man hath no property in that which another can take from him without his consent.'"—P. 14.

"When men tell us, that an enlightened people are refractory, that they will not contribute their proportion of taxes, that at the hazard of their lives by the sword or the halter, they oppose and seek to subvert the government, and this for a succession of years; they tell us with a moral certainty, that they feel oppressions, some real invasion of their rights or liberties; for no other causes ever did, or ever will produce a general and permanent opposition in the whole body of a people towards their governors."

* * * * * * *

"Can we hesitate for a moment to pronounce what ought to be done? We ought to allow the Americans to tax themselves as an inseparable adjunct to freedom."—P. 17.

"Thus far had I written when the political tracts of a reverend Dean * fell into my hands.—They amply supply all the examples and explanation necessary to illustrate my principles, and shew to a demonstration the absolute necessity, in a political light †, of relinquishing our claims to the sovereignty of America, to which the whole tenor of my letters point and with which they conclude:—But I am far from subscribing to this gentleman's doctrine as to the rights of sovereignty."

* * * * * * * *

"While metaphysical refinements teach him to think that Britain hath a right to govern America, the invincible force of truth extorts from him an acknowledgement that she must, if governed by true policy, relinquish it."—P. 32.

"That Magna Charta is the great foundation of English liberties, and the basis of the English constitution, I must positively deny. It is indeed a glorious member of the superstructure, but of itself could never have existed, had not the con-

* Dr. Tucker, afterwards Dean of Gloucester.

† Burke appears to have reasoned in the same manner with the Dean, considering the American question as one of expediency and not of right.—His comparison between taxing America and *shearing a wolf* is well known.

stitution already had a basis, and a firm one too.—And as to this charter being the foundation of 'English liberty', that was evidently otherwise; since it was an exertion of this very liberty which produced the charter; extorting it from an encroaching King, as a mere formal declaration of rights, already known to be the constitutional inheritance of every Englishman."—P. 39.

"If I have trespassed upon the reader, by a repetition of the same arguments in different places, I would observe that the few plain and clear arguments on which this question depends need to be repeated again and again, and never to be lost sight of; for the enemies of liberty, like the disingenuous foes of religion, are a sort of persons, who, conscious that they cannot convince, and determined to wrangle, do not scruple to advance the same stale arguments that have been a thousand times refuted before; and if not refuted again as often as they have the shamefulness to revive them, they insult their adversaries with affected shouts of victory and triumph."—P. 49.

The general feeling of hostility towards the Colonies was at this time so strong, that a work written decidedly in their favour probably made little impression on the public mind, while "Taxation no Tyranny" well known to be the work of Dr. Johnson, in which bitterness and contempt, unfair illustration, and unsound argument were rendered grateful to the temper of the times,

through the medium of powerful and eloquent language, had already gone through three editions.

The author of "Taxation no Tyranny" remarks, "that a colony is to the mother-country as a member of the body, the prosperity or unhappiness of either is the prosperity or unhappiness of both in the same degree; for the body may subsist, though less commodiously, without a limb, but the limb must perish when parted from the body."—P. 28.

America, at this moment a free, powerful, and enlightened nation, supplies a conclusive comment on the respective opinions entertained fifty years ago by these two very opposite writers.

In 1775 Major Cartwright published a second edition of American Independence, and in the same year was appointed Major of the Nottinghamshire Militia. In a letter dated 2d September he says, "I have shewn my colonel a drawing I have made of a regimental button *, and it was very well liked. The design consists of a cap of liberty resting on a book, over which appears a hand holding a drawn sword in its defence. The motto is 'Pro legibus et libertate,' 'For our laws and liberty'; and in a different character the name of the county also in Latin. I proposed that a die should be made, in order to have them struck in the nature of coins."

In the organization and training of this regi-

* This button was in use in the Nottinghamshire militia for many years.

ment, the major took indefatigable pains; during two years of his service, the colonel only joined for a fortnight, and the lieutenant-colonel was never present, so that the whole conduct of the regiment depended upon himself; and it appears that by means of a system which excluded all unnecessary severity, but which in the mode of administration was undeviatingly strict, it attained to a degree of discipline which commanded universal admiration.—Of this undeviating strictness a friend has supplied the writer with a remarkable example. Perceiving that at first setting out on the march from Hull to Portsmouth the men were inclined to loiter in a manner inconsistent with military discipline, he assured them he should find means to prevent such irregularity in future. The offence was nevertheless repeated the next day; but just as they came in view of their quarters for the night, the Major drew them up, and ordering them to face about, without making any remark, marched them three miles back, thus adding six additional miles to the exercise of the day. The punishment had its desired effect, and was never again called for either during that or any other march in which he commanded. He likewise endeavoured to raise the moral as well as the military character of the regiment, and to this end, he wrote a pocket volume of orders and instructions, with which every commissioned and non-commissioned officer was supplied, and from which a

few extracts will be found in the Appendix, No. IV.*

The opinion entertained in the regiment of the inflexibility of his principles, may be gathered from the following anecdote:

A private soldier being sentenced to be punished, was recommended to plead to him for forgiveness; in the hope that his having a vote for Nottingham, for which place the Major had been proposed, would incline him to pardon. "I know it will be of no use," said the man, "*and for that very reason.*"

Amidst a variety of petty intrigues and disappointments, with which he had to contend during the period of his service in the Militia, it is pleasing to record that from Lord Percy, General of the District, and afterwards Duke of Northumberland, he invariably met with the most obliging support and approbation, as that nobleman's letters to him, expressed in the handsomest terms, would abundantly show.

In the following year (1776) Major Cartwright was put to one of the hardest trials which could fall to the lot of a man of spirit and sensibility.

To such a man the loss of wealth, of rank, and even of life, were trivial misfortunes compared with

* With a benevolent expression of pleasure in his countenance, Major Cartwright, on passing a centinel, wrapt up in his warm great coat, once observed to the writer, that he was the first officer who, to his knowledge, had caused great coats to be introduced among the British soldiery, a comfort which he obtained for them after repeated applications.

the probable loss of reputation; yet this was the painful test which was to try the strength of his resolution, and the sincerity of his opinions.

During a correspondence, previous to the American dispute, Lord Howe had declared that he "should consider it as a particular piece of good fortune, should he obtain the benefit of Mr. Cartwright's professional assistance;" and the time was now come when that nobleman, being appointed naval Commander in Chief, and Commissioner to America, he was enabled to offer him a situation on board his own ship.

But as the account of this transaction cannot be better given than in the words of him who was most interested in it, the following letter, written on the day after he had received Lord Howe's invitation, and before he had delivered his answer, will be here inserted:

"TO MISS D.

"No. 1, Great Ormond Street,
"Monday, 5th Feb. 1776.

"Many thanks for your kind epistle; * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * I received at the same time a note as follows:

"'Lord Howe's compliments, and begs the favour of Mr. Cartwright's company, any morning that will be most convenient to him, between nine or ten, in Grafton Street, and the sooner the better, if his state of health will allow him to pursue his former views in the navy at this time.'"

"I had that morning learnt from a brother officer, just come from Grafton Street, that his Lordship was appointed to command in America, and that he intended me to be one of his lieutenants. At the Admiralty Office, I also learnt that there will be in America next summer about 80 ships of war. I believe the command of so many ships never fell to the lot of one man, since the defeat of the Spanish Armada; so it will be the fairest field for promotion that can be imagined.

"That in itself is a very strong temptation, but when I consider it as the means of removing all obstacles to the final possession of my inestimable friend, how shall I express its value! I would purchase it at any price short of integrity. Passionately attached to the navy—my great ambition to serve with him, whom I consider the first officer in the world—my pride to receive promotion unsolicited, at such hands—my supreme happiness to make her whom I love my own—it is indeed a sacrifice—great ought indeed to be the satisfactions which honour, that rigid dictator, may have in store.

"I mean to see Lord Howe to-morrow morning; but as my mind is too full to suffer me to explain myself properly and without embarrassment, I believe I must do it in writing, and prepare a letter to leave with him. I would not wish that there should be a possibility of his attributing my conduct to wrong motives; and how to touch upon the true ones, the case considered, is the grand difficulty.

"I must about it, however. * * * * *

" 15th February, 1776.

" The die is cast; and it is probable hath put a period to my naval services. The morning after I wrote you my last short letter I waited on Lord Howe. A very full and disturbed mind prevented, as I had forethought, my explaining myself as I wished, therefore after a most friendly reception, and a short stay, I left with his Lordship a letter, having first barely signified that it was not in my power to accept the kind offer made me. It was as follows:

' 6th February, 1776.

' MY LORD,

' All who know me particularly must know, as I flatter myself your Lordship has reason to believe, that it has ever been my particular wish to serve under your Lordship's command. My strong attachment to the navy is well known. To my father it has appeared matter of some dissatisfaction, insomuch that he has more than once or twice thrown temptations in my view, which, in his opinion were far more than sufficient for prevailing with a prudent man to quit the service, even though possessed of higher rank than that which I hold.

' I may add to this, that neither a very ill state of health for six years past, nor at one particular time, the objections to my profession by one on whom depended my forming a connection of the most interesting nature, have been sufficient to make me bear the thoughts of quitting it. It has been also my determination and my pride never to ask for promotion; but to wait till I might receive

it on such terms as to make it a real honour. I have reason to believe that more than once I might have had it by asking for. And now, that your Lordship's offer of a lieutenancy in your ship has put it in my power to gratify my leading wish, with the fairest prospect of the rest being crowned with success, greatly facilitate the accomplishing of that private plan which is most near my heart, yet, nevertheless, I find myself under the painful necessity of sacrificing in one moment all these pleasing views, by declining to accept your Lordship's most kind offer; but not, my Lord, without much gratitude, and a due sense of the distinction with which I have on this occasion been honoured.

'It is due both to your Lordship and myself to mention what are my real motives to this conduct, in order that it may not be attributed to any other.

'Your Lordship will make candid allowances for my weakness, provided you may think me in error; but thinking as I do on the most unhappy contest between this kingdom and her colonies, it would be a desertion from my principles (which I am sure your Lordship would not approve of) were I to put myself in a situation that might probably cause me to act a hostile part against them. I have reason to suspect that, on this subject, my opinions are somewhat singular; but still, such as they are, they are opinions which much reflection and a sincere endeavour to arrive at the truth

have given birth to, and as I am firmly persuaded without hasty prejudices, because there was a bias in my mind against the American cause, until I applied myself to the investigating of it.

'As I cannot at present help holding the opinions I do, and esteeming it my duty to act up to them, so I respect every man who, from principle, acts a different part, after having taken pains suitable to the greatness of the occasion to inform his judgment.

'I most ardently wish and pray that your Lordship's mediation may restore tranquillity and welfare on both sides of the Atlantic; and that you may long live to taste the supreme earthly felicity of having saved your country.

'I have the honour to be, with sentiments of the greatest deference and esteem,

'My Lord,

'Your Lordship's very much obliged

'and most obedient Servant,

'JOHN CARTWRIGHT.'

"Three days afterwards I sent him 'American Independence', with a note informing him that I was the author of it, and if I could suppose that he would think it worth his perusal, it would account for the part I had acted.—The following is his Lordship's answer:

'Grafton-street, February 12, 1776.

'Lord Howe presents his compliments to Mr. Cartwright.—He is favoured with the pamphlet

referred to in his note of the 9th.—He thinks opinions in politics, on points of such national moment as the differences subsisting between England and America, are to be treated like opinions in religion, whereon he would leave every one at liberty to regulate his conduct by those ideas which he had adopted upon due reflection and enquiry;—being persuaded that men of character will ever act, in both cases alike, upon principles that do them honour, he must respect those of Mr. Cartwright too much to be desirous of lessening his satisfaction in them, were he even qualified for such an undertaking.'

"Having given you our correspondence [continues Mr. C.] thus far, I have only time to thank you for your truly kind answer to my letter of the fifth instant, and to conclude myself," &c.

To the note contained in the foregoing letter, Major Cartwright replied as follows:

"15th February, 1776.

"Mr. Cartwright was duly honoured with Lord Howe's note of the 12th, to which he had then no thought of making a reply, although not untouched by the remark at the close of it. But a considerable uneasiness continuing to dwell on his mind, in consequence of an apprehension that Lord Howe had misinterpreted his motive for sending the pamphlet, and not being conscious of any presumptuous intention in so doing, he once more takes the liberty of intruding upon his Lord-

ship's time for a few moments, sensible as he must be how precious it is at this period, in order to give him what his feelings tell him is a farther necessary explanation.

"Having made to Lord Howe a simple declaration of facts, and a general one of his principles in respect of American politics, he still laboured under a dissatisfaction of mind, lest his Lordship might be led to attribute them to any cause which might ever so obliquely reflect upon his honour. Hence he was induced to present Lord Howe with the whole grounds of them; hoping that at some leisure time, he might indulge him with a perusal of them: and though he could not meet with any other information there, yet he flattered himself the pamphlet would inform his Lordship, that the writer's errors (if such he laboured under) lay in his reasonings, and not in his heart.

"It was this conviction he wished to impress on Lord Howe's mind, and upon this he presumed, but upon nothing more.

"He should have saved both himself and Lord Howe the trouble of every explanation, had not his Lordship's good opinion been, in his estimation, of some importance; and as it was, he should have contented himself with merely referring to the title of the pamphlet, had he not, for the reasons assigned, thought it more than probable his Lordship might never have read it, for he does not think it can be expected of any man to read longer on a subject than till he is master of it.

" Mr. Cartwright has the satisfaction to agree entirely with Lord Howe, respecting that religious and political liberty he wishes every one to enjoy; but he doubts not his Lordship will also think with him, that a very material difference is to be made between those two kinds of liberty, and that at particular seasons it is of far greater importance to society that a man's creed should be right in politics than in religion. His errors in one case will only affect his own welfare; whereas in the other they may produce the worst effects to his country. And Mr. Cartwright cannot help saying, that the satisfaction he finds in his present principles, arises wholly from a consciousness that, to the best of his judgment, they are founded in truth. As soon as the contrary shall be made appear to him, it will be a greater satisfaction to him to abandon them, and he will always hold himself indebted to that man who shall turn him from error to rectitude.

" It is his sincere hope that no disagreement in speculative opinions between Lord Howe and himself, may diminish that portion of his Lordship's regard, of which he flattered himself he was possessed: and, notwithstanding his particular opinions at this time prevent his attending his Lordship upon service, yet he hopes that such a change in public affairs may soon take place, as to remove these obstacles, and enable him when occasion offers, to serve under his Lordship's command. He begs leave to repeat his ardent wishes

for Lord Howe's success in restoring harmony and prosperity to the state and its colonies, and that a long continuance of life and health may afford his Lordship the full enjoyment of so enviable a condition as he must stand in upon such an event."

To this note Lord Howe replied on the following day:

"Lord Howe having answered Mr. Cartwright's note among the number of twenty-four letters of compliment or of business which he had to acknowledge the same day, he cannot call to mind the particular passages which appear to have affected Mr. Cartwright, but he is very sure nothing was intended to be expressed in his answer, to occasion the uneasiness Mr. Cartwright describes, because he had no such sentiments in his mind, nor did he see any motive for altering his opinion of Mr. Cartwright, whose friendship he wishes to retain for [notwithstanding] any difference of principle on the American contest which he may be supposed to cherish. He therefore hopes that all conjectures of that nature will no longer subsist."

Before quitting this subject it may not be improper to mention, that the writer of these Memoirs having inquired of Major Cartwright whether it were true that he had received offers of command in the American navy, he replied in

these terms: "I believe I might have had a command of some importance had such been my wish, but I told my American friends, Joseph Wharton among others, who wished to persuade me to enter the service of the United States, that though I would never consent to bear arms against the liberties of America, I considered that nothing could absolve a man from the duty he owed his own country, and that I would stick by the old ship as long as there was a plank of her above water."*

It is also necessary to observe, that in consequence of his rejection of the personal offers of Lord Howe, it has been erroneously supposed that he relinquished altogether the naval profession; whereas it is well known to his friends that he was ready to accept any employment which the service of his country required; and that so late as his promotion at the jubilee, when in the seventieth year of his age, he remarked, that he did not then consider himself too old to be useful in his nautical capacity.

In July, 1776, the freedom of the town of Nottingham was presented to him, of which, in a letter to Miss D—, he says, "you will readily believe it was not less acceptable to me, in its being presented at the same time to Sir George Savile, and that professedly for his noble political character."

* The writer has been informed that a place in America was called after Major Cartwright, but in what part of the United States she is entirely ignorant.

In this year Major Cartwright wrote his earliest work on the subject of reform in Parliament; and except some tracts by the late Earl Stanhope*, it is believed to be the earliest ever expressly published on that subject: and from this time we may consider him as more or less devoted to the object of obtaining annual parliaments† and universal suffrage.

In this work, entitled, "Take your Choice," to which he afterwards, in a second edition, prefixed that of "The Legislative Rights of the Commonalty Vindicated," he lays down equal representation as a right, and annual election as a security for the preservation of that right.

At this time the only political distinction was between Whigs and Tories; of whom it has since been said, that the latter believed in the divine right of kings, and the former in the divine right of noblemen and gentlemen. His principles had

* "Though a younger man than yourself, I am your *senior* in reform. You first published on that subject in 1776, I published in 1774."—Letter of Lord Stanhope to J. Cartwright, Esq. 17th Dec. 1815.

† "As to Parliaments," says Swift, in a letter to Pope in the year 1721, "I adored the wisdom of that gothic institution which made them annual: and I was confident our liberty could never be placed upon a firm foundation until that antient law were restored among us. For who sees not, that while such assemblies are permitted to have a longer duration, there grows up a commerce of corruption between the ministry and the deputies, wherein they both find their accounts, to the manifest danger of liberty? Which traffic would neither answer the design nor expense, if parliaments met every year."

at first naturally brought him into association with the Whigs; but from his earliest attention to the subject, he conceived that he detected that party spirit by which many of them were actuated; and even among the most virtuous, an unwillingness to trust the people, or to commit themselves by any specific plan of reform. If he could conscientiously have confined himself within the limits of Whig principles, it is not to be doubted that he would have been gladly hailed as a valuable addition to a party, with many of whose leading members he was at that time in habits of great intimacy; which, if necessary, might be proved by a variety of letters still in existence.

Having communicated his ideas to a nobleman of high rank, who had long been his personal friend, he was favoured by him, in return, with some observations, which, if they failed to convince by their strength of argument, doubtless commanded his respect by their candour.

"However", says he, "we may please ourselves with the idea of restoring old or conferring new rights on the people at large, we should not delude ourselves so far as to forget that our object is to make use of them for our own purposes, purposes certainly extremely praiseworthy, and such as no man need scruple to avow; but still the truth is, that we wish to give the power to those in whom we can confide.

"A more desirable, a more meritorious, a greater or more necessary object cannot be held up to view

than that of restoring independence to the House of Commons; the means of attaining it seems to be the point in question: and unless some mode of lessening the influence of the Crown can first be determined on, I should very much fear that annual parliaments would rather tend to increase that influence, and weaken, and in the end annihilate the power of individuals to resist it.

"I should also be much inclined to doubt whether the first and only meritorious description of indigent persons would be desirous of accepting the proffered boon, and I am more than satisfied of the very weighty objections which would occur to sober people in the manufacturing towns, while I feel the difficulty of drawing the line without controverting a point which has brought on the authors of the revolution of 1688 some occasional blame, in which I am free to own I even now feel myself involved, and venture to suspect that had you been born, times and circumstances considered, you yourself would have incurred your share of censure upon the same account."

It has been often urged as an argument against universal suffrage, that it would lead to the admission of persons into the House of Commons drawn from the lowest classes of society, whose want of education would render them unfit to associate with gentlemen.

Major C. always considered this objection as fallacious; his experience of the lower orders led him to remark that they preferred confiding their

interests to persons of more consideration than themselves, and that they generally evinced a jealous dislike to raise those of their own standing in society to stations of importance.

This opinion has been confirmed since his death in a very remarkable manner, by the rejection, in a large institution of working mechanics, of one of their own number who was proposed as secretary. Though equal in knowledge and ability to his competitors, the bulk of the mechanics preferred electing another person who was their superior in birth and situation in life.

As the remainder of Major Cartwright's life must now be considered almost wholly in a political light, and as most of his exertions tended more or less to the attainment of one object, we shall make a few remarks on the outset of his career as a public character, and then, as we proceed in the narrative, leave his conduct and opinions to speak for themselves.

The subject of a Radical Reform of Parliament is now fully before the public, and its discussion will not be farther introduced into these pages, than as it was connected with the character of its distinguished and consistent advocate,—with him from whom others have departed, but who, if we may be allowed the expression, never departed from himself.

He was at this time 37 years of age, and his views on political subjects could neither be placed to the account of youthful enthusiasm, nor be then

liable to the reproach so often afterwards levelled at him, of being the offspring of dotage.

They were adopted after much attentive reading and mature reflection by one peculiarly fitted to form a correct judgment of the means most likely to produce an improved state of society.

He was not a mere student, in whom classical education might have fostered a blind partiality for the republican institutions of Greece and Rome, but a man who had lived and acted in the world, and had mixed with persons of various professions and in all ranks of life *. Above all, he was not a disappointed, or a needy adventurer; and the unwearied perseverance with which, during the whole of his exertions, he exhorted those whom he thought better qualified than himself to take the lead, may well acquit him from the charge of vanity or ambition.

And here it is hoped that it may be thought excusable to intrude in one only instance on the

* The character of the American patriot, Samuel Adams, as given in the Life of Otis, is so applicable to that of Major Cartwright, that it might be supposed to have been written for him. —" The motives by which he was actuated, were not a sudden ebullition of temper, nor a transient impulse of resentment; but they were deliberate, methodical, and unyielding. There was no pause, no hesitation, no despondency; every day and every hour was employed in some contribution towards the main design, if not in action, in writing; if not with the pen, in conversation; if not in talking, in meditation. * * *

" With this unrelenting and austere spirit, there was nothing ferocious, or gloomy, or arrogant, in his demeanor. His aspect was mild, dignified and gentlemanly."—Life of Otis, p. 276.

sacred privacy of the closet, by introducing a prayer found among the private papers of this devoted patriot, which marks so strongly the spirit in which he dedicated himself to his country, that it cannot be better introduced than in this place:—

"Suffer, O Lord, this much offending nation to be reclaimed from its guilt and recalled to a knowledge of the things which belong to its peace. It hath been equally regardless of thy law and its own liberty. It is hurrying to destruction, and knows not what it does. Give me and others, O Father of mercies, understanding, and strength, and zeal to stand in the gap between its offences and thy wrath; between its errors and its destruction; let our labours and anxieties, and let the prayers of all virtuous persons plead in its behalf, and be thou intreated in its favour.

"Together with our usefulness let our humility increase; for with thee alone, O Lord, is all power and goodness. The wisdom of the wisest without thee is foolishness: the strength of the strongest is of no account; but those who are ordained to do thy will shall have power from above. Let my faith in Christ be imputed to me for righteousness, and let me be kept continually in mind of his spotless and laborious life while on earth, and of thine and his unspeakable affection for the whole race of men, and may he make intercession for me at thy throne!"

In speaking of Major Cartwright's general style of argumentative composition, it must be confessed

that the matter is occasionally diffuse, and the manner desultory, especially in his earlier works. This may, perhaps, be partly attributed to the want of that early training of the understanding which a classical education bestows; a training which, as we have remarked in another place, was much regretted by himself, and partly to that redundancy of zeal, which led him, like the divines of former days, to wish that his readers should participate largely in those stores of information, with which his own mind was so fully embued.

In one respect, however, his ignorance of the learned languages may have been an advantage; for the correctness and purity of his English has found admirers even among those critics, by whom his opinions are disputed; and though, in many of his works, the error already noticed is observable, yet as he advanced in life, his style became more pithy and compressed; and some of his latest writings, when upwards of eighty, are acknowledged to be his best.

If the writer of these memoirs may venture to introduce an opinion, it appears to her that, in short compositions, or in letters written on the spur of the moment, and under the influence of sudden feeling, his expressions not only bore the impress of an exalted mind, but were remarkable for their force and dignified simplicity.

It is also worthy of notice, that though his usual style was peculiar, and easily to be distinguished by those who were accustomed to it, yet when giving to others the gratuitous assistance of his pen,

an assistance which he was always ready to bestow, he could so vary his mode of expression, as to adapt it entirely to the use of those for whom it was employed.

In order to save repetition, the fundamental principle of his first work on reform shall be here extracted, as the principle, upon which his political conduct was founded, and of which his subsequent works were only such amplifications or illustrations, as the circumstances of the times seemed to him to require.

"The all-wise Creator hath likewise made men equal, as well as free; they are all of one flesh, and cast in one mould. There are given to them the same senses, feelings, and affections, to inform and to influence; the same passions to actuate, the same reason to guide, the same moral principle to restrain, and the same free will to determine all alike.

"There are, therefore, no distinctions to be made among men, as just causes for the elevation of some above the rest, prior to mutual agreement. How much soever any individual may be qualified for, or deserve any elevation, he hath no right to it till it be conferred on him by his fellows. There is, perhaps, more occasion to advert to this distinction between desert and authority, obvious as it is, than may be commonly imagined, as all elevation depends upon common consent; so it may, consequently, whenever found inconsistent with the common good, be by common consent abolished.

Hence we find that it is liberty, and not dominion, which is held by divine right."—P. 3.

"It is confessed by foreigners, and boasted by Englishmen, that our constitution of government is the best that hath ever yet been framed by human wisdom. Most of the causes which contribute towards this superior excellence, are obvious to but slight observers; but, if I mistake not, there is one particular cause perceived only by the more contemplative, to which it is owing in a supereminent degree. I mean that perfect harmony and correspondence which our constitution of government, in its genuine spirit and purity, holds with the great constitution of moral government, called the law of nature. The excellence of our common law cannot be more strongly expressed than by its well-known definition of being the perfection of human reason. The constitution is a frame of government coëval with, erected upon, and regulated by the spirit of the common law of England. It may consequently be defined to be a government agreeable to the perfection of human reason."—P. 10.

"By perfect, I do not mean that which it shall be impossible to pervert; that which fools cannot depart from, nor knaves abuse, and which shall necessarily be exclusive of evil; but I mean that which is not necessarily introductive of evil. I believe we may venture to call the law of nature and Providence a perfect institution; yet we see it does not necessarily exclude evil, nor necessitate men to be healthy, wise, or virtuous."—P. 17.

"Perhaps the figurative expression of body politic may have contributed much to the unphilosophical language commonly used, with regard to the supposed certainty that every state, like a human body, must necessarily perish through infirmities and old age, which I deny: I grant indeed that the best may die of diseases, and that it is not proof against suicide."—P. 19.

"Though a man should have neither lands, nor gold, nor herds, nor flocks; yet he may have parents and kindred, he may possess a wife and an offspring to be solicitous for. He hath also by birthright a property in the English constitution: which, if not unworthy such a blessing, will be more dear to him than would be many acres of the soil without it.

"These are all great stakes to have at risk; and we must have odd notions of justice, if we do not allow that they give him an undoubted right to share in the choice of those trustees, into whose keeping and protection they are to be committed."—P.20.

"I would not hastily dissent from a received opinion, especially one supported by great authorities; but yet my own conceptions of truth oblige me to believe, that personality is the sole foundation of the right of being represented*;

* Lord John Russell in his Essay on the History of the English Constitution, (2d Edition, p. 331,) erroneously states, that "Dr. Jebb, and *after* him Mr. Cartwright, broached the theory of personal representation." But we have already seen that

and that property has, in reality, nothing to do in the case. The property of any one, be it more, or be it less, is totally involved in the man. As belonging to him and to his peace, it is a very fit object of the attention of his representative in parliament, but it contributes nothing to his right of having that representation."—P. 22.

"Nor are the just pleas of the man exhausted. That which I am going to mention, though last, is not the least. He takes his constant chance on a ballot, which is equivalent to taking his regular turn to serve his country, as one of its military representatives in the militia; and an important service it is.

"There he becomes subject to all the restraint, the labours, and severities of military duty and discipline; and in case of necessity, must be the shield of his country, and expose his life in battle for its defence. How comes he to be subjected to such a condition?

"If it be by laws enacted by men, in whose election he had no voice, he is a slave."—P. 27.

"Whenever the first principle of any reasoning is false, we are navigating without a compass, and

Major Cartwright's first tract on this subject was published in 1776, whereas it appears in Dr. Disney's life of Jebb, Vol. I., p. 144, that the warm affection which Dr. Jebb had for the civil liberties of mankind, and the share he was disposed to take in their support, *first* appeared before the public eye, in an address to the freeholders of Middlesex, December 20, 1779; and be it also remarked, that Dr. Jebb continually refers to this plan of reform as "Major Cartwright's system."

can have no criterion of rectitude as we go along, but must be for ever liable to error and abuse. Had we never departed from the true principle of considering every member of the community as a free man, we had done right. But when we would once form an arbitrary definition of freedom, who shall say what it ought to be? Ought freedom rather to be annexed to forty pence, or forty shillings, or forty pounds per annum? Or why not to four hundred or four thousand? But indeed, so long as money is to be the measure of it, it will be impossible to know who ought or who ought not to be free. According to my apprehension, we might as well make the possession of forty shillings per annum, the proof of a man's being rational, as of his being free. There is just as much sense in one as the other."—P. 37.

"After all, we cannot alas! do more than prove our propositions, and lay down a plan for the undertaking, in theory.

"My fellow-citizens must assist in carrying it into practice. And to the free advocates for their rights and liberties in parliament, it belongs to take the lead. Should our proof be clearly made out, it will afford those gentlemen the best of all opportunities of proving their public integrity beyond a doubt. This I surely need not tell them, is the only thing wanting towards their obtaining the entire confidence and support of the people; in effecting this or any other necessary reformation in our government."—P. 62.

"The more I have myself contemplated the subject, and drawn comparisons between parliaments of different durations, the more confirmed have I always been in giving the preference to an annual one, provided it were fairly chosen. Indeed I never could arrive at any other satisfactory conclusion; but here I find every satisfaction which the case requires or admits of."—P. 84.

"Satisfied as I am at present of the wisdom of recurring to annual parliaments, I shall very readily change that sentiment in favour of triennial, or even septennial ones, provided any one will convince me that either of them is entitled to a preference. After all our differences in opinion, it is truth alone that can do us an essential service."—P. 85.

"I only agree with a very great number of the best and wisest men of the age, when I say that except parliamentary prostitution be done clean away, the liberties of this country have not long to exist.—I have endeavoured to do the duty of a citizen, by attempting to point out the ready means of effecting this great purpose. My fellow-citizens must judge how far I have succeeded, and determine for themselves whether they will neglect them, and sink into slavery, or adopt them and be free. May that Being who gave us our freedom inspire us with a due sense of so transcendent a blessing, and enable us to transmit it unimpaired to our posterity!"—P. 87.

Such were the principles of the author's politi-

cal creed, as laid down in his earliest work on parliamentary reform, and this was also at that time the political creed of many persons distinguished either by their talents and respectability, or by their rank in life.

"TO MAJOR CARTWRIGHT.

"Newington Green, April 2, 1776.

"DEAR SIR,

"I return to you with this the manuscript which you were so good as to put into my hands. I communicated it to Lord Shelburne together with what you said concerning it in your letter. He has read it, and, I believe, approves the proposal it contains. The public, he says, has a right to expect that the leaders of opposition should hold forth to them some public objects which they will bind themselves to do all they can to gain; nor would he be backward in uniting with any respectable men in doing this. Indeed, his conduct, as far as I am acquainted with it, has always shewn this to be true. I am, however, afraid that it will not be easy to get any number of great men, though favourable in their opinions to such a scheme as yours, to be active and zealous in carrying it into execution; nor have I much hope that any great reformation will take place in this country till some calamity comes that shall make us feel more, and awaken us more to reflection.

"I have now been settled for some time at Newington Green, where my home is; and being less

hurried than in London, I feel myself better and happier. Should you ever come this way I shall be obliged to you for calling. I am always at home on Friday in the afternoon. With sincere respect and the best wishes,

"I am, dear Sir,

"Your most obedient and humble Servant,

"RICHARD PRICE."

(FROM THE SAME.)

"Newington Green, November 27, 1776.

"DEAR SIR,

"I cannot help writing to you these few lines to thank you for your last letter, and for the two copies of your pamphlet which have been sent me. I heartily wish it may be attended to; and I am glad to find that it is likely to come to a second edition. I think it fitted to do good; and I have heard it commended by such of my acquaintance as have read it. I endeavour to recommend it to those I converse with. I cannot recollect what I meant when I said in my former letter, that it had a tendency to remove some of the principal objections to short parliaments and an adequate representation. I think it has a great tendency to do this; particularly, the objection to adequate representation taken from its impracticability in the present circumstances of the nation. Many [objections] have been urged against short parliaments, but they are not in my opinion of

great weight. The salvation of the kingdom indeed depends on a reformation of parliament.

"My pamphlet will not, I am afraid, be out of the press till January. I shall send it to you as soon as there are any copies ready. Though I have hitherto succeeded much beyond my expectations, I am full of fears about the publication I have in view, sensible of the caprice of the public. I know my intentions to be good; and I am happy in the consciousness of endeavouring to promote a cause I think important and sacred.

"There has been no particular news from America since the account of taking New York. The action on Lake Champlain I do not think of great consequence. The army will be obliged to return to Montreal and Quebec; and it has, I believe, suffered a good deal by sickness and the want of proper provisions. I feel myself very anxious, and I am waiting with fear and trembling for the next news from New York. Wishing you health and spirits and all possible happiness,

"I am, with much respect,

"Your very humble Servant,

"RICHARD PRICE."

"TO MAJOR CARTWRIGHT.

"London, Tuesday, November 5, 1776.

"DEAR SIR,

"The sense I have of your kind attention in the directions you have given to Mr. Almon greatly adds to the impatience I feel for his speedy

compliance with them; and I can assure you that it is with no small difficulty that I have so far suppressed it as not to inquire of him for this mark of your confidence and regard.

"Till the object of your lucubrations is in some measure accomplished, it is in vain to hope for any such alteration as the friends of the constitution must wish, and I question much whether it might not be adviseable for every honest and virtuous member of this body entirely to withdraw himself from an attendance on measures which it is not in his power to prevent, lest he partake of the too general pollution, or be confounded with the majority of that corrupted mass. This possibly may be one means of bringing the nation to a recollection of the precipice on which it stands, and of preparing it towards a more favourable occasion. But I will not forestall the pleasure I am certain of deriving from the ideas you are so good as to communicate to me upon the subject, and most heartily concur with your correspondent where he forbids a true lover of his country ever to despair. Permit me to assure you that,

"I am, with very sincere regard and esteem,

"Dear Sir,

"Your very faithful friend,

"and humble Servant,

"PORTLAND."

It was in consequence of the publication of "Take your Choice," that its author became ac-

quainted with Charles Duke of Richmond. Expostulating with the then opposition in terms of great earnestness, he says (page 42):

"That man amongst the opposition to the present ruinous men and measures of the court, who shall not immediately pledge himself to the public by the most explicit declarations, and the most sacred assurances to exert himself to the utmost of his power and abilities, and perpetually, so long as he shall live, in attempting to bring about a thorough and complete reformation; and shall not instantly set about it, in preference to every other consideration, is, in my humble opinion, nothing better than a factious demagogue, who cares not that his country sink in the pit of perdition, so long as he can but hope to come in for a share of power and plunder."

With the book in his pocket, and the offensive passage turned down, the Duke introduced himself to the author, complaining vehemently of the uncharitableness and injustice of doubting the integrity of men not yet tried.

The conversation which ensued, and which lasted several hours, had a contrary effect from that generally produced by controversial disputes, for it brought these candid politicians to a complete understanding of each other's sentiments: they parted mutually satisfied, and this singular interview was the origin of their subsequent friendship and cor-

respondence. It is probable that the Duke had previously entertained an opinion, which has since, either from real or affected ignorance, been often promulgated respecting the manners and character of our reformer; who, because he was a man of uncompromising principles in his writings and in his actions, was supposed to be necessarily stern and dogmatical in private life.

Perhaps there never was an instance in one who felt so deeply, of so much calmness, gentleness, and courtesy, as were exhibited in the social habits of Major Cartwright.

His acquaintance with the excellent Granville Sharp has been already alluded to in a former letter. In one, dated 25th January, 1777, he speaks of him again as "a man of singular good sense, active worth, and piety, which you will perceive by various works of his, which I will one day shew you. They are all presents from himself, and as such I esteem them to be invaluable. They breathe nothing but the purest and most genuine love of mankind, a generous ardour in the sacred cause of public freedom, and a truly Christian faith, hope, and charity."

On the 2d of April, 1777, Major Cartwright presented to the King at the levee an address, recommending peace with America, and proposing the union before suggested in his tract entitled "American Independence."

His motives for presenting this address are fully explained in the following confidential epistle to

Miss D., dated 24th March, 1777:—" I hope to be able to leave town some time next week, but cannot as yet be certain. As some of my thoughts are to be communicated to his Majesty, and upon a matter of no small moment, I know not whether I shall be able to absent myself or not. What I now allude to is not the book, but something in manuscript. I heartily wish his Majesty may be wise enough and good enough to pay attention to it, as I am very certain he would find it for his happiness and peace. Nothing of this must transpire at present, as I mean first to consult Lord Dartmouth upon it. I think he will approve of my ideas. If so, I hope that he may influence Lord North, and they together the King. When you shall know the particulars, I am sure you will not wonder at the anxiety I have had about it, nor condemn me for labouring so earnestly on the occasion. You would allow me to steal a little, even from my health, for the forwarding such a business. It will at all events ease my own mind, to think that I have left no step untaken, no labour neglected, towards the accomplishing of my designs for rendering an essential service to the public, and putting a stop to the calamities of war. As Providence frequently brings about the greatest events by the weakest instruments, I am not discouraged by my own insignificance; the mind of the King may be blinded, and his heart impenetrable to the advice of the wisest counsellors; and yet, if the Ruler of Hearts shall think proper to prepare him for it, he may receive instruction from the mouth

26534

of a child: we are no judges of what is possible or impossible in these matters: in the pursuit of laudable objects, and the execution of indispensable duties, we are to do the best in our power, and leave the event to Providence. This ought to be a general answer to those who endeavour to discourage all great attempts against the current of public vices and fashionable habits. 'Swim with the stream', is the doctrine of indolence and indifference; and in dissipated and vicious times, it is the doctrine too of idleness and vice. Luther, in his day, was treated as a visionary, a washer of blackamoors white, a madman; but it is to Luther we owe our religious liberty. And it is a mistake to imagine that the generous opposers of imposition and corruption, disquiet themselves in vain, or make their lives uncomfortable. When, indeed, they are contentious or turbulent on wrong principles, they are themselves impostors, and will be sure to disquiet themselves without a hope of peace or enjoyment. It is not so with those who act on right principles. Seeing themselves neglected or ridiculed, finding themselves foiled in all their attempts, and feeling the sacrifices they make to their duty, they are yet happy in themselves; they enjoy the tranquillity within, and they taste the supreme of all earthly delights, the love and esteem of the virtuous."

It is not surprising that such a mind as is here laid open, should have disregarded and despised all the contempt and obloquy subsequently thrown

upon his character, his understanding, and his motives; or that, during his long career, which extended forty-seven years beyond the period now under consideration, he invariably preserved that serenity of mind, which the world, with all its vanities, can neither give nor take away.

In 1777 was published a second edition of "Take your Choice", which was entitled "The Legislative Rights of the Commonalty Vindicated."

A letter from Major Cartwright to Lord Abingdon was published in this year, and though he endeavoured to controvert some of his Lordship's opinions in it, it appears to have led in the sequel to an acquaintance and friendly intercourse between the parties.

Early in this year the following letters passed between the subject of these Memoirs and Mr. Burke:

"TO EDMUND BURKE, ESQ.

"SIR,

"As I believe I have been formerly made known to you by name (by my friend Captain King of the navy*), I am the less solicitous of seeking a regular introduction to you. I believe

* In a letter dated the 30th of May 1775, Major Cartwright says, "I had yesterday a letter from my friend Captain King. He tells me that gentleman knowing he was acquainted with the writer of 'American Independence,' begged he would make him acquainted with me."

too, that any rational proposal for serving the public, will always furnish a sufficient apology for any one who shall use the liberty of a self-introduction to Mr. Burke. I wish, Sir, very much to have the honour of consulting you on a matter of importance. I would gladly offer to your consideration a measure, to which it is generally understood your sentiments have not been favourable: but be it as it may, I am persuaded, Sir, you will upon mature deliberation approve of it; because its rectitude can, I apprehend, be ascertained, and its expediency, I should hope, could not admit of doubt. The enclosed pamphlet, of which a second edition is wanted to complete the proofs, will convey to you so much of my sentiments as it has yet been convenient to make public. The opinions on the subject which are attributed to you, are those in general I believe of that party in which your political connexions have been more particularly formed. To a man who had attached himself to a set of men he knew not why, or for a worse cause, it might be idle to offer any arguments which tended to overturn their favourite tenets: but, Sir, to one who joins that party which he thinks the right one, whose abilities must give him a leading part in whatever party he espouses, and whose liberality of sentiment and integrity of character also insure his being open to conviction, and that his convictions will ever determine his conduct, it is not a fruitless attempt to point out errors either in principle or in measures. The

greatest and best are liable to errors and oversights, which their inferiors from the particular course of inquiry, can sometimes point out, and they are ever most ready to see and to depart from them. The appearances of impracticability attending the proposal of the pamphlet are mere appearances, for I am convinced it can be made apparent that the design, if properly planned by a small number of those persons to whom the reflecting part of the nation look up for deliverance, in all human probability could not fail.

"Being well assured that the confidence I now or hereafter may repose, will not expose me to any other than your own remarks, whether or not you and I should finally meet in our opinions,

"I remain, Sir,

"With much deference and respect,

"Your obedient Servant,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

"TO JOHN CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

"SIR,

"I am much obliged to my friend Mr. King of the navy, for his kindness on many occasions, but on none more than his being the means of procuring me the honour of your acquaintance. I shall always receive with great docility and thankfulness any instruction relative to my public or private duty; and whenever you will be so good to favour me with a visit, I shall be glad to hear you on the subject of your book, which I have read without knowing it to be yours. I ever had

in very high esteem your integrity and abilities. As to those friends with whom I have generally the satisfaction of acting, I do not know whether their sentiments agree with mine on the subject of your book, or not; or whether they differ more from your opinions than any other description of men. It is natural that great variety of opinions should be entertained upon all speculative ideas for the improvement of the constitution. I am sure I am for my scanty measure of understanding, as great a friend to such improvements when they appear to me such, as any man can be; and when others see more than I do, if I cannot always follow, I never fail to admire and esteem them.

"I have the honour to be, with much regard,
"Sir,
"Your most faithful obedient Servant,
"EDMUND BURKE.

"P. S.—Whenever you inform me of the morning it will suit you to call here, I shall wait for you with great pleasure."

What was the result of this projected conference, or how long any intimacy subsisted between these gentlemen, the writer is ignorant, but it is probable, from the great dissimilarity of character, that it was not of long duration. It is well known that mere accidental circumstances had at that time placed Mr. Burke in communion with the Whigs, and that the strong bias of his mind led him afterwards to adopt and to profess those Tory opinions

which were probably in some measure inherent in his nature.

" TO THE EARL OF SHELBURNE.

" 27th Feb. 1777.

" MY LORD,

" You so very readily caught all my ideas during the short conference I had yesterday the honour of holding with your Lordship, that it is not without some hesitation I venture to say any thing farther upon what I took the liberty of referring to your consideration. The importance however of the last point I spoke to is such, that I should feel to have neglected a duty, were I not to address a few words more to your Lordship on the subject. You seem, my Lord, to fear that it will not be practicable to form the party which we both hold to be wanting, and the only thing that is wanting towards carrying into execution the proposed plan. Now, I am confident, my Lord, and I have reason for saying so, that your Lordship's example, in declaring at once for some certain specific rights of the people, as a basis for some real substantial good to be contended for, would be of all others the readiest means to effect the very union we wish for. Some one person must be the first to make such an explicit declaration; and to him, whoever he shall be, the first and chief honours of the consequent measures will redound. It gave me inexpressible happiness to find my own sentiments, both on the necessity and the practicability (so far as relates to the people) of a reformation in

the sad system of corruption and misgovernment which at present prevails, so fully justified and supported by those of your Lordship: and no less, in that your Lordship should point to the same means in general, as those in which I solely rely for that reformation. A party then, to take the lead in this great but yet easy work is, it seems, all that is wanting. This is the very event I have wished to make myself, in all humility, an instrument in bringing about. Your Lordship's frankness of sentiment and great readiness to meet other respectable men upon this ground, have convinced me that it may be effected. But should other men of first rate consequence decline to join in so noble an undertaking, a sufficient party for the purpose may be formed without them. Whether the people shall receive a plan for restoring to them liberty and security from many or from a few, from several or from one, will to them be very immaterial. The plan, and a pledge of fidelity for carrying it into execution with their assistance, are all they want. One leader of dignity were as good to them as a thousand. Not but that a respectable body of such leaders would be useful to each other, in dividing the labour, and in expediting the work. Their example and their influence would doubtless have its weight; and the fewer there should be left out of the party, the fewer clogs would hang upon the wheels of the undertaking. Had your Lordship, like myself, nothing else at this time to think of, but the means of uniting such a party, I am sure, my Lord, I

should not need to suggest to you, that all men who are actuated by a latent wish to obtain power without any constitutional limitation in favour of the people's liberty, will always be evasive and backward in subscribing to, or declaring for, any plain test of their principles; and will keep as long as they can to general indefinite professions: nor should I need either to suggest that a fair and honest declaration on the part of any one whose rank and consequence must make him a formidable rival, would instantly oblige them to throw aside the cloak of false patriotism, and to act an equally fair and manly part, or for ever to resign all hope of public confidence. Your Lordship's penetration hath discovered the only possible means of obtaining and securing, at this juncture, the confidence of the nation; and I need not say that your magnanimity in declaring your readiness to pledge yourself to the people on essential points, will ensure to your Lordship not only that confidence, but likewise their warmest gratitude and affection. Hence, my Lord, I wish to propose it to your consideration, whether your express declaration in favour of the people's legislative rights as stated in the paper which I have the honour to enclose (or otherwise as truth and justice shall dictate), and that you would be ready, in conjunction with others who might think fit to subscribe to the same, to stand forth in order to vindicate and to recover as much as are lost of these rights; whether these declarations, I say, to be properly communicated

or hinted to other considerable men, would not draw together and unite a party for the purpose sooner than a thousand previous measures of negotiation. Indeed, my Lord, I must needs think it would be decisive. Every intelligent man will see, and your Lordship expressed a similar opinion, that the people properly led must succeed. This being so obvious, your Lordship's declarations once made, other great men would be glad to join you, in order to share the certain popularity, honour and authority which must ultimately be conferred upon those who should be the saviours of their country.

"I take up a great deal of your Lordship's time. In that respect I am truly sorry to obtrude upon you so long a letter; but I must solicit a few moments' farther indulgence. The cause is a great one, and I am sure I have reason to think that it hath no where a truer friend than in your Lordship.

"If I did not misunderstand you my Lord, yesterday, with regard to the something which it is necessary should speedily be done, you seemed to conceive that there were various means by which the constitution of this country might be restored to a state of full freedom and security. If I have mistaken your Lordship's meaning, I beg pardon; but if, my Lord, it was as I understood it to be, I would, with much deference, beg leave to say, I have cause for believing that be those various means what they may, they must all depend upon

one previous step, without which it will be impossible to carry any other into effect to any good or lasting purpose. That one previous step is to restore independency to the House of Commons, by means of re-instating the whole of the commonalty in the possession of their pilfered rights, of an equal representation (in the full sense of those words), and of an annual Parliament. That these are at this day the rights of the people, notwithstanding certain Acts of Parliament, I am inclined to hope is, in a new edition of my pamphlet now in the press, clearly demonstrated by very plain but undeniable arguments. These are in fact the real sum and substance of freedom; and we are free or enslaved precisely in the same proportion as we enjoy or are deprived of these sacred and invaluable rights. Provided this be really demonstrated, it then becomes an axiom, and leaves, as I conceive, no room whatsoever for judgment or opinion. Such a demonstration will be of infinite consequence; because it will make the forming of our wished-for party depend upon a single proposition, to be by each man to whom it shall be offered either assented to or rejected. When the question shall be simply this, 'Will you declare for a demonstrated right upon which public freedom wholly depends, or will you not?' there are few, my Lord, we may presume, who will venture to answer you in the negative.

"It was my happiness to perceive from even a short conversation that your Lordship and myself

think in general too much alike on this most interesting subject, not to be certain of finally agreeing in opinion upon all essential points after a few explanations.

"Hoping that I have not trespassed upon your Lordship beyond your patience, and with sentiments of unfeigned respect and deference I have the honour to remain," &c. &c.

"TO MAJOR CARTWRIGHT.

"Berkeley-square, 7th of March, 1777.

"Lord Shelburne presents his compliments to Major Cartwright: some occurrences have prevented his returning the enclosed papers sooner, which he hopes has proved no inconvenience to Mr. Cartwright.

"He is abundantly sensible of the evils alluded to, of their rapid progress and ruinous consequences. He is also firmly persuaded that in several important points they admit of remedy with perfect safety and practicability; but the present distractions, and Lord Shelburne's fixed determination against taking any lead, oblige him to go no farther than highly to applaud the zeal of an individual who can accomplish the bringing such constitutional considerations before the public, whose conviction can alone effectuate such articles of reform."

The reader will observe by referring to the Appendix [No. V.] that Lord Shelburne, three years

after the date of this note, declared, "That the House of Commons must be free in every circumstance of its constitution; and that the rights of the people, if pushed to their utmost extent, consisted in annual elections, and a total change of the representation."

Among Major Cartwright's most intimate associates was Thomas Lord Effingham, whose refusal to serve in the American war arising from the same conscientious feeling as that which had prompted his friend to refuse the offer of Lord Howe, necessarily occasioned a great sympathy between them.

This nobleman distinguished himself as a volunteer in the war between Russia and Turkey, and particularly in the memorable engagement with the Turks, July 6, 1770, when the whole (one ship excepted, which was taken) of the Turkish fleet was burnt in Cisme-bay on the coast of Anatolia. He died in 1791 in the island of Jamaica, of which he was governor, and where his memory, still cherished with feelings of gratitude and respect, was honoured by a monument erected at the public expence.

"TO JOHN CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

"Grange, March, 1777.

"DEAR SIR,

"As much as I agree with you in thinking our present situation a most alarming one, I cannot be of your opinion in believing my presence in

town could in any way conduce to the bettering of it.

"I see not the least reason to suppose that any material change in the course of events, so long and so often foretold, is likely to take place. The chain of them has been hitherto uninterrupted. They must at last open the eyes of kings, ministers, and people, but whether soon enough or not to prevent the miseries I apprehend, what man can tell? God only knows to what calamities He may have devoted us.

"I thank you for your news, which seems to convince me still farther, that it is right in the present conjuncture rather to wait events than to promote any discussions, and my reason for thinking so is this: the people in general do not see the future ruin which is likely to be the consequence of our present conduct, they are made to believe that factious views alone occasion opposition.—The more that opposition stirs, the more is the heat kept up which prevents them from judging coolly. If we are for a time silent, they will soon be alarmed, if matters go on in this absurd way; and should administration change its course and pursue the true interest of our country, I, for one, shall be glad to see it. My only apprehension is, that the Tory can more easily add a hair to his head, or a cubit to his stature, than he can so far put off his nature, as to feel any love for liberty himself or tolerate it in others. The violence of the Tories will do more for the constitution than the best

conducted efforts of an opposition in the present temper of men.

"I think Lord North's life is at present of great consequence to the country, for though I do not, by any means, like him as a minister, yet if I have any guess at his successor, the evil spirit will return with seven spirits worse than himself.

"Excuse this hasty scrawl. I believe the whole college of physicians has not a hard named disorder under which some of my household do not labour at present, so that the few healthy are scarcely able to take care of the sick. The business of the farm and plantations keeps me in the number of the former, in spite of all the efforts of anxiety to place me among the latter.

"I wish our friend Dr. Price would communicate to me, or rather to the public, his ideas of the present state of the unfunded debt. I hear he has lately published something. I wish you would order Almon to send it me, together with half a dozen of 'Take your Choice.' I beg you will give me the earliest information you can about the budget; and believe me,

"Dear Sir,

"Your affectionate friend,

"EFFINGHAM."

Of a pamphlet written in the preceding year by Dr. Price, Major Cartwright thus speaks, in a letter to Miss D.: "Do you know that a pamphlet is come out by the celebrated Dr. Price, which

asserts and justifies every material principle laid down in 'American Independence.' The authority of his name has run it rapidly through three editions, and the doctrines are laid down with so much clearness and simplicity that I do not find any one hardy enough to dispute them. I called upon Dr. Price in order to have a little conversation with him on the subject. My visit was very short, but we shall probably have more conversation the next time I find myself at liberty to visit him. There is a very remarkable agreement in our sentiments, although he has a great superiority in the mode of communicating his own. It is enough for me, however, that I was the first to oppose the universal opinion and the express declarations of both houses of parliament in actual law, as well as resolves, and that I am now supported by one of the clearest and strongest writers of the age."

"TO MISS C.

"December 16, 1777.

"MY DEAR SISTER,

"There are accounts by way of France, that General Vaughan has performed the second part of Burgoyne's play of 'Ground your Arms,' and that Sir William Howe has been severely handled by Washington, and was glad to reach his ships in safety.

"These accounts are however not yet confirmed. There is great consternation at St. James's, where I mean to pay a visit to-morrow, and shall look his

Majesty in the face with very different feelings from those who have betrayed him into this wicked and unjust war. It is with infinite satisfaction I reflect on the step I took last year, as I find the wisest and best men now adopt the plan I was the first to propose nearly four years ago, of entering into an alliance with the colonies as independent states.

"In consequence of what I have published, I have had the honour of being consulted by men who, to all appearance, may be called upon shortly by his Majesty to save his kingdom. I mention this in order to shew some of your friends that I am in no danger (as they suppose) of being hanged."

"TO MISS D.

"London, 26th March, 1778.

"In answer to your letter of the 23d, so far as it relates to war with France and America, I might refer you to my last, as well as I recollect, for therein, I believe, I gave you my intentions with regard to serving at sea. We had before this made the Americans as much our enemies as it was possible they should be, by carrying into their country fire and sword on principles as iniquitous as ever actuated the most abominable tyrants. In their present transaction with France, so far as it is made public, they have done nothing but what they have a right to do; no more hath France. If they choose to trade with each other, they have a right so to do, and if we go to war with France

upon *that* account, it will be a heavy addition to our national criminality. Should France, on the other hand, declare war against us, in order only to prevent a reconciliation between this country and her colonies, theirs will be the criminality; and, *with regard to them*, a war on our part might then be justifiable. But still, there will be no criminality on the part of America, because she was driven to arms in her own just defence, and has a right to avail herself of any assistance she can procure. In saying that, with regard to France, a war on our part *might be justifiable*, provided she commenced it unjustly, I am not sure that I do not say a great deal too much: for it would be a consequence of our own wicked conduct towards America; and we, doubtless, ought to do every reparation that is possible, instead of continuing to desolate the earth, and to spill the blood of mankind, by engaging in new wars upon which our very preservation does not immediately depend. Under such circumstances nothing but self-preservation can in any degree justify a war. Offensive war, by which I mean a war not entered into through necessity and for self-defence, is always wicked and foolish; and when we have brought ourselves into the necessity of engaging in a new war for self-defence, by first wantonly engaging in an offensive war of the most unnatural and criminal nature, it seems to me to be an aggravation of our crime. As to France being our '*professed* enemy,' or, as some call her, our '*natural* enemy',

those are only the words of prejudice. When the spilling of blood is the business in hand, and the welfare of nations is at stake, we must not be carried away by prejudices or passion, but take care to keep in the straight line of rectitude. There is a book that you and I have a respect for, which tells us that all men are our brethren, and that we should do to others as we would that others should do to us. If politicians would make these simple maxims the rules of their political conduct, there would be no such infernality as war in the world. The mere circumstance of France making war upon this kingdom, can make no difference in the right or the wrong between us and America, and therefore, men who have acted from reflection and principle, will not condemn America now more than heretofore. But, notwithstanding I think this kingdom has been the aggressor, I will nevertheless use my sword against either Frenchman or American who shall invade this country.

"I am informed that almost every power in Europe has already acknowledged the independency of America, and that a very late treaty with Franklin has been *attempted*. His answer was: 'You *are making war* upon us, and with *you* I have no powers to treat: you must send to America, if you desire to be at peace.' I hear other things too, that have passed not many *hours* since in the cabinet; from which I am inclined to think the king would now employ any men in the room of his present ministers who would *undertake*

the conduct of public affairs. I understand too, that there is an idea of having recourse to a new parliament."

It appears by his correspondence with Capel Lofft, Esq. and the Duke of Richmond, and by the following letter from the Earl of Abingdon*, that Major Cartwright was anxious, in the year 1778, to form what he entitled 'A Society of Political Enquiry', a plan in which many distinguished persons seem to have taken great interest; but though this object was not at that time accomplished, it is probable that these exertions laid the foundation of the 'Society for Constitutional Information', which was afterwards instituted in 1780.

"Wimpole Street, March 19, 1778.

"SIR,

"Although I heartily approve your plan for a more equal representation of the people, yet I cannot think that the Members of Parliament, and particularly of the House of Lords, are persons quite so proper to be of that *Society of Enquiry* which you propose, in order to this end. Whatever is to be done in this way, must come before them in their legislative capacities, and then is the time for them to shew their zeal for the constitution and regard for the public. In the mean time it is

* Of this nobleman's virtue and integrity Major Cartwright speaks in terms of high commendation in his 'Constitution Produced and Illustrated', p. 357.

the duty of the people at large to consider of this business, and to obtain it, either by representation to parliament, or if that would not do, as it certainly would not with the present parliament, by making it *a sine qua non* at the next general election of representatives. I have only to add that, whenever this matter shall fall under my contemplation in parliament, the preservation of the liberties of the people, and a restoration of the constitution, will be the strict rules of my conduct.

"I am, Sir, with great respect,

"Your most obedient humble Servant,

"ABINGDON."

In the latter end of the year 1778, when the Major was on duty at Hull, he received an invitation from some of the leading burgesses of Nottingham, to stand for that town; and though, in his reply, he earnestly recommended them to look among themselves for a proper candidate to transact their own business, they persisted in repeating the invitation with a considerable appearance, as it should seem, of success. Mr. Abel Smith having, however, unexpectedly offered himself, they addressed to Major Cartwright the following letter:

"SIR,

"It is with undiminished attachment to you, and gratitude for the noble part you have ever taken in the cause of your injured country, that we at present address you; though the subject of our

address be neither welcome to ourselves nor to you. Mr. Smith has, contrary to all expectation, for some days past, declared himself a candidate, and your friends, though as affectionately and heartily devoted to you as friends can be, find themselves obliged to recommend it to your consideration, whether it be not adviseable to decline. Those who join in this recommendation are, at all events, the friends of you and their country; but there are other names of considerable weight, which Mr. Smith's appearance draws after it: but, Sir, we desire you not to be mistaken; we are still united to pursue the same object, and have your interest at a future period, steadily in view.

"We wish to act as one individual in the present contest, and to shew, if possible, our consequence, that it may in the next instance appear with more eclat. This, Sir, we very respectfully submit to your decision, and if you join in opinion with us, you will favour us with a short address to the freeholders. If you think otherwise, they desire to assure you of their individual attachment; and that, as things are circumstanced, they can better promote your interest than by voting for you on the present occasion.

"We are, Sir, with much esteem,

"Your faithful friends,

"And most obedient servants."

In this year Major Cartwright was proposed for the county of Nottingham; and so great was the

anxiety of his father for his success, that he offered him a very considerable sum towards the attainment of this object, besides supplying him with the necessary qualification. Among many others, the following letter from Sir Cecil Wray deserves to be inserted. He seems to have been of the opinion of Major Cartwright himself, who could not endure to hear what he called the *hypocritical slang* of those who deprecate every attempt to make an election independent, as, in their opinion, "*disturbing the peace of the county.*"

"DEAR SIR,

"I had the honour of yours, with the Address to the Freeholders of Nottingham inclosed. I should have been extremely happy to have had either vote or interest in that county, to have given my testimony in favour of one, whose political principles merit the assistance of every well-wisher to the constitution; but not being possessed of either, I fear I can be of no service than by my wishes for your success.

"To deliver a county from oppression is an honour that falls to the lot of few: I own I envy you the attempt.

"I am, with the greatest respect, &c.

"CECIL WRAY."

It need hardly be stated, that he did not succeed in this object of his ambition; and he had to learn, in more than one instance during his long life, that

in the present system of elections, neither acknowledged purity of character, independent situation in life, nor even an undeviating devotion to the public weal, were always the best and most necessary qualifications for a candidate to possess.

Upon this occasion Mr. Meadows was his successful opponent, and was supported by the Duke of Portland, to whom Major Cartwright thus writes in December, 1778:

"MY LORD,

"I was duly honoured with your Grace's two letters of the 6th and 12th of last month. As I think, my Lord, you must imagine they would not be entirely satisfactory to me; and as I like frankness on such occasions, I take the liberty of communicating to your Grace my sentiments on the subject of them. Your Grace has mentioned the respect you bear Mr. Meadows's private character, and an alliance between your families, as the motives to your determination in his favour. It is probable enough that, in the private character of that gentleman, there were motives sufficient to a preference; but as far as family alliances were concerned, I am told I have the honour to be a nearer relation to your Grace, and to your Duchess, by two or three degrees, than Mr. Meadows is; but I did not think of seeking into my pedigree for my pretensions to a seat in Parliament. Nor shall I think you wrong in opposing either Mr. Meadows or myself, on any future occasion, in favour of an entire stranger in blood, so long as you shall act

under the persuasion of doing the best for the public good; on the contrary, I shall hold it to be the only rule to be followed in every case."

Major Cartwright then proceeds to state his reasons for expecting the support of the whig interest, and thus continues:—

"Defeated, indeed, I have been on a late occasion; but while I breathe, I will never be disquieted, nor desert what I think my duty to the public. I shall keep my word with the town of Nottingham, in offering myself at the next vacancy, and shall stand a poll at all events. When your Grace warned me against a second disappointment, I hope the word did not include the ideas of personal mortification and repentance; for on both occasions I had ample amends made me for all that I hazarded, and it is with truth I can declare, that, when I left the Moot Hall at Mansfield, I would not have exchanged feelings with any man there, if I might have had his estate into the bargain.

"By the freedom of my expostulations on this and former occasions, you will perceive, my Lord, that I am far from flattering any man with insinuations, that their political conduct must always be right because they are whigs, and opposed to a set of very bad ministers. So nearly concerned as I have been in the event on the late occasion, I feel myself justified in having given your Grace my

sincere opinions. I hope I have done it as becomes me, to a man I have always esteemed and respected independent of his rank. That I have my own political errors, I doubt not. But I know I wish to be informed of them; for to injure one's country while one endeavours to serve it, must be equally distressing and humiliating to a man of principle.

"Anxiously hoping that no such fatal errors may continue to mislead either of us,

"I have the honour to be, my Lord,

"Your Grace's most obedient

"humble Servant,

"J. CARTWRIGHT."

During this year and the one following (1779) Major Cartwright was actively employed in the duties of the militia; but in the course of his services he seems to have experienced much neglect, and to have been fated to see others, less zealous, placed over his head.

"TO MISS D.

"April 4, 1778.

"I was not much in spirits when my last went to post. The immediate causes of uneasiness, then fresh in my mind, arose from the complicated injuries I had received on a late occasion, and at the time strong appearances that the jealousies of others would counteract and suppress my future attentions and activity in the discharge of my duty to my regiment.

"After the most unremitting assiduities in that respect, ever since I had my commission, and bearing so great a burthen from the non-attendance of those who ought to have taken their share, I thought it enough to be denied, through unworthy motives, that advancement to which I had the fairest pretensions; and, was nevertheless determined, and anxiously bent, to exert myself to the utmost as formerly: but when I saw myself watched in every motion, counteracted in my attempts to forward the service, and regulations set aside merely because they originated with me, &c. it appeared to me that I was likely to be rendered, in a great measure, useless to the public in the station that I held; and was to incur the discredit of neglecting the regiment, when the fault lay with others in tying my hands. These reflections and their attendants were full of bitterness. But I have to thank that Power who guideth the spirits of men, that I have been enabled to suppress my *personal* feelings, and to regulate my conduct, so as to shew that I seek not to make any returns of ill offices, and am as much as ever devoted to forward the discipline and prosperity of the regiment; and it is with much satisfaction I find that the jealousy and distrust of me seems to abate."

During the remainder of this year he was encamped at South Sea Common, and formed, on the spur of the occasion, when the British Fleet retreated into harbour before the combined fleets

of France and Spain, that plan of defence in which were united both naval and military operations, and to the merit of which both the Duke of Richmond and General Debbieg bore the most unequivocal testimony.

The Duke of Richmond's opinion of this plan may be seen in the following extracts, from his correspondence at this time.

"I am very much obliged to you for the very ingenious and noble plan you have sent me for the defence of Portsmouth, which, for the most part, as well as your reasonings on the subject, entirely coincide with my ideas.

"In respect also of your plan for the defence of the Passage of the Needles, I agree with you that batteries are far preferable to the sinking of ships," &c.

"With regard to the other part of your letter and plan of rendering the House of Commons a true representation of the people, I have, from the beginning, thought it founded upon true principles, and such as, if executed, would bid fairest of any I know to destroy corruption and restore vigour to the constitution. My great difficulty has always been how your plan, or anything like it, can ever be carried into execution. I almost despair that any House of Commons constituted like the present could be induced to pass such a self-denying law. I am convinced that nothing but an irresistible cry from without doors, could in-

duce them to vote it. I can scarce hope that the present electors, who have a foolish vanity from the partiality in their favour, would instruct their members to abridge them of what they call their privileges, and it requires men of very peculiar talents to be able to convince a whole nation of their real interest, and to act with one voice in support of it. However, I am far from refusing myself to any reasonable attempt. I have constantly, in conversation, endeavoured to prepare the minds of the people for such a consideration; and I am at this time engaged in forming a plan which, I believe, would very much coincide with your opinions. I can by no means engage for its success, or even to produce it, as in matters of this sort many and various considerations must be weighed, and the result of them only can determine whether it is prudent at the moment to make the attempt or to remain silent. I shall be happy if I can bring my schemes to any degree of consistency, to communicate them to you, for I assure you, Sir, that your reasonings have great weight with me, and I shall be very glad to have your approbation in any step I take.

"I am, &c.
"RICHMOND."

"November 5, 1779."

Of the plan which he drew out for the defence of the dock-yard at Portsmouth, he speaks in a letter written in this year: "I gave the General a sketch of my plan on Friday—as it depends on

naval operations it was no affront to my General to assume the character of a voluntary counsellor. —At second hand, I have been told it met with both his and the admiral's approbation; but a more unequivocal information, was the order for fitting out fire-ships as I had recommended, a short time after the delivery of my proposal."

In the year 1779 the indefatigable mind of the Major was also employed in forming a plan for naval surveying calculated to ascertain, with tolerable precision, the different movements of a fleet during action.

The writer has been informed that something of the same nature was introduced by Buonaparte in order that his aides-de-camp might be able to take down correct memoranda on the field of battle; but as such a plan has not yet been adopted in our own navy, it is given in the Appendix, that the public may be able to form an opinion of its practicability.

It seems evident, from the remarks introduced by its author at the beginning of the paper of explanation, that such a mode of giving, after an engagement, an exact view of the manœuvres made use of, would be very desirable. It might clear up points of difficulty, and perhaps rescue from undeserved censure that which to a British officer is dearer than life, his honour and reputation.

Though in his own private business Major Cartwright sometimes neglected those precautions

which less confiding persons think necessary, yet, in his correspondence on political subjects, he was more methodical, and preserved letters and papers to an immense amount.

Relating to the events of the year 1780, however, so few documents have been found, that the writer has relied on information collected from other sources.

The year commenced with a general meeting of the county of Nottingham for a redress of grievances, of which he was the original mover. Though beset by solicitations from persons of consideration not to persevere in what they considered as an useless attempt, and with prognostics of defeat arising from the influence of government, and the supposed deficiency of public spirit, he persisted in the attempt, and it is singular that the very persons who, the night before, had vehemently urged him to give up his resolutions, were the loudest in their rejoicings when the object of the meeting was accomplished, congratulating themselves as if the success had been solely the result of their own exertions. This, however Major Cartwright might be amused in his own mind, did not give him a shadow of uneasiness. He had none of the jealousy of a party-man, nor ever aimed at being a political leader. If what he desired were but accomplished, it mattered not to him who took the credit of it. "Be assured that, provided the motion be made," says he, in a letter

to a friend in the year 1814, "I had always rather support than move."

The meeting was numerously attended, and a petition to Parliament, and a committee of correspondence voted. The Duke of Portland was chairman of this committee; and his brother, Lord Edward Bentinck, was afterwards delegated to assist at the convention of deputies from the petitioning counties, towns and cities. Though denied the honour of serving the town of Nottingham in Parliament, Major Cartwright was appointed their deputy by the burgesses of that place, in common hall assembled, for the purpose of consulting with the other deputies on all subjects tending to promote parliamentary reform.

On the 20th of March, 1780, at the Westminster Committee, held at the King's Arms Tavern, were passed those resolutions on the state of the representation which have been alluded to incorrectly by Mr. Moore in his Life of Sheridan. That gentleman, speaking of Mr. Fox, says it may be doubted whether he was a sincere friend to the principle of reform; "aware," he continues, "that the *wild* scheme of Cartwright and others, which these resolutions recommended, was wholly impracticable*.

* Mr. Moore's opinion on the subject of Mr. Fox's insincerity in the cause of reform is confirmed by the following passage from Major Cartwright's Memorandum Book: "On Sunday the 10th of April, 1814, Earl Stanhope informed me that in conversation with Mr. Fox and a third person, Mr. Fox said 'Par-

He always took refuge in it when pressed upon the subject, and would laughingly advise his political friends to do the same: "whenever any one", he would say, "proposes to you a specific plan of reform, always answer that you are for nothing short of annual parliaments and universal suffrage, then you are safe."

After reading Mr. Moore's inconsiderate remark (to use the mildest term), on "the *wild* scheme of Cartwright and others," it will be curious to observe, that in his anxiety to sneer at the memory of Major Cartwright, he did not even give himself the trouble to consult these resolutions. In Wyvill's Political Papers, Vol. I. p. 217, they are given as follows: and it will be seen that they are confined to the duration of Parliament, and that the words "universal suffrage" are not to be found in them:

"*Resolved*—That annual parliaments are the undoubted right of the people of England; and that the act which prolonged their duration was subversive of the constitution, and a violation, on the part of the representatives, of the sacred trust reposed in them by their constituents.

"*Resolved*—That the present state of the representation of this country is inadequate to the ob-

liamentary reform was a fit thing to be made use of in argument in the House of Commons, but not to be carried into execution." Lord Stanhope also mentioned the same fact to Major Cartwright's friend, Mr. Holt White, and in the same words.

ject, and a departure from, the first principles of the constitution.

"*Resolved*—That thanks be given to the Chairman* and Members of the sub-committee, for the very intelligent report made by them of the state of the representation of this country, and the duration of parliaments.

"*Resolved*—That the report of the sub-committee be printed, and copies sent to the several committees of the counties, cities and boroughs of this kingdom.

"C. J. FOX, CHAIRMAN."

In the spring of the year 1780 our politician accomplished, with the assistance of Capel Lofft, Esq. and Dr. John Jebb, his long wished-for object of establishing a society for constitutional information; and its first address was of his composition.

Among its members were Dr. Price, Mr. Granville Sharp, Mr. Rutt†, Mr. Rogers, Dr. Brocklesby, Mr. Bridgen (son-in-law to the author of Sir Charles Grandison), Mr. Bentley (partner of Mr. Wedgwood), Thomas Brand Hollis, Esq. General Fitzpatric, M.P., Lord Surrey (afterwards Duke

* R. B. Sheridan, Esq.

† This gentleman took an active part in the public meeting held at the Crown and Anchor, June 20th, 1825, for promoting subscriptions towards the erection of a monument to the memory of Major Cartwright. In the "Commonwealth in Danger", p. 138, Major Cartwright mentions this gentleman's having seconded him in a motion for the society to resume its proceedings for Parliamentary reform.

of Norfolk), the Earl of Derby, the Earl of Effingham, the Duke of Richmond, Sir Barnard Turner, Sir Cecil Wray, M.P., Mr. Trecothick, William Smith, Esq. M.P., the Earl of Selkirk, Lord Kinnaird, Lord Daer, Lord Sempill, Sir James Norcliffe (afterwards Duke of Roxburgh), Sir John Carter, Sir Watkin Lewes, M.P.; Alderman Sawbridge, Alderman Hayley, Alderman Crosby, Sir William Plomer, Alderman Kirkman, B. Vaughan, Esq., M.P., Sir John Sinclair, M.P., R. B. Sheridan, Esq. M.P., W. Plumer, Esq. M.P., R. S. Milnes, Esq. M.P., Sir W. Middleton, Bart. M.P., Sir Joseph Mawbey, M.P., Jervoise Clerke Jervoise, Esq. M.P., Sir Watts Horton, Joshua Grigby, Esq. M.P., Philip Dehany, Esq. M.P., Thomas Day, Esq. (author of Sandford and Merton), Dr. Kentish, Dr. Towers, Dr. Edwards, Dr. Melville, Mr. Serjeant Bond, Mr. Stratford Canning (uncle to the Right Honourable G. Canning), the Rev. Christopher Wyvill, George Rous, Esq., William Cunningham, Esq., W. Sturch, Esq., &c. &c.

Major Cartwright was the author of a "Declaration of Rights", published and distributed, about this time, by the above-mentioned society, and which he afterwards published with symbolical ornaments, engraved from his own designs by the masterly hand of his friend William Sharp*.

* This amiable and eccentric character died in the same year with his old friend and political associate. Though his frequent endeavours to convert Major Cartwright to a belief in his fa-

Of this Declaration, Sir William Jones said, "it ought to be written in letters of gold"; and little as Major Cartwright was accustomed to boast of, or even to remember, any circumstance which was flattering to his vanity, he found great pleasure in relating, that the immortal Chatham, in the presence of General Oglethorpe, emphatically exclaimed, on perusing it, "Aye, this is right; this is very right."—"These words", says he, in a published letter to Mr. Wyvill, "the General reported to Mr. Granville Sharp and myself, at Mr. William Sharp's, in the Old Jewry." That he should have felt both pride and pleasure in the approbation of such a man, is not surprising; especially as he never spoke of that great orator and statesman without evident emotion. It was, indeed, one of Major Cartwright's peculiarities, that the mention of whatever was great and noble in human nature always powerfully affected him. If, in reading aloud to his family, any thing of this kind occurred, his voice faltered, and he was frequently obliged to lay down the book.

In "The People's Barrier against Undue Influence and Corruption", published in 1780, he begins by laying down the maxims on which political knowledge is founded; and each maxim is drawn from the authority of some writer on government of acknowledged reputation. He then proceeds

vourite prophets and prophetesses were fruitless, yet their friendly intercourse continued through life; and Sharp often expressed a great desire to engrave the portrait of the reformer.

to demonstrate that parliaments were originally annual, and the birthright of Englishmen; at the same time taking care to maintain, that though the English had *antient* right to plead in behalf of their claim, yet that they possessed, also, an *inherent* right, exclusive of any such antient precedent. He then shews the innovations which had taken place, and the regular system by which the rights of the people had been continually and gradually infringed; concluding, by declaring that a reformation of these corrupt abuses was practicable; and by giving draughts of two acts for that purpose, and which, in fact, are the ground-work of his "Bill of Rights and Liberties", published forty years after the period now under consideration. At the end of the work is an Address to the Freeholders of Middlesex, in which he argues with great force against the meanness and selfishness which would object to give privileges to others, because such concessions would narrow their own.

"With regard", he says, "to the common right of nature, we are all equal; nor can we think it any degradation to ourselves, that the poorest persons in the community should enjoy, in common with ourselves, the natural means of self-preservation, and any of those blessings bestowed by our Creator equally and freely to all.

"Will the fountain be less grateful to our palate, because it slakes the thirst of the poor and laborious part of mankind?

"Will the air we breathe be less refreshing and

beneficial, because it is enjoyed in common with the cottager? Nor should we conceive our rights and franchises in any way abridged, our dignity lessened, or our liberty less dear to us, were every Englishman, from the prince to the peasant, to enjoy, in common with ourselves, the privilege of voting for a legislative guardian, which is the birth-right of us all."—P. 133.

The summer of this year was spent by the Nottinghamshire militia at Ranmer Heath; and while there he received the news of the death of Lady Tyrconnel; of which he thus speaks, in a letter to one of his sisters, dated 21st July, 1780:

"Having flattered myself that Buxton would yet restore to us our dearest aunt, your letter has given me a shock for which I was not prepared.—It is properly agreed to consider her as a parent; for indeed she was no less in affection to us.—I had for some time past indulged a wish, that health and tranquil pleasure might have brightened the evening of her days;—there is a pang in the disappointment. But she is better rewarded for her singular virtue. If any creature on earth ever loved God and her neighbour with Christian sincerity, it was this excellent woman. When the cords of nature are cut asunder, nature must feel: but I would much rather, than not, have the satisfaction to remember that I once had such a relation.—It is impossible not to feel an inclination

that her remains should be deposited according to her wish; but I hope some memorial of her will be erected in Marnham Church."

In the autumn of 1780 he again received an invitation to stand for Nottingham.

One event of a private nature, which occurred during this year, yet remains to be noticed.

On the 12th of November he obtained the hand of Anne Katharine Dashwood, eldest daughter of Samuel Dashwood, Esq. of Well Vale, in Lincolnshire.

To this lady's unceasing care and tenderness, it may be said, that, under Providence, he was indebted for the prolongation of his days beyond the usual period of the age of man: to her, as he himself declared, he owed the chief happiness of his life; and she administered to his comfort to the last moments of his existence. Circumstances connected with family settlements and arrangements, had deferred their union during a period of nine years; but they were repaid for this tedious delay, by forty-four years of domestic harmony and comfort. More, much more, might be said on this subject; but the writer must consult the feelings of one whose wish it has ever been to avoid public notice.

While the convention sat in London in the year 1781, Major Cartwright wrote "Letters to the Deputies", on the inequality of representation, and the inadequacy and inexpediency of petitions to

Parliament for a mere reform of public expenditure.

The greater part of the year 1781 was spent by Major and Mrs. Cartwright with the militia, which was encamped at Gosport; and at the close of it they were recalled into Nottinghamshire, by the death of Mr. Cartwright, of Marnham.

It has been already hinted, that he was a particular favourite with the old gentleman; and at one time it was understood that a will had been made chiefly in his favour.

In a letter to Miss Dashwood, 15th March, 1772, he informs her, that being afraid that his father's intentions with regard to himself were but too favourable, he had taken measures to prevent his brothers from suffering by this partiality: which affords proof (if any were wanting) of that habitual integrity of heart and mind which, in every transaction of his life, both public and private, always regulated his conduct.

What induced his father afterwards to alter this intention, it is impossible now to say; but certain it is, that the former will was cancelled, and a new one made, which bears date 25th January, 1778, and by which George Cartwright, his then eldest son, became his executor and heir to his principal estate.

This gentleman having been particularly unfortunate in his speculations in Labrador, where an American privateer had, in 1778, carried off almost all his property; and his affairs being, in

consequence, extremely embarrassed, he proposed to his brother John, that the family affairs should be all placed in his hands, in order that he might return to Labrador.

The estate of Marnham was therefore sold by auction, and by the sale of a farm he had received as a qualification for the militia, and by borrowing a large sum of money, Major Cartwright was enabled to become the purchaser.

He then took up his abode at the family mansion, and devoted himself, with his usual unremiting assiduity, to the arrangement of those complicated affairs, which his father's numerous speculations, and a series of ill health arising from paralytic attacks, had left in a very confused condition.

The writer has been assured by an eye-witness, that for nearly a twelvemonth, he seldom worked less than eleven hours a-day; but at length he had the comfort of concluding the business to his satisfaction, and of becoming what he remained to the end of his life, the disinterested friend and judicious adviser of all who were connected with him*.

His political correspondence during this year

* In a letter received while occupied in the compilation of these pages, one of his surviving sisters remarks to the writer, "He was as near perfection as human nature would allow, and even in childhood, I well remember that even we, his elder brothers and sisters, looked up to him with mingled affection and respect. I also well remember that our grandfather used to remark 'that he was born to be the father of the family.'"

seems to have consisted chiefly of letters between the Duke of Richmond and himself. In one of these he assures the Duke of Lord Shelburne's sincerity in the cause of reform. "In a conversation I have had with him," says he, "he emphatically declared, that where your Grace leads, he will follow."

In this year began the acquaintance between our reformer and that excellent man, the Reverend Christopher Wyvill, who introduced himself by sending a copy of his second address to the Committee of Association to Major Cartwright, at the same time assuring him that "if it obtained his approbation, few circumstances could afford him higher satisfaction, or a better hope of success."

During a short absence from home in January 1781, he writes to Mrs. Cartwright:

"You ask mé if any thing satisfactory in *my* political world has occurred. On Friday morning I attended the Westminster committee, where faction reared her head and gave me some uneasiness, as the wished-for reformation must be retarded, while the patriots secretly obstruct it. But the evening gave me complete amends for the morning's vexation. At the society for constitutional information, (which does me the honour to call me its founder, and in that character my name was enrolled in its proceedings when I was absent, and my health drunk as such,) I had the satisfaction to hear read an admirable oration which is shortly to

be circulated as a new address to the public; and such was the eloquence of the composition, the wisdom of the sentiments, and the unanimous admiration of all present, that I felt my warmest ideas on the subject of patriotism realized on the occasion. There was not, I believe, a man present, who looked not down with contempt on faction, and on the littleness of every party which has not at heart the universal happiness and freedom of mankind.

"Our society bids fair in time to become a constellation of genius and patriotism. While I can associate with such men as these, and at home enjoy the society of one who shares in all my thoughts, I shall not envy any human being. Provided Heaven do but bestow on me tolerable health, the sun will seldom shine upon a happier man.

"My regimen has been very useful to me, and by care and temperance I hope to recruit my shattered constitution very considerably. But such as I may be, whether worse or better, I trust my life may be made instrumental to the happiness of others."

It was in this year that his plan for raising the Royal George was submitted to Lords Howe and Keppel, besides other persons connected with the navy department; but though it was allowed by all to be the best which had been offered to Government, it is needless to say that it was never attended

to, and that the noble ship still lies buried in the deep, in which it was so suddenly engulphed.

In order to avoid repetition, many attempts made during the foregoing period, from 1772 to 1781, for the adoption of a plan for the supply of naval timber*, have been omitted, and for the same reason, a variety of vexations which Major Cartwright experienced relative to his promotion in the militia are passed over. It is sufficient to remark, that no disappointment, no injustice, no ill usage of any kind, ever relaxed his efforts, or abated the constancy of his zeal.

On the 28th February, 1782, a meeting was held at the Moot Hall, Mansfield, in the county of Nottingham, at which a petition for an inquiry into the abuses of the House of Commons was agreed upon, and the following gentlemen were appointed as a committee to carry the resolutions into effect:

The Duke of Portland.	The Rev. J. Disney.
Lord Edward Bentinck.	Mr. Aclam.
Lord George Sutton.	Mr. John Cartwright.
Mr. George Sutton.	Mr. Sikes.
Mr. Thomas Sutton.	Mr. Pocklington.
Mr. Charles Sutton†.	Mr. Pocklington, (of Carlton).
Mr. Hewett.	Mr. Hewish.
Mr. Disney Fytche.	

* Even so late as the year 1801, we shall see him again writing to a minister (the present Lord Sidmouth), on the timber plan.

† Of this gentleman (now primate of England), Mr. Cartwright thus speaks, in a letter dated 16th September, 1773: "He is a most sensible, ingenuous, modest youth, thirsting after knowledge and virtue, of which he already possesses no small share."

Sir George Savile.	Mr. Meadows.
Mr. Althorpe.	The Rev. E. Cartwright.
Mr. Neville.	Mr. Gilbert Cooper.

Major Cartwright was also the chief promoter of another meeting which took place on the 28th of October in the same year, at the Moot Hall, for a petition to Parliament for a more equal representation of the people in the Commons House. The requisition to the sheriff was signed as follows:

George Sutton (Right Hon. Lord).	W. Dickenson Rastall.
J. G. Cooper.	John Cartwright.
Joseph Pocklington.	George Savile.
	Launcelot Robinson.

In the *General Adventurer* and *Morning Intelligencer* of July 1782, is the following passage relative to the part taken in a meeting held at Westminster, by the subject of these Memoirs. "Major Cartwright then brought forward three resolutions relating to the rights of the people to a more perfect representation, which were agreed to. He also supported the petition in a long and able speech."

Of this speech, a gentleman present * gives the following account, in a letter addressed to the Rev. Edmund Cartwright:

"I was most agreeably entertained on the 17th of last month, in Westminster Hall; when Mr.

* The Rev. Mr. Beville.

Fox called together his electors, to apologize for his late resignation.

"Though the day was remarkably rainy, the assembly was numerous and respectable. The member was attended by Dr. Jebb, Major Cartwright, Mr. John Townshend, and several others. Your brother made several motions, which were all unanimously agreed to. He afterwards addressed the meeting in a very sensible and elegant harangue. I confess I rather trembled for him at starting, as he began with a little hesitation, but he soon relieved me from my apprehension, by a rapid, easy, and forcible flow of language. He was interrupted only by shouts of applause, which I contributed to as much as I could. He called forth the attention of his hearers to the absurdity of attributing impracticability to the idea of equal representation, and proved in a manner equally humourous and ingenious, that it was surely as easy to allow every man a right in elections, as to tax him in the minutest article in his food or raiment.—In short, he pleased me very much, and if applauses be allowed an unequivocal mark of approbation, he gratified the whole assembly."

The following letter was written by Major Cartwright two days previous to the above mentioned meeting:

"TO MRS. C——

"15th July, 1782.

"The minister is pledged to us not only by words the most extensive, unequivocal and bind-

ing, but by his interest; Fox, his grand opponent, is the same; and I trust we shall obtain such a reform in the House of Commons as will restore the constitution to its antient vigour, and equally free the people and the king from the insolence and pillaging of factions. On Wednesday, we are to hold a general meeting in Westminster: if I should feel bold, and the spirit move me, possibly I may hold forth a little on the old topic. No one is clear whether Fox will attend. I wish his constituents would allow him 3000*l.* a-year, and secure its continuance as long as he persevered in serving them and was not in office.

"On Saturday I waited on Lord Keppel, to remind him about defending Portsmouth according to the plans I sent from Gosport last year. He said he had once looked them over, and had been desired by the Duke of Richmond to accompany him to Portsmouth, but could not possibly leave the office. He had also conversed a great deal with Lord Howe upon the subject when in town. If, when these two men examine the plan, they should adopt any considerable part of it, I shall have no small satisfaction.

"I sent Lord Shelburne an abstract of my forest plan. There is economy, reform, a yearly resource for 120,000*l.* and many other good things for him. I shall call to know his sentiments, and shall then sift him about Parliaments once more.

"The last time I saw him, he said all I could possibly wish.—He was not then a minister."

On the 7th of May, 1782, the Marquis of Rockingham being then prime minister, the question of reform was brought forward in the House of Commons by Mr. Pitt, whose motion was seconded by Alderman Sawbridge. He was zealously followed by Sir George Savile, who declared it to be his opinion "that the House might as well call itself the representative of France as of the people of England."—The motion was also supported by Mr. Fox, but was lost by only twenty votes; the numbers being 161 to 141. Mr. Pitt brought the same subject forward when in office, on the 7th of May, 1783, when the House passed to the order of the day; Ayes 293, Noes 149: and also on the 18th of April, 1785; Noes 248, Ayes 174.

On the subject of the first of these occasions, the following anecdote in connexion with that debate is related by Major Cartwright, in a published letter to the Rev. C. Wyvill, 14 Jan. 1814. "The morning after the debate I was met in Coventry Street by Mr. King, the Marquis's private secretary, and now Bishop of Rochester, who, pathetically lamenting the vote of the preceding evening, added, that unfortunately Lord Rockingham had forgotten the day of the discussion: now it so happened that Mr. Burke, the inveterate enemy of reform in the representation, and at that time also a secretary under the minister, did, contrary to his disposition and habits, absent himself from that debate; and it was the current report and belief that this self-denial was in compliance with

his Lordship's wishes. The inference was, that as Mr. Burke's opposition to the question might probably be imputed to the influence of his superior, and so have brought in public question his Lordship's sincerity; thinking it for his reputation that the conduct of his principal secretary should not expose him to such an inconvenience, he did not forget to prevail on that gentleman to absent himself from the House on the day of that debate!— I give the simple history without comment."

Major Cartwright has often been heard to declare that he never experienced a greater enjoyment than from listening to the eloquent speech made by Mr. Pitt on the subject of reform, on the 18th April, 1785. In this speech the minister declared "that without a parliamentary reformation, neither the liberty of the nation can be preserved, nor the permanence of a wise and virtuous administration can be secured." "These very words", says Major C. in a manuscript note in his 'Constitutional Defence of England,' "were made the subject of a well known resolution of leading friends to a reform, assembled at the Thatched House Tavern, very soon after the speech was delivered. The original draught of that resolution, in the year 1791 or 1792, was in the possession of the author of this book, and shewn by him to the gentlemen present at a meeting of 'The Friends of the People,' with corrections in Mr. Pitt's own hand-writing."

In the year 1782, besides a letter to Mr. Pitt

signed "Alfred", and various other articles inserted in newspapers: he wrote "Give us our Rights; or, a Letter to the Freeholders of Middlesex, dedicated to Capel Lofft, Dr. Jebb, and Granville Sharp."

The work begins by describing the situation of Rome, before she lost her liberties, when "Cæsar had friends, Pompey had friends, but none were friends to Rome": and prophesies that England will fall into the same state of slavery, "when ministry has friends, opposition has friends, but none are friends to the constitution."

In section 5, page 13, he says, "why an Englishman, who happens to excise malt in Banbury, shall be free, and the farmer who grows it in the next parish, shall not; why a cobbler in a cinque-port shall have his franchise, and a manufacturer in Birmingham have none; I believe no casuist on earth, but the members of the English House of Commons, can determine."

In this year, from Sir William Jones (to whom common consent seems to have confirmed a title to the appellation of "the most enlightened of the sons of men"), he received the following letter:

"23d May, 1782.

"DEAR SIR,

"Although our acquaintance, which the similarity of our political sentiments will, I trust, improve and ripen into friendship, be of recent date, yet I have such an opinion of your candour, that

I am sure you will take in good part the freedom of my strictures on your excellent paper, which ought to be written on the heart of every Englishman: at the same time, I persuade myself that you believe me incapable of any technical narrowness and forensic sophistry; for though I have been somewhat conversant with the minute practice of the courts, yet I have sometimes risen to the high principles of rational jurisprudence. You must pardon me, therefore, if, in speaking of public rights, I distinguish between such as are just and natural, and such as are legal or constitutional; and in speaking of the constitution, between the form and the spirit of it; since many laws which bind the opinion of a jurist, are unnatural or unconstitutional; and while the principles of the constitution direct the legislature, either elected or electing, the established forms of it must guide the lawyer. I cannot, then, help distinguishing between those opinions which I may give as a juris-consult, and those which I may advance as a sharer in the legislation of my country, and a calm reasoner on the rights of my species. Had I, for example, been asked, whether customary freeholders or copyholders, by the custom of the manor, but not at the will of the lord, were qualified to vote, as freeholders, in county elections? I must, as a lawyer, have answered, that they certainly had no such legal right: but, had I been in Parliament in the 31st of George II., I should have thought, as a legislator, that copyholders had a

natural right, supported by the spirit of our constitution; should have despised the gabble of the feudal lawyers; and should, consequently, both have argued and voted against the act by which all tenants, by copy of court-roll, were declared incapable of polling for knights of the shire. With this preface, I submit to your better judgment the hasty notes which I have scribbled on the sheet inclosed; and I entreat you to believe that I am, with sincere respect,

"Dear Sir,

"Your very faithful and obedient Servant,

"WILLIAM JONES."

"P.S. It is my deliberate (though private) opinion, that the people of England will never be a people, in the majestic sense of the word, unless two hundred thousand of the *civil* state be ready, before the first of next November, to take the field, without rashness or disorder, at twenty-four hours' notice."

Major Cartwright now found himself involved in the business attendant on a large agricultural concern, which, as we have already mentioned, his arrangements with his eldest brother had placed under his management: but it is astonishing to observe, that though these concerns were not neglected, he still had leisure for an extensive political correspondence. His industry was, indeed, remarkable at all periods of his life. Many men

have toiled for purposes of wealth or ambition; but few men ever spent more hours in labour, not only without a wish or expectation of personal advantage, but with the conviction that, in so doing, he was sure to injure both his fortune and his prospects.

He appears, at this time, to have been indefatigable in his exertions in the Society for Constitutional Information, as well as in his correspondence with Colonel Sharman and the leading patriots of that day in Ireland. Under the protection of the volunteers, and the auspices of the public-spirited Lord Charlemont, that unhappy country enjoyed a transient gleam of sunshine, and great hopes were entertained of a melioration in her condition. That these flattering hopes were never realized by the enlightened exertions of her rulers, was matter of poignant regret to the mind of our reformer. It was, indeed, so painful a subject, that he seldom trusted himself to speak upon it.

In a letter to Mr. Pitt, 5th of May, 1783, he informs that gentleman, that, with a hope of affording him that satisfaction which must result from a prospect of support to the people whose cause he had undertaken, he had the pleasure to acquaint him, that parochial petitions from the unrepresented had been signed in various parts of the country; and after relating the success he had met with in Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire, he proceeds to say, that hearing Mr. Pitt was inclined to offer a specific plan of reform, he trusted that, for

the sake of his popularity, as well as for the sake of the country, it would be such as should insure the complete re-instatement of the people in their rights.

From a letter on the affairs of India, written about this time, it appears that Major Cartwright was decidedly adverse to Mr. Fox's proposed system of government in that country, and that in common with many of the most strenuous friends of liberty (among whom may be numbered Mr. Wyvill, Dr. Jebb, Mr. Horne Tooke, Sir Cecil Wray, Mr. Wilkes, Mr. Capel Lofft, Mr. Thomas Day, Mr. Granville Sharp, &c.), he kept aloof from, and wholly disapproved of the Coalition* Administration.

In all his public exertions he had a firm friend and coadjutor in the amiable Dr. John Jebb, a few of whose letters will be given, because they throw some light on the events of the time, and also, because they evince his indefatigable earnestness in the cause, while, like his equally zealous friend, he was labouring under the effects of delicate health and a shattered constitution.

"Parliament Street, April 12, 1783.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I wrote in such a hurry the last time that I was almost unintelligible. I write now to request

* In a letter dated 14th of May, 1783, Major Cartwright says of the coalition, "I know not, however, but it may have been of use to *us*, for it has taught the people to depend upon *themselves*."

your forgiveness for omitting to move the reprinting of the excellent letter signed 'A Merchant.' I will make amends by greater exertions. This morning I called to quicken the appearance of 'Aristides', when, behold! Mr. Parkes objected to inserting it, on account of the first part being too strong. I have taken it from him, but what to do I know not: the *people* have no paper.

"I have no doubt but the 'Merchant' will be reprinted by our society; I am only vexed I have lost so much time. Mr. Yates had a fall from his horse last night, and could not attend the meeting, which prevented much business being done. I got a resolution passed, however, to have an accurate list of all the petitions, and another for the appointment of a sub-committee to draw up from our own materials a state of the boroughs, with extracts from borough petitions before the house, to give the members before the 7th of May.

"Mr. Lofft has sent me an account from which I will transcribe an extract. It only shews that we must go upon the idea of doing the business out of parliament, and therefore must guard ourselves against being set down by the opinion of parliament, or of our parliamentary friends.

"'A letter from Mr. Pitt has been communicated to the committee in Suffolk which I own gives me some uneasiness. He speaks that he is no well-wisher for a reform on the speculative principles of some that have given alarm; I fear he means the consti-

tutional and truly practical principles of Cartwright, the Duke of Richmond and our society. The Suffolk men have done wonders: a most admirable address to the county from the committee, signed by Middleton, appeared in the Bury Paper last Thursday. The Essex men have agreed to a petition. The meeting I am afraid was but thin, Hollis, Onley and Day were not, however, idle.'

"The dialogue written by Sir W. Jones, with a preface by Dean Shipley, is under prosecution in Wales. The grand jury have found the bill against Shipley. Kenyon was very bitter.

"It is said that the non-represented freeholders of the city of London are coming forward. If we are not persevering in holding forth the claim of the unrepresented, nothing will save us. We are beating up for recruits for another quintuple. With best wishes of both, to both,

"I remain affectionately yours,

"JOHN JEBB."

"October 2, 1783.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"To your ideas respecting Wrexham I cordially agree. Strange things are talked of here respecting coercive measures, which I cannot give credit to, though strongly asserted. I receive them as monitors to exert ourselves in procuring such declarations in favour of Dungannon, as will intimidate ministers from pursuing works of blood.

"I saw with great pleasure a letter of yours to

Colonel Sharman, respecting the unity of purpose at Dungannon, inserted by order of the committee in the Belfast Paper. Dr. Price's letter is to be in the Dublin Evening. He is, as may be supposed from his liberal principles, a friend to the right of suffrage being granted to Roman Catholics, but I believe he stops short of universal suffrage. Would it not be adviseable to mention that emigration is likely to be the consequence of the rights of the lower orders being withheld? Men are not likely to prize a country where they are denied the rights of citizenship.

"The Connaught volunteers are to meet on the sixth instant.

"The Munster men have appointed a committee of correspondence. Their delegates meet the 1st of June. Lord Kingsbury is, I think, on the committee; and Sir Edward Newenham, M.P. is a member of the Leinster committee. I have sent one of your addresses to him, with Granville Sharp's 'Claims of the People.' The preamble to the Report of the Westminster sub-committee is inserted in a Belfast paper.

"If Wyvill will act with us, he will be of great service, for he is a good man, spirited, manly and persevering."

"30th November, 1783.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"The Irish have established a constitutional society to support those who are prosecuted by

Government, and I hope will establish one for constitutional information. They have inserted our first address to the public. The government are proceeding by attachment against the sheriffs, &c. who have convened meetings, and all persons who dare to hint almost a liberal sentiment. Never was the freedom of the press so attacked, and Mansfield has done all he could in England to destroy it.

"Let us not despond, my dear friend; let us be intent in season, and out of season, and go on hoping against hope, for our cause is good.

"Lord Shelburne is to be a Marquis and Lord Camden, to prop up a ministry, who I fear are too Jenkinsonian to do any good.

"I told the Duke of Richmond, that as men looked sometimes to the west, for the evidence of the sun having risen—viz. when high hills in that quarter catch the first rays of the light—so I looked to Ireland for the Minister's purposes, and there saw every thing to convince me no good was intended to our country.

"Erskine has gained immortal honour. I wish thanks could be voted him. He declares himself a decided friend to parliamentary reform.

"Our society is well attended, and I hope will be active this winter. I wish you were with us.

"Yours affectionately,

"JOHN JEBB."

"Blanchard's balloon was beyond Bromley at a

quarter after 3; it rose about half past 2. A stupendous sight."

"13th of December, 1784.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I have had two conferences with Mr. Wyvill, who has seen Mr. Pitt, and assures me that the aforesaid gentleman will support parliamentary reform with the utmost energy, and Mr. Wyvill, who was going abroad, has suspended his journey till he hears how far friends in Yorkshire are disposed to meet, and to resolve previously to the bringing on the question in the House.

"I have heard the same from another quarter, with an idea that Mr. Pitt would not be dissatisfied were the people to stir in the business.

"Knowing the zeal and ability of our excellent friend Mr. Wyvill, I received some comfort from this information; but then finding, or at least having reason to believe, that the repeal of the Septennial Act was not a part of the plan, my heart sank within me, as I full well know that long parliaments will prevent any substantial good from being the consequence of such amendment in the representation, as Mr. Pitt would introduce and bring his friends to consent to. Besides, all this tallies ill with what is going on in Ireland, where attachments rage furiously.

"We must exhort our friends not to confide too much in the Minister, who, I am still satisfied, means to do as little as possible, or rather, has leave to do but little.

"In short, the whole is a mystery to me, notwithstanding what I have told you. Sure, I am, that the * * * * will never permit the smallest good to be done to the constitution if he can help it. One end and object has hitherto appeared throughout; viz. the destruction of liberty, civil and religious, throughout the dominions of the crown, nor have his opponents, the coalition, a much better object. At least, when in power, they did what they could to damp the rising spirit in the sister kingdom.

"With respect to the Dean of St. Asaph, the friends of Mr. Fox appear to be in earnest, and I mention it to their credit, and I shall be glad to do the same with respect to Mr. Pitt, if he acts with regard to reform like a man in earnest.

"I have urged to our worthy friend, Mr. Martin, the propriety of having meetings of our friends in town, of both houses, so as to form a third party in the houses; viz. the party of the people.

"Our meeting at the Shakespeare was full of energy. I wish you had been there.

"Mr. Wyvill is at Nerot's Hotel. You will of course hear from him how things are going on; but be *stern* about the septennial bill.

"The papers enclosed might do good if inserted in the Nottingham paper.

"Your's,

"JOHN JEBB."

"18th December, 1784.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"As I think you ought to know what is going forward respecting the great cause, I send you the following which has been entered on the books of our society. The words were written by Mr. Wyvill yesterday at Mr. Batley's.

"'Mr. Wyvill has been authorized by Mr. Pitt to assert, that he will bring on the question of parliamentary reformation as early as possible in the next session, that he will support his propositions to the utmost of his strength, and exert his whole power and credit as a man and a minister, honestly and boldly to carry such a meliorated system of representation as may place the constitution on a footing of permanent security.'

"On this you must make your own comments. Mr. Pitt's friends in various quarters have had hints that he would not be displeased if the people were to call for a reform.

"Mr. Wyvill certainly wishes to get Yorkshire to meet, but I look with watchfulness for what is to be done about short parliaments. Write to Mr. Wyvill: you will then know for yourself, and may act accordingly.

"May Heaven direct your exertions. With every kind remembrance of both to both,

"I remain your's affectionately,

"JOHN JEBB."

At this time the cause of reform wore a more promising aspect than at any other period of its

history, nor were those by whom it was espoused, then stigmatized as low-bred, meddling, discontented persons. It was, as we have seen, ostensibly patronized even by ministers; the cause was conducted both in England and Ireland by men of rank and consequence, nor would it be easy in a work of this nature to give even an abstract of the proceedings of the deputies from the unrepresented; of the quintuple alliance, as it was called, or of the society for Constitutional Information.

In all these it is hardly necessary to say, that Major Cartwright continued to take an active part; and if the cause have since declined, and seem to sleep awhile with its unwearied champion, that circumstance cannot be attributed to *his* want of zeal or perseverance.

In 1784, he wrote "Internal Evidence", addressed to the author* of "Thoughts on Parliamentary Reform", in which, with much clearness of argument, he shews how inconsistent with pure Christianity are the doctrines of Toryism. During a short absence in London in this year (1784), he thus informs Mrs. Cartwright, that he had given his servant warning to leave him: "George has grievously offended me by going to an execution, after I had given him what I thought sufficient hints of disapprobation, and in order to prevent it, had desired him to attend me with the horses. As soon as I saw him, I told him I did not wish to

* Soame Jenyns, Esq.

have under the same roof with me, a person who could have any pleasure in seeing his fellow-creatures ignominiously put to death."

It may be imagined that he was moved on this occasion to a very unusual degree of displeasure, as he was remarkable for keeping his servants a long time in his family.

In 1785, he once more obtained a meeting of the county of Nottingham, and published "A Nottinghamshire Farmer's Address to his Brother Freeholders."

It does not appear that he published any thing on the subject of reform in Parliament during the two subsequent years. Being well satisfied that the cause he had most at heart was going on as he could wish, he permitted himself to enjoy comparative relaxation from his political labours.

His brother, the Rev. Edmund Cartwright, had in 1786, the misfortune to lose an amiable wife, and his children a tender mother. His youngest child being thus left in helpless infancy, became at this time the adopted daughter of Major and Mrs. Cartwright.

In a letter to Mrs. Cartwright, dated 9th August 1786, mention is made of Mr. Cartwright's first acquaintance with Mr. Wilberforce. It will doubtless interest the reader, and will be a subject of no small gratification to the friends of that gentleman, that though supposed at that time to be almost in a dying state, so valuable a life is still, at

the distance of thirty-nine years, preserved to the cause of philanthropy.

"I dined lately at Wilford, with Mr., Mrs. and Miss Wilberforce. He is an excellent young man, but he is dying. He gave me an anecdote of Jebb, which you will be pleased to hear. In his medical note-book, found after his decease, his remarks on the cases of his patients and prescriptions, were generally accompanied by some short ejaculatory prayers to God for success to his medicines, shewing in the fullest manner, the great humility and piety of his mind.

"When this is contrasted with his animation and ardour, his inflexibility and daringness on every occasion wherein he thought the liberties of his country or the interests of humanity concerned, how bright his character appears! It is by reflecting on such virtue, that I am made conscious of my own deficiencies.

* * * * * * *

"You owe these reflections not only to those which this anecdote of our excellent friend suggested, but also to the conversations of Wilberforce, who seems to have made the wisest preparations for the journey he is about to make.

"He desired me to give him my opinion on Lord Mahon's election, and wished me also to send Sir Charles Middleton my timber-plan: I have got the act, in which Mr. Pitt has hitherto

trod exactly in the steps pointed out in my plan."

How keenly Major Cartwright felt the loss above alluded to, of his friend Dr. John Jebb, may be conceived by the following reflections, written so long afterwards as the year 1807, and which were found among his private papers:

"In the 5th volume of Aikin's General Biography, I have just read the life of John Jebb, the friend of my bosom, the pattern of my conduct. Would to God, I could do justice to his friendship, by shewing myself worthy of his bright example!

"The writer, in four narrow columns, has coldly detailed the leading actions of this man's life. In his third column he says, 'Opposition to the principles of the American War, and schemes for the reform of Parliament, therefore, took a powerful hold on Dr. Jebb's mind, and induced him to stand forward on many occasions as a speaker in assemblies for political purposes.

"'It is needless to enter into the particulars of his efforts on these occasions, as the subjects have now ceased to interest; and though Dr. Jebb's public conduct was in the highest degree upright and consistent, yet he had too much warmth of temper and too little worldly wisdom, to be proposed as a model in this respect. His character as a party-man was injurious to him pro-

fessionally, as appeared in the failure of his attempt to obtain the place of an hospital physician, yet he had many warm friends who were ready to serve him, and his practice increased as long as his health permitted him to follow it regularly.'

"Gracious God! that I should live to see John Jebb held forth, by a professed friend to virtue, as 'a man of too much warmth of temper, and too little worldly wisdom, to be proposed as a model' of right public conduct!

"If emotions the most poignant, in reading this passage, if the strictest reference to the precepts of morality and religion, and the most rigid scrutiny of reason, can justify reverence and affection for an exalted character, I ought to feel that reverence and affection for the memory of John Jebb; and, for the very reasons which have induced his biographer to undervalue him, to hold him up as a bright exemplar to a degenerate world!

"If his feelings were acute, and his temperament warm, they served the ends for which the Deity has given us feeling and sympathy, to stimulate to virtuous action; for if any man was a conscientious imitator of the mildness and benevolence of Jesus, it was my departed friend. Often, indeed, have I seen him agitated by the counteraction of the selfish and the criminally ambitious; often have I known him misrepresented and traduced with acrimony; but never did I know him retort, or on such occasions to speak or act otherwise than as the dictates of Christian charity and

political wisdom (according to my conceptions of them) dictated to him.

"And is it true, that 'the principles of the American war', and those by which every scheme for a reform of Parliament, to be worthy of regard, must be regulated, have 'ceased to interest'? God forbid that I should endeavour to inculcate such doctrines! God forbid that my country should be so utterly lost to public feeling, and so utterly incapable of virtuous sentiments, as to subscribe to an opinion so degrading! For me, for inspiring the rising generation to act worthily and greatly, I would propose to them the god-like example of John Jebb."*

In 1787 Major Cartwright was zealously employed in co-operating with Mr. Clarkson and Mr. Granville Sharp, in their exertions for the abolition of the slave-trade; a subject in which it need hardly be said, that he took the warmest interest.

On the 30th of October, at the sitting of the committee for the abolition, a letter was read from him, in which he says,

"I congratulate you on the happy prospect of some considerable step, at least, being taken towards the abolition of a traffic, which is not only impious in itself, but, of all others, tends most to

* For the relict of Dr. Jebb, a lady of extraordinary talents and energy of mind, who survived her excellent husband many years, Major Cartwright also entertained the highest esteem and regard.

vitiate the human mind. Although procrastination is generally pernicious in cases depending upon the feelings of the heart, I should almost fear that without uncommon exertions, you will scarcely be prepared early in the next sessions for bringing the business into Parliament with the greatest advantage. But be that as it may, let the best use be made of the intermediate time, and then, if there be a presiding Providence which governs every thing in the moral world, there is every reason to hope for a blessing on this particular work."*

The following letters from Mr. Granville Sharp were written about this time.

"No. 15, Leadenhall Street, London,
"October 23, 1787.

"DEAR SIR,

"On my arrival this day from Wicken Park, in Northamptonshire (where I have been about a fortnight, on a visit to my sister, Mrs. Prowse), I found your letter, of the 15th instant, lying on my table. The note which it inclosed (for five guineas) I paid this afternoon at Mr. Hoare's, in Lombard Street, (the treasurer for our society,) as the subscription of the Rev. Mr. John Charlesworth, of Ossington. And your obliging letter I will take care shall be laid before the society at their next meeting.

* See Clarkson's History of the Abolition of the Slave-trade, Vol. I. pp. 453, 454.

"Your former letter has already been laid before them, and I paid your subscription as soon as it came to my hands; but I must acknowledge myself a very unworthy member of the society, though they have done me the honour to name me as their chairman, and to send me letters ready wrote (thereby saving me all the trouble) for my signature as such; yet I have not once been able to attend their meeting; my time being taken up by a multitude of engagements in business which cannot be postponed or delayed. Since I had the pleasure of seeing you, a considerable change has taken place in our family. My brother, the surgeon, on account of an ill state of health, has left off business, quitted his great house in the *Old Jewry*, and retired to Fulham, and undertakes no kind of business except mere consultations and opinions.

"He was so ill last Christmas, that, for near six weeks, we almost lost all hopes of his recovery. The effects of this dreadful illness has been, the *total loss of his right eye*, and the other much weakened, as well as his whole body; but, God be thanked, he now daily recovers strength.

"I have my study and apartments with my sister, Mrs. James Sharp, in Leadenhall Street; and am occasionally at Fulham and Wicken; and the frequent removal takes up too much time. The new settlement at Sierra Leone, which I hoped to have formed on such a foundation that it might tend to put a stop to the *slave trade* in that part of Africa,

has hitherto been unfortunate; first, by jealousies and dissentions between the whites and blacks, and the false suspicion that Government intended to send them to Botany Bay. This occasioned mutinies and delays, whereby the arrival of the settlers on the African coast was unhappily postponed to the midst of the rainy season, which occasioned sickness, and the loss of many lives; though they were not without sickness even on our own coast; for more than fifty died between the river Thames and Plymouth. However, I have lately had the satisfaction to hear, that those who were sick begin now to recover; that they have purchased about twenty miles of land, which promises to be very fertile; and that each man has already got a separate hut on his own *town-lot*, besides their *country* allotments; so that I hope matters will, at length, come round to be a little more satisfactory. I am re-printing the Code of Regulations which I drew up for them, and will send you a copy as soon as finished. With compliments to Mrs. Cartwright,

" I remain, dear Sir,

" Your sincere friend and humble servant,

" GRANVILLE SHARP.

" JOHN CARTWRIGHT, ESQ."

" London, 3d Nov. 1787.

" SIR,

" I had the pleasure to lay before the committee of the Society instituted for the purpose of " Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade", your accept-

able favour of the 15th ultimo. The inclosure from the Rev. Mr. Charlesworth is added to the list of subscriptions; and the committee request you will have the goodness to convey their thanks to that gentleman for the offer of his services in support of the cause they are engaged in. How far preaching on the subject may be useful in your neighbourhood, you and he must be the best judges: but it may not be improper to inform you, that Mr. Clarkson has adopted that measure at Manchester, where a very liberal subscription has been entered into; and we are informed, that every clergyman in the place has engaged to address their respective congregations from the pulpit, in support of the undertaking.

"We are clearly of opinion, that the nature of the slave-trade needs only to be known to be detested; and, therefore, that the spreading that knowledge, whether by preaching or by the spreading of tracts on the subject, must be useful.

"The committee are very happy in having your hearty concurrence in this business, and cannot entertain a doubt that you will endeavour to engage all your friends in Parliament to give it their support, whenever the question may be there agitated, and which we trust will be done in the course of the next session.

"I am, dear Sir,

"Your obedient humble servant,

"GRANVILLE SHARP."

In 1788 Mr. Cartwright had the misfortune to enter into a speculation which turned out very differently from his expectations, and which involved many others in distress and inconvenience.

This was the erection of a large mill at Retford, in Nottinghamshire, for manufacturing wool. On account of its being covered in on the 5th of November, the centenary of the Revolution, 1688, it was called the Revolution-mill; and a hundred of King William's shillings were given to the workmen to regale themselves. From a variety of causes and untoward circumstances, with which it is not necessary to trouble the reader, this undertaking entirely failed between two and three years after its commencement.

It is considered only an act of justice to those who unfortunately suffered by this catastrophe, that, with a candour and liberality very uncommon, they exonerated the chief promoter of the scheme from all blame in the conduct of its affairs. How keenly he felt upon the subject, may be gathered from the following letter, bearing date 22d February, 1790:

"Your generosity and affection, my dear * * *, are cordials that give me the greatest support on this trying occasion. For my own loss, for my own trouble, I care not; but the apprehension of loss to my friends, and to those, in particular, who cannot afford it, or make themselves amends by

other exertions, must sit heavy on my mind until I see those apprehensions removed.

"* * and * * have done every thing which friendship could dictate to make me easy in the present state of affairs, and are even ready to make a farther advance. * * * writes me more composedly than I had expected. I have written round to propose a meeting at Doncaster on the 10th of March.

"Your generous offer must not be accepted: when you mention the probability that I may hereafter have it in my power to make amends to such as may suffer on this occasion, I fear that such prospect is too distant to afford me any comfort. Prior to this mill-adventure, from which I flattered myself with relief from the burden of debt incurred in the purchase of Marnham, I was much oppressed with the interest-money I had to pay, and this additional misfortune will render the most rigid economy necessary: on this account I mean to resign my commission in the militia*; and if it is thought requisite, I shall think it my duty to take up my residence at Retford, till the affairs can be placed in better hands. Believe me, if this cloud blows over, I shall never more embark in any sea of adventure where disappointment can give me a moment's uneasiness."

Two anecdotes which shall be related in this

* This intention was afterwards relinquished.

place, apply to very different periods in the life of Major Cartwright; one having occurred prior to the American war, and the other subsequently to the time now under consideration: but as they are illustrative of his strict and almost rigid scrupulousness in pecuniary affairs, they shall be here inserted. Many others might be adduced, but as these have already appeared in print, it is conceived that no confidence is violated by thus confirming their correctness.

The first of them is related in the work called "Public Characters for 1799", and was supplied by an intimate friend, who was well acquainted with the circumstances of his private life.

Major Cartwright happening one evening to call on an American gentleman connected with the principal leaders of the American cause, observed a person whose dress shewed him to be just arrived on horseback, and who, after whispering a few words to his friend, retired.

After a little conversation the American became absorbed in thought, and Major Cartwright judging his visit unseasonable, was about to leave the room. His friend stopped him, and again attempted to converse with him, but he soon sank into silence and abstraction. After many attempts to be allowed to retire, his friend again stopped him with symptoms of earnestness; at length the visitor was forcing himself away, when his friend stepped between him and the door, and in a few seconds, turning round in agitation, he said "I am going

to shew the confidence I place in you. France has just signed a treaty with my country, the man you saw has brought me the intelligence express from Paris; and as he came some hours before the English ambassadór was informed of the fact, ministers will probably remain in ignorance of the circumstance all to-morrow." He then gave an outline of the treaty, in which the certainty of a war with France was the most striking feature.

In giving him this information, Major Cartwright had reason to suppose that his friend purposely afforded him an opportunity of making an advantageous speculation in 'Change Alley, and the writer well remembers the answer which he once gave to a gentleman who frankly told him, he was hardly justifiable in permitting such an occasion to escape him. "In all transactions", said he, "between man and man there should be equality of information. If I am in possession of a secret which another has no possible means of obtaining, we are not on equal terms, and every advantage I gain in consequence of such a secret, is in my opinion a fraudulent transaction."

The second anecdote appeared in 1820, to the surprise of his family, to whom he had never mentioned the subject. It was related by Mr. Godfrey Higgins in a letter addressed to the House of Commons, and was as follows:—

"I cannot refrain from doing an act of justice

to that much abused and defamed gentleman, Major Cartwright. Some years ago he was bound in many thousand pounds for a friend who was unfortunate in trade. My father being interested, through the medium of a banker, who had also failed, and wanted a considerable part of it, I was sent to London at the time Sir James Sanderson, who was, I believe, also interested, was mayor, to enquire about it. I called on the Major, and upon telling him the object of my visit, looking at me very stedfastly, he said, 'Sir, I am instructed by my law adviser, that the transaction betwixt my friend and the banker, for whom you want this money, was usurious, and that I am not bound by law to pay a single farthing of it.' I dare say I looked rather uncomfortable, because my law adviser had instructed me precisely to the same effect; but after a moment's pause, he added, 'I was honestly bound for my friend, and I shall honestly pay the money; I only ask time, to sell part of my estate to raise it, till when, I will pay you five per cent.' The estate was sold, and the money paid before the year's end. I cannot believe that this gentleman wants a revolution, that he may profit by a scramble for the property of the rich."

The members of his own family, as has been already noticed, being ignorant of this transaction till an extract from Mr. Higgins's letter appeared

in a newspaper, he was asked whether it was correctly stated, and replied that "such a circumstance did certainly occur."

In 1788, he bought a large estate on very reasonable terms at Brothertoft, near Boston in Lincolnshire, whither he removed some time afterwards from Marnham, which has now become the property of Earl Brownlow.

A great part of the produce of his farm was woad, and his arrangements of the process in preparing this ingredient for the use of the dyers, excited universal admiration, and were far more perfect than any which had before been adopted.

The cultivation of this article being in the hands of a few persons, among whom there had always been much ill-will and rivalship, it was his wish to form with them a friendly union for their mutual advantage, which he thus explains in a letter to his nephew: "I have well nigh completed a negociation with my brother woad-growers, whereby we shall probably come to act in union, instead of opposition to each other, in future.—These consequences are expected to follow: viz.

"1st. To keep our woad labourers quiet, without shifting annually from one master to another.

"2d. To regulate the proportion of land each grower shall sow with woad, increasing or decreasing with the demand at market, and in due proportion.

"3d. To fix a reasonable price, as the whole

business will be in our own hands, and to sell for ready money only.

"There is but one grower with whom we have had any difficulty—after much conversation I found the secret of his hanging back, which is, that he has borrowed considerably of the dyers. He is extremely deficient in intellect, and full of mean passions, so that it is no easy matter to assist the blockhead in serving himself."

Mr. Arthur Young, in his agricultural works, has made honourable mention of the skilful manner in which Major Cartwright managed his various concerns of this nature; and certain it is, that notwithstanding the great attention he bestowed on political questions during sixteen years' residence at Brothertoft, the estate was a very advantageous concern. In fact, nothing but the extraordinary profits he made from it, could have enabled him to stand against the overwhelming difficulties in which a variety of circumstances, connected with other persons, at different times involved him.

During a short absence in town in the year 1788, he thus writes to Mrs. C.: "To-morrow at nine I am to meet Clarkson on a sub-committee about the slave-trade.—Things go on to our mind in that business.—In the Constitutional Society we are also at work.—The great objects of that institution are a severer trial of patience; but where truth and the rights of nature are the foundation, public re-

form and public happiness the objects of pursuit, there are motives enough for perseverance under any discouragement. Should the West Indian slaves, who but the other day had not the slightest prospect of such an event, find themselves emancipated, who shall say that there is no hope of our constitutional rights and liberties being restored?

" To despair in a good cause, is already to depart from virtue and approach towards atheism. It is ours with cheerfulness, with faith, with hope, to enterprise every thing for the good of our fellow-creatures, leaving the issue to unerring Wisdom, and the goodness of the Supreme Being.

" Having had a little leisure from my law business, I have employed myself in religious reading. Considering the diversities of opinion among the most pious, it would be very presumptuous in one so unlearned as I am, to say there are no difficulties in the Scripture, but it would be weak and rash to adopt without hesitation that solution attempted, but not in my opinion accomplished, by the author of the ' Articles of the English Church.'

" But when we lay aside these nothings called articles, and resort to the Scriptures themselves, these apparent difficulties by degrees disappear, and the scheme of Divine Providence appears very consistent with those attributes which belong to God as the Eternal Being."

Notwithstanding the fears and warnings long

before expressed by his friend Jebb, who, even in the year 1785, had declared it as his opinion that, 'politically speaking, Pitt was the worst man living, and would go greater lengths to destroy liberty than any minister ever did before him,' Major Cartwright still flattered himself with the fond, but delusive, hope of Mr. Pitt's sincerity in the cause of reform.

That gentleman having received, as it was confidently said, a carte blanche from his late Majesty, and being therefore possessed of full power, and, as Major Cartwright hoped, of sincere inclination to become the saviour of his country's liberties, the sanguine reformer greatly relaxed at this time in his efforts to bring about that result which he conceived to be rapidly approaching.

In the year 1789, however, he began to entertain some doubts upon the subject, as appears by his answer to a letter from the Right Honourable Thomas Steele, who had offered him the interest of Government in a contest for the borough of Retford.

"As a statesman and a minister", says Major Cartwright, "for conducting national business, I consider him as the first character. In respect of parliamentary reform and a few other points, I confess he has not satisfied me; but my objections go no farther than doubts, and these doubts are mixed with hopes of somewhat great and good in future.

"From the other party I look not for such

things, nor expect any thing good for the public, except now and then to serve a turn on principles merely factious.

"Let your friend be the instrument of blessing to this country, and if I mistake not his character, his happiness would be equal to his power; he would be the idol of his contemporaries, and unborn ages would revere his name.—But while I hope, I tremble."

It was during the negociation respecting the borough of Retford, that Major Cartwright told Mr. Steele that however the interest of Government might assist his election, yet he requested him to remember that "*he had no political gratitude.*"

In addition to Mr. Steele's offer, he also received an invitation to the same effect from a decided majority of the burgesses of Retford*, but finding that their terms and his own were incompatible, he took his leave of the borough, and Mr. Petrie was afterwards elected on the same interest.

In Oldfield's "Representative History," Part II., Vol. II., p. 340, the author says, "Major Cartwright was invited by a part of the corporation and a great majority of the freemen, to represent this borough at the above period (1789), and if he

* One of Major Cartwright's ancestors, who was member for this town during the civil wars, received so dreadful a crush in the lobby of the House of Commons (it was believed not accidentally) while the members were entering, that he died in consequence.

had accepted the invitation would have been at the head of the poll, as about three-fourths of the electors had engaged to give him their votes."

In this year the King's recovery being declared, public rejoicings took place, and amongst others, the old family-mansion at Marnham, which the Major had not then quitted, witnessed a festive scene. The house was illuminated and prepared for the reception of the neighbouring farmers, their wives, and children; dancing occupied a number of young persons in the court-yard, while three sheep roasted whole, and a proportionate quantity of ale, refreshed the labourers who were seated at long tables erected for the occasion on the lawn.

The French Revolution at this time offered an extraordinary spectacle to the reflecting mind, and the hopes derived from the emancipation of a long-enslaved and impoverished people, could not but excite the liveliest sentiments of pleasure in the heart of one to whom the rights of his fellow-men were dear. He accordingly addressed a letter to the President of the Committee of Constitution of the States General, on the 18th of August 1789, in which he says: "Degenerate must be that heart which expands not with sentiments of delight at what is now transacting in the National Assembly of France. The French, Sir, are not only asserting their own rights, but they are also asserting and advancing the general liberties of mankind.

"France herself takes the constitution of Eng-

land for her model; in so doing, she acts with much wisdom, since in its theoretic purity, and when the presidency of a king is the choice of a people, it is a constitution above all praise. But in the sacred names of freedom and virtue, let her, Sir, be warned to shun those deplorable errors, through the means of which that admirable constitution has fallen a victim to corruption.

"The principal errors, to which I have alluded, shall be briefly touched upon. At the period of our Revolution, the legislature declared and enacted in loose general terms that popular elections ought to be free, and that parliaments ought to be frequently held, but the more minute rights and provisions on which alone that freedom of election and the benefit of frequent sessions of Parliament were to depend, our ancestors unfortunately omitted. To guard, Sir, against similar omissions in giving a constitution to France, is worthy of the jealous vigilance and sternest virtue of her leaders.

"God grant she may interpose such a guard; and thereby establish such a freedom that neither statesmen can undermine, nor representatives betray! In an assembly of patriots, nothing, Sir, in my humble judgment, is more practicable. And here we have an opportunity of admiring the great goodness of Divine Providence. In the wide range of political disquisition, as well as in the boundless fields of religious contemplation, there is doubtless exercise for faculties the most

acute, and genius the most sublime. Yet, so admirably are things contrived for our happiness, that all, which in either case is necessary to salvation, is level with all capacities; and the unlettered peasant may be taught to practise it with a certainty of success. The principles on which depend the freedom of election are very few and very simple, nor are those respecting the ordinary sittings of a legislative assembly less obvious. Would France be free in fact as well as in theory, these principles must be held sacred. And give me leave, Sir, to remark, that by this test the people may assuredly discriminate between those who are truly the friends of public freedom, and those who in a national revolution have an eye to their own aggrandisement or separate interest.

"To the committee at which you preside, I take the liberty of sending with this a collection of tracts by several hands. The fund of political knowledge, and the brilliant talents so conspicuously displayed at this important juncture in France, make it greatly to be doubted, whether such writings can in any degree contribute towards the object of her present pursuit. But as these distinctly point out essential provisions which in the English Revolution were neglected, to the extreme injury of the people, and which from their own nature may be liable to be overlooked, while the great outlines of civil government principally occupy the attention; my anxiety for the inter-

ests of freedom, which are the interests of every country, would not allow me to omit presenting the French with this humble offering.

"That the two countries may thus run the race of glory, cementing a durable friendship by the similarity of their government, constituting an union of interests, and by a genuine love of freedom, which leads to peace and all the amiable intercourses of polished society, is the sincere prayer of one who has the honour to subscribe himself, with great respect,

"Sir, &c. &c.

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

The disappointment and regret he afterwards experienced in beholding so promising an event degenerate into anarchy, impiety, and confusion, will be mentioned hereafter in his own words*; at present, it needs only to be remarked, that he always attributed the excesses into which the French nation fell, to their ignorance in the science of government, and their having, as he expressed it, "no land-marks" to direct their course†. "England", he would say, "being better informed, and having her antient constitution, her

* See letter to a friend at Boston, 1793. Also a letter to Mr. Hardy, in this Work.

† It appears, however, by Hottoman's "Franco-Gallia", that France did originally possess many free institutions, but it is probable that, from the long-established despotism of her rulers, and the want of a free press, the recollection of these had long been banished from the majority of the nation.

Magna Charta, and her Bill of Rights to recur to, would never be in the same danger from the ambition or wickedness of designing demagogues.

But from whatever cause those atrocities originated, he had but too much reason, even in a political point of view, to lament them, for they were fatal to the progress of that rational liberty which was the object of all his hopes and labours.

Great as might be the ultimate benefit to France, in diffusing property and destroying feudal rights and tenures, he saw that for a time, at least, the Revolution would strengthen the hands of despotism in other countries, and that notwithstanding the moderation with which many subsequent changes were effected in the peninsulas of Italy and Iberia, it would be long held up as a bugbear to alarm.

In 1791, Major Cartwright published "Plain Truths for Plain Men, by a Holland Fen-Farmer", a small pamphlet, which was distributed gratis through the country.

This short address was occasioned by the disturbances which had arisen in that part of Lincolnshire. The labourers had combined against the farmers, in consequence of their jealousy of the poor Irish who annually came over to assist at the harvest. These disturbances had caused much injury to the corn, and great depredations had been committed, he therefore earnestly recommended that the farmers should arm themselves, in order to give the necessary assistance to the magistrates, and to support them as the law requires.

A meeting took place at Boston, for the suppression of these riots, and an association was formed at his suggestion, which co-operating with the magistrates, the best effects were experienced, and the tranquillity of the district was restored.

From this address a few extracts are here given:—

"One musket and one bayonet in defence of peace and law, is a match for a score of scythes in the hands of men conscious of criminality. When each farmer is known to have arms for himself, and for two, or three, or more trusty persons, and all are ready on the least alarm to defend themselves and neighbours, there will be no bullying any one out of the profits of his harvest, and the idea of mob-law will become ridiculous."

"Riots, my friends, are a disgrace to any country inhabited by civilized men, originating in the folly and wickedness of a few lawless persons; their beginnings are small, but who can tell where they will end? And who can restore to the community property once destroyed, or lives once lost?"

"I have told you that it is your duty to provide arms; it is to be found, not only in our law-books, but in our Acts of Parliament, which unhappily for the peace of the kingdom are suffered to lie unread and forgotten."

During this year Major Cartwright attended a meeting to celebrate the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastile. In consequence of this

circumstance, the Duke of Newcastle commissioned his brother, Captain Cartwright, with whom he was in habits of great intimacy, to acquaint him that his Grace could not, consistently with his political opinions, promote him to the vacant lieutenant-colonelcy of the regiment. As he had, however, on three previous occasions* been defrauded of his just claims to promotion, it may be fairly presumed, that his Grace's declaration was not so much the result of any new circumstance, as the continuation of that species of conduct by which he had been for so many years thwarted and annoyed.

A less determined man than himself would have resigned many years before; but in this respect he had never felt any inclination to *oblige* his opponents, by pursuing the course into which they were anxious to drive him. His inflexibility, or, as they probably termed it, his perverseness and obstinacy† were such that they were obliged at last to make use of the supposed authority of an Act

* His friends W. Sherbrook, Esq. and Gilbert Cooper, Esq. whose son (Colonel Gardiner) is now lieutenant-colonel of the Nottinghamshire Militia, both at different times quitted the regiment in disgust at the treatment Major Cartwright experienced. See letter to the Duke of Newcastle, p. 10. It must not be forgotten also that Mr. Sherbrook had nobly refused to accept the lieutenant-colonelcy, because he considered his friend's claim as superior.

† His old acquaintance, Mr. John Nicholls, M.P. author of "Recollections Personal and Political", used humourously to say to Mrs. Cartwright, "Your husband, Madam, is the best-bred obstinate man I ever was acquainted with."

of Parliament to get rid of so intractable an officer.

In the letter which Captain Cartwright wrote to his brother, in order to announce to him the Duke of Newcastle's message, he says, "I presume you will immediately resign"; but he was still deaf to the hint, and in the month of September the Duke, without giving him the slightest intimation of the circumstance, commissioned another officer as major in his place.

Considering this transaction as wholly illegal, he paid no attention to it, but declared publicly that he should appear at his post in uniform, whenever the regiment assembled. *It was not however called out*, and at last, on the 23d of October, 1792, the great object of his dismission was accomplished.

By virtue of a recent Act of Parliament, which provided that at the end of five years a field-officer may be discharged, he was superseded, but as the prescribed periods, according to that act, were the years 1791, 1796, 1801, &c., he always considered that his discharge was not legal.

In addition to many extraordinary, and to him highly gratifying testimonies of friendship from his brother-officers, he received the unanimous thanks of the deputy lieutenants, for his long and meritorious services.

It has been already stated that he endeavoured both by precept and example to raise the moral, as well as the military character of the regiment;

and among other proofs of inflexibility, was his constant determination never to avail himself of the allowances which he might have claimed for four horses, while he only employed two, and his refusing to sign any report in which an officer endeavoured to avail himself of a similar advantage. In this particular his strictness was considered by some as overstrained, but we believe few will condemn the principle on which he acted.

He now published his letter to the Duke of Newcastle, and as he was aware of that nobleman's having challenged a gentleman of the bar for having as he thought taken undue liberties with his name, it must be confessed that he treats his opponent with very little ceremony. "For aught I know," says he, "this accusation may be metamorphosed into a breach of privilege, and I the accuser be called before the bar of that right honourable house of which you are a member, to answer to the complaint. Should it so happen, my defence, my Lord, would be still your condemnation, and at that bar I should assert that your conduct has been illiberal, dishonourable, and unconstitutional."

It cannot be matter of surprise that he was stung by a keen sense of injustice, in finding himself thus unceremoniously removed from a regiment, the raising of which had been greatly assisted by his father and himself, and whose train-

ing had so long been his pride and pleasure*; considering the subject also as mixed with political feeling, it became in his mind almost a public question.

In reply to a friend, who had expressed a hope that he would not mix any political allusions with his expostulations to the Duke, he thus writes:

"You wish it to be without a mixture of politics, but you do not recollect that the Duke's reason for setting me aside was on account of my political principles. Without politics it would be a petty dispute between A. and B., but taken on its true ground, that of avowed hostility to a friend of reform, it becomes necessary to shew the borough-mongers in their true colours. But in doing this, we must shew that our resentments are not merely personal, but arise from the injuries done to our country."

In this year was instituted the Society of the "Friends of the People", associated for the purpose of obtaining parliamentary reform. Its first declaration on the 11th of April, together with a list of its members, will be found in the Appendix (No. VII).

* The Nottinghamshire Militia being quartered at Boston soon after Major Cartwright's dismission, he went out on horseback to meet them on their arrival. The officers, among whom was the gentleman who superseded him, experienced, during their stay, his usual attention and hospitality.

The Society of Friends to the Liberty of the Press was also founded about this period. In all these societies, he was anxious to counteract the efforts of Thomas Paine, who laboured to introduce into the popular societies of the day, the doctrines of pure republicanism; and to attain this end, on the 9th of May Major Cartwright attended a meeting of the Friends of the People, where he carried a resolution in favour of king, lords, and commons*.

Though in forming a new government in another part of the world, Major Cartwright would certainly have preferred a form of government as simply republican as would be consistent with security from anarchy, he never wished in his own country to interfere with its antient institutions. "He would rather", as an ingenious writer has observed, in a character given of him since his decease, "have seen the old edifice repaired and beautified, than have built an entirely new one in its place."—"He who wishes to reform an antient state," says Machiavel, "and constitute it into a free country, ought at least to retain the shadow of old forms."—How much more, then, must our

* "Mr. Horne Tooke objected to the opinions of Mr. Paine on this subject. He also agreed with Major Cartwright, that we had a glorious constitution, and that we had still a constitution in the books. Some honest and well-meaning men who know nothing of the constitution in the books, and who judge only by the present practice and from what they see, deny that we have any constitution."—Stephen's Life of Horne Tooke, Vol. II., p. 324.

reformer have been impressed with the danger of disturbing those antient forms, the substance of which might be safely retained without, in his opinion, endangering the ultimate freedom of his country!

To the measures he was taking in these societies he thus alludes in a letter to Mrs. Cartwright, dated 10th of May. "I have had the pleasure to prevail on a large society, which had hinted at doctrines alarming to the higher powers, to adopt some resolutions which would free them from censure, and at the same time go directly to our great reform in the representation.

"I am to call to-morrow on Mr. Grey, the proposed mover of reform next session; when I hope to give him strong reasons for our *new society* for reform, consisting of many members of parliament, adopting the same line of conduct as other societies in the metropolis have done."

"20th May, 1792.

"Do not, I beg, make yourself uneasy; the worst that could happen would be a prosecution for a libel, in which case I should find bail and stand trial. If cast, it might cost me £100, and perhaps a few months' residence in the King's Bench with many baronets and right honorables. But I have no fear of this kind, as I am not disposed to misrepresent any thing or any person; or to use my pen in any cause than that of freedom and the constitution.

"As to the general question whether it is right or not for me or any other man to stand forward in the cause, we must decide whether it be or not the will of God that truth and justice should prevail. Temper in conduct is right, but moderation in principle is being *un*principled*.

"A man who is indifferent to the well-being of his fellow-creatures, may be without trouble, but he must be also without virtue."

The supporters of Government having in this year promoted the raising of volunteer corps in all the different districts of the country, Major Cartwright endeavoured to substitute, in the place of this partial system, that constitutional one of inviting every tax-paying householder to bear arms, and by appointing committees of magistrates and gentlemen to organize and regulate such a force.

He published, in January 1793, a letter to a friend at Boston, in which he gives his opinions on the progress of the French Revolution, of all the acts of which it has been the fashion to assert that he was the indiscriminate champion and admirer.

In this letter (speaking of the execution of the

* Major Cartwright always expressed the same opinion in conversation, and once in particular made use of these words in the hearing of the writer. "Moderation in practice may be commendable, but moderation in principle is detestable. Can we trust a man who is moderately honest, or esteem a woman who is moderately virtuous?"

King of France), he says, "I am amongst those who entertain doubts as to the competency of human authority, in any case whatever, deliberately to punish with death. In this particular case I can the less excuse it, as, so far from having been necessary or prudent, it seems to have been in the highest degree impolitic. And when I reflect on the disservice it is likely to do to the cause of freedom, which I must ever hold to be the cause of virtue and of man, most sincerely do I lament it. The true cause of this event I can no where discover, but in the mean, revengeful, murderous spirit of a small faction, the demagogues of an ignorant rabble, contaminated by all the vices which, in a succession of ages, grow out of DESPOTISM, in a vicious and overgrown capital; a faction who are a disgrace to human kind, and the enemies to justice, to humanity and virtue. How so many of the convention could be drawn, or rather driven, into the views of those men who thirsted for the King's blood, I can only account for from the feebleness of human reason while under the agitations of fear and other violent passions. Men but just emerged from the darkness of despotic government, and whose resentments towards it were yet exquisitely felt, could not be in so dispassionate a temper, nor have their judgments so ripened to the true principles of jurisprudence, as if they had been more fortunate in their political education.

"The virtue and magnanimity, however, of that

considerable number whose votes were for saving the King's life, will be their lasting praise, notwithstanding their voice was borne down by the voice of the majority, which made the death of the King the act of the convention. The act, if unauthorized by the law, or by the constitution, or by necessity, as appears to have been the case, was doubtless murder*.

"Before we permit our own rulers, under the pretext of a violated treaty and an act of wickedness amongst the rulers of France, to involve us in a war against the French people and 'French principles', it may be worth while to consider the company which these very consistent ministers mean us to keep on the occasion. When we look to the three leaders of the confederacy, and reflect, not only on the former partition of Poland, but on the present state of that miserable nation, a prey to those three wolves, with what reverence must we be inspired for such honest, worthy respecters of treaties and the rights of mankind—for such true friends to liberty under a limited monarch! for such admirers of a constitution of king, lords and commons, as settled in Poland at the glorious revolution of 1791!—and how cordially must we

* Monsieur de Genlis, husband to the celebrated Author of Adèle et Theodore, distinctly declared, that his reason for voting against the death of the King, was not merely on the ground of impolicy, but of illegality. In giving this vote he remarked to his friends, that he signed his own death-warrant; nor was he mistaken. Such an instance of devotion to principle deserves to be recorded.

co-operate with the maintainers of the political and pious principles declared in the manifestoes of the Duke of Brunswick."

Speaking of the alliance of Sovereigns, then formed for the destruction of the French Republic, he says, "When ministers propose to a nation, lovers of justice and freedom, such a confederacy in such a cause, surely it must be in mockery! Who but such patterns of consistency, when they called on us to revenge the murder of a king, would desire us to associate with a woman who stands charged with that very crime—with having in the course of a few days, hurled from his throne, her husband and sovereign lord, seized his crown, and taken away his life in prison? Is it in such company that we are to sacrifice to the manes of murdered kings?"—P. 54.

On the 6th of May in this year (1793) was presented to the House of Commons by Mr. (now Lord) Grey, that celebrated petition drawn up by Mr. Tierney, in which it is asserted that three hundred and seven of its members were chosen, not by the collective voice of those whom they were supposed to represent, but by peers and patrons to the number of one hundred and fifty-four. This petition having been entered on the journals of the House, without impeachment of its correctness, Major Cartwright took care that it should not, as long as he lived, be easily forgotten, but took it for his text on a variety of different occasions.

Some of the letters which passed at this time between the subject of these memoirs and the leading political men of the day, would, doubtless, interest the public, and do credit to the writers; but the fear of swelling these pages to an unreasonable length, and that courtesy due to living characters, which the writer has endeavoured to keep constantly in view, have prevented their insertion.

In the latter part of the year 1793, numerous prosecutions on the part of Government manifested the alarm which took place among their adherents. That minister, who, but a few years before, was seen to pledge himself to the Society for Constitutional Information in so solemn a manner*, for the support of the cause of reform, became, at this time, the persecutor of its advocates. A general dismay spread itself through every part of the kingdom; and both England and Scotland partook largely in the prosecutions which ensued. Among the sufferers was Mr. Muir; and though not personally known to him, the interest which Major Cartwright took in his fate, may be seen by the following letter to the Duke of Richmond.

"Brothertoft Farm, 11th December, 1793.

"MY LORD,

"It is long since I have offered your Grace any of my thoughts. Of late I have sometimes been

* See Dr. Jebb's Letter to Major Cartwright, 18th December, 1784.

inclined so to do, but have been restrained through an apprehension that they might not be acceptable. But a letter from on board the Hulks to the editor of the Cambridge Chronicle, dated the 3d instant, which I have just read, bears down all reluctance. Could I peruse that letter without the most poignant emotions, and without attempting to move those who have power to wipe out such a stain to humanity and to manhood as that letter affixes on my country, I should merit detestation. Read that letter, my Lord, I beseech you; and read also the trial of the writer. If he merit the treatment he has received, I, also, and your Grace, ought to be cast into dungeons among felons. But if he be the virtuous victim of that corrupt and arbitrary system which your Grace and I have laboured to reform——it is needless to say more.

"I am your Grace's, &c.

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

But of all the political trials which took place at this time, few gave him more uneasiness than that of Daniel Holt, a printer of Newark, who was tried, in November, 1793, for publishing "An Address to the Addressers", and "An Address to the Tradesmen, Mechanics, Labourers, and other Inhabitants of the Town of Newark, on a Parliamentary Reform." The second of these publications was originally composed by Major Cartwright, in 1782; and receiving the sanction of the Society for Constitutional Information, a society

which we have already seen to be composed of some of the most distinguished characters of the day, was circulated throughout every part of England. It was afterwards, in 1783, inserted by its author, in a Leeds newspaper; but, of its publication by Holt, he was not aware, until informed of his approaching trial.

He then came forward to prove that he was himself the author of the paper in question, but was not suffered to give his evidence; and the unfortunate young man was condemned to a fine of fifty pounds for each publication, and to four years' imprisonment; a sentence which was the more distressing, as the latter (and most severe) part of it was of a nature which it was out of his power to relieve or to avert.

It was mentioned in the memoirs of Gilbert Wakefield, Vol. II. p. 433, "that Holt, the publisher of the Newark Journal, was imprisoned in Newgate, for re-printing, without alteration, a pamphlet by Major Cartwright, to which the minister, Pitt, as a member of the society, had given countenance and circulation; the consequence of which was, the ruin of this young man's affairs, and death a short time after."—Major Cartwright, with that scrupulous and minute regard for truth for which he was so remarkable, wrote, as follows,

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE MONTHLY MAGAZINE.

"True, indeed, it is, that the paper (for it was a single sheet) had been written by me, and, at

my request, published in a Leeds newspaper, in 1783: true it is, that the prosecution proved the ruin of Holt's affairs; and no less true, I hold it to be, that his imprisonment was the cause of his premature death. But ill as I have learned, by experience, to think of the minister that has been mentioned, as I wish not to see added to the heavy accusations against him a grain of untruth, it is proper I should correct that part of the statement which speaks of my paper having had his countenance and circulation. Of its original appearance he certainly had no knowledge; and, for cogent reasons, I am convinced he never could have promoted, in any way, its publication.

"The paper, Sir, was an exhortation in favour of parliamentary reformation, and contained not a sentiment in which, so long as I hold the use of reason, I shall not glory. In the year in which it was written, 'a political society' did indeed give it 'countenance and circulation' to a wide extent. I speak of the Society for Constitutional Information; but Mr. Pitt never was a member of that society; nor, as I imagine, of any other, having similar objects. Mr. Wakefield, in common with the public in general, had, as I conceive, been led into the error I have noticed, by a speech made by one of the counsel of Mr. Holt. Where that error really originated, I know not; but as often as it has been mentioned in my hearing, it has been contradicted; a circumstance which, had it been known to the sincere votary of truth, whose

loss we deplore, would assuredly have prevented the adoption of the report.

"Holt had re-published the paper in question without my knowledge; nor was I apprised of it, till applied to, on his behalf, to prove that he was not the author. With that intention I appeared at his trial; but my intended evidence was rejected as inadmissible, on the ground that such evidence would not disprove the act of publication."

The year 1794 presents us with some remarkable occurrences; the most striking of which, both as regarding the interests of liberty, and as connected with the subject of these memoirs, are the trials of Horne Tooke, Hardy, Thelwall, &c. whose apprehension took place in the month of May.

Upon this occasion many persons who had previously been among the most zealous, anxiously sought to withdraw their names from those societies, and to shrink, if possible, into obscurity. It is certain, that if Mr. Horne Tooke and the others had been convicted, the situation of Major Cartwright would have been a critical one. It does not appear, however, to have occasioned him any personal apprehension, as will be seen from the following extract from a letter to Mrs. Cartwright, dated, Northallerton, 15th May, 1794.

"I saw this morning, by the newspaper, that

Hardy and Daniel Adams are apprehended for high treason, and that the papers belonging to their societies are to be laid before the House of Commons. How these men can have been guilty of treason to any thing but corruption, I do not at present comprehend. I am smiling to think how my last letter to Adams, if found, will surprise the great ones. They would suspect it to be full of treason, as they might call it; whereas I said, that the society, when I last attended it, erred in judgment."

To his old friend and former political associate the Duke of Portland, then secretary of state, he thus addressed himself, in order to obtain permission to visit Mr. Tooke during his imprisonment:

"MY LORD,

"Business having brought me to town, where I am likely to be detained a few days, I am to request your Grace's permission to visit Mr. Horne Tooke before I return into the country; and likewise an order for my admission.

"If, my Lord, it be necessary to assign my reasons for this request, they are these: 1st. I can by no means imagine that Mr. Horne Tooke has been guilty of the crimes which have been imputed to him, to have placed him in his present situation.

"2dly. I am therefore led to infer that his strenuous exertions in favour of a reform in the representation of the people in Parliament, must have brought him the accusation which has occasioned his imprisonment.

"3dly. As I have for many years co-operated with Mr. Horne Tooke in the cause of parliamentary reform, a cause in which it is the greatest happiness of my life that I have taken an active part; and the recollection of which will, I am persuaded, administer to my peace in the last awful moments of life; so I cannot but sympathize with that gentleman in sufferings which I suppose his attachment to that cause must have brought upon him.

"4thly. I owe great obligations to Mr. Horne Tooke for his readiness on all occasions to benefit me by his great store of knowledge, as well as at different times for much friendly advice, which experience has shewn me to have been just and solid; and having now an opportunity, with your Grace's permission, of shewing my remembrance of those obligations by visiting him in his present situation, I should feel myself unworthy the regard or friendship of any man, if I did not endeavour to shew him that small mark of attention.

"If I should not have the good fortune to find your Grace at the Secretary of State's Office, I have to hope you will have the goodness, in consideration of my engagements, to excuse other per-

sonal attendances, and to cause me to be favoured with your Grace's answer, directed to the Gray's Inn Coffee-House.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

"July 28, 1794.

"The Duke of Portland presents his compliments to Mr. Cartwright, and has the honour to acquaint him that he will have the same permission to visit Mr. Horne Tooke, which Government has thought proper to allow to other persons; but that if no order has been made to admit visitors in general, it is impossible for him upon Mr. Cartwright's statement of his business, to make an exception in his favour."

"TO MRS. CARTWRIGHT.

"21st October, 1794.—Friday Noon.

"I am this moment subpœnaed as an evidence in favour of Mr. Horne Tooke; his trial comes on to-morrow. I therefore set out to-morrow, trusting to reach town before he can come on his defence. I should imagine that I am to say what I have known of his sentiments respecting the government of this country, which I have invariably found in favour of the monarchical* and aristocra-

* Major Cartwright in this letter (written in great haste to inform his wife, who was from home, of his immediate departure) is guilty of an inaccuracy, which in him is very remarkable. He speaks of the *monarchical* instead of the *regal* part of our go-

tical part, although against the encroachments of those branches on the democratic. By the length of Hardy's trial, which it is supposed will occupy three days, it is not likely that Tooke's will be over before Tuesday or Wednesday."

"No. 34, Surrey-street, Strand, Monday, Nov. 1794.

"The enormous length of Hardy's trial makes it probable Mr. Tooke's cannot come on before Thursday, and it is rumoured that the court will even adjourn it till after Term time, that the usual business of the law may not be interrupted.

"As an evidence, I am to be in great company; my old political friend the Duke of Richmond and Mr. Pitt. Mr. Tooke pleads his own cause. The solicitor will secure me a convenient place in court. Mr. Tooke was greatly rejoiced when my arrival was announced to him. He is in good spirits. The immense exertion which his defence must require will I fear go near to kill him. Erskine spoke in Hardy's defence six hours. At length he was so exhausted that he could not speak loud enough for the judges to hear him when he wanted to address them, and an intermediate person was obliged to repeat what he said.

"If Mr. Tooke's trial comes on without delay I shall still be detained longer than I expected, as

vernment, whereas he used frequently to observe that the word monarch being only applicable to the government of *one*, ought never to be used in speaking of this country, where the government consisted of three distinct branches.

it will probably require a week: if it be adjourned over the Term I shall immediately return into the country. In my subpœna (although only required as an evidence for Mr. Tooke), the trials of Hardy, Joyce, Kidd, and Richter, are mentioned, so that if any of those persons should choose to ask me a question, I shall be bound to attend the trials.

"Tuesday.

"Before I had written yesterday, not expecting to be called on, I was at the door, going out on my private business, when a summons arrived, and I went to the Old Bailey in order to be examined in behalf of Hardy, but was not called on. The Duke of Richmond was examined. Gibbs spoke like an angel. I left the Court with the full persuasion that Hardy was safe. His fate will be this day decided. I got a good place in the court at the elbow of Mr. Grey, and met some friends. These trials will, I think, turn out as I always expected, vindictive and iniquitous, and instead of suitable prosecutions for smaller offences in a very few wrong-headed men, magnified into a war upon Liberty and its virtuous defenders.

"*But the councils of God's providence in favour of the happiness of man will be brought about by the instrumentality of those who mean nothing less.*"*

"7th of November.

"I need not tell you the heart-felt joy which

* These lines are written in large letters in the original letter.

the words 'not guilty' gave me*. Time will shew the iniquity of the great. Granville Sharp has just been with me."

"London, 22d November.

"Since the commencement of Horne Tooke's trial, I have twice carried this letter in my pocket to the court in hopes of giving you the final result. The judge is summing up, and we expect the final decision almost every minute.

"Five days' close attendance has fatigued me too much to stand the court, the bad air, and the bad accommodation this morning.

"From the evidence, it seems to me impossible to decide against him. During the whole time he has shewn himself a wonderful man. If acquitted, he will probably be Member for Westminster.

"I fear I shall be obliged to give evidence again in the next trial in a point of much importance.

"If Tooke escapes the blood-hounds I expect to dine with him. I have not time to write on other matters. As soon as possible I shall return home."

"Sunday morning.

"On the words 'not guilty', the air was rent

* On the day on which Hardy's trial ended, Major Cartwright had just time to write and to put into the post a letter containing these words, "Hardy is acquitted, J. C.", which to his anxious family were indeed words of comfort and satisfaction. "You tell me", says he, in a subsequent letter, "that grievous alarm has been experienced on my account; but when was affection a good philosopher?"

with joyful shouts, and Felix trembled. As soon as the shouting subsided, Tooke addressed the Court, in a very few words, thanking them for their conduct on the trial, and then said, 'I hope Mr. Attorney-General that this verdict will be a warning to you not to attempt to shed mens' blood upon lame suspicions and doubtful inferences', or words to that effect. He then turned round to the jury and thanked them for his life. Every man of them shed tears. This brought tears to the eyes of Tooke who, during a six days' battle, while the advocates of power were thirsting for his life, stood as dauntless as a lion, giving a stroke to one and a gripe to another, as if he were at play. The jury were only out about five minutes, which were barely sufficient to reach the room assigned them and return. The panel on first forming the jury on Monday, bore such evident marks of management and partiality, that Erskine said to Tooke 'By G— they are murdering you.' Tooke started up and disputed with the Court upon their proceedings; when the Attorney-General gave up the three last challenges. Besides these three there was but one man thought at all favourable towards Tooke; judge then what they thought of the trial when they all shed tears on his thanking them for his life.

"I supped with Mr. Tooke at his surgeon's, Mr. Cline. About twenty in company. You may imagine the joy in every bosom. I would not but have been an evidence on this trial for the world.

The Attorney-General said I was deeply implicated in the proceedings inquired into from March to May, 1792.

"I knew this as well as he did; but I knew likewise that what I had done would set at defiance any accusation from him until English juries should become stupid and base enough to cut their own throats.

"By the decisions on the cases of Hardy and Tooke, which were by far the strongest for establishing a conspiracy, that bug-bear is at an end. In the case of Thelwall I can give an important testimony, and in so doing give also an answer to the Attorney-General.

"A system of proscription and terror like that of Robespierre has been for some time growing in this country, and had these trials been otherwise decided than they have been, it would have been completed and written in innocent and virtuous blood. But the attempt has failed."

"29th of November, 1794.

"Thelwall's trial begins on Monday. One of the principal charges made against him was by a man who perjured himself on Hardy's trial, and is a notorious villain living by such iniquities. It is thought he will not dare to appear again. Had you seen the sneaking figure made by your friend the Duke, your sneaking kindness would be at an end. For his dukedom I would not have exchanged feelings with him."

" London, 1st December, 1794.

" I have been for half an hour this evening to Thelwall's trial, and heard Serjeant Adair's opening speech of seven hours, which nearly lulled me to sleep, and I was told the Chief Justice had been asleep the greatest part of the time.

" A joyous dinner and afternoon yesterday at Tooke's. Four ladies, of whom two were his daughters, and a large party of men. We drank the King's health, which I dare say was not suspected at the next door (Dundas's), where he had Pitt and a large party to dine. Hoppner, Banks the sculptor, and Sharp the engraver, were there; busts, medals, &c. are under contemplation.

" You ask me what I want the pamphlets for; I have a short thing to publish, in hopes of driving the nail of Arthur Young for arming the people; and finding he has acted very shamefully to me in his ' Example to France, a Warning to Britain', I must say something in answer. Of all the books I ever read, this is the most dishonest.

" It is supposed that neither the Attorney or Solicitor-General will meddle in this cause. Bearcroft is to reply. If I be called, I shall not shew any inclination to treat the crown-lawyers with contempt; but as I shall be on strong ground, I shall say strong things. Unless by mere mistake, I *cannot* say any thing to do either the prisoners, the cause, or myself harm, because I know nothing but what must do good to all.

" I shewed some passages in Lord Abingdon's

book to [Felix] Vaughan, junior counsel in those causes, who thinks Erskine will be delighted with them. They contain Paine's doctrine about parliaments and prosecutions, which the prosecutors bring forward as treasonable. Lord Abingdon is now a staunch courtier."*

While reading the trial of John Horne Tooke, we cannot but be struck with the manly tone of the accused. When urged by Chief Justice Eyre not to acknowledge his hand-writing too hastily, he breaks forth with all the consciousness of innocence: "I protest before God that I have never done an action, never written a sentence in public or private, I have never entertained a thought on any political subject, which taken fairly with all the circumstances of time, place, and occasion, I have the smallest hesitation to admit.

"I choose my life and character to go together; I wish to admit all I have ever said, done, or written, to save time."

Of a piece with this noble declaration is the evidence of his intrepid friend. Though examined by the Attorney-General as to his own private

* The letters from which these extracts are taken, are filled with the most minute instructions respecting the management of the farm at Brothertoft during his absence, but these although extremely curious as proofs of the attention he paid to such different and distinct subjects, are of course omitted, as not interesting to the political reader.

opinions, and as to the steps he himself would take in particular cases, he does not avail himself of that excuse which he might have fairly urged, viz. that such questions were irrelevant and insnaring; he willingly answers these questions with a fearlessness which occasioned that warning admonition on the part of Chief Justice Eyre, which will be hereafter noticed.

It might perhaps be asked in this place, why the officer of the Crown was permitted to ask a question which the witness could not answer without, in the opinion of the judge, being guilty of imprudence, especially as it appears from the following passage in the Attorney-General's speech, that he anticipated a future prosecution of the witness himself? "And with respect to Major Cartwright", says the Attorney-General, "and Captain Harewood, and in the first place Major Cartwright, I am extremely sorry to state, it is not my practice—I believe those who know me know it is not—to speak of any gentleman unless the evidence in the case requires me to mention his name, but it is clear that in these transactions between March 1792 and May 1794, Major Cartwright himself is implicated to a very considerable degree: you will recollect what I said to you", &c. &c.—See Howell's State Trials, Vol. xxv. p. 510.

The substance of Major Cartwright's evidence on this occasion is as follows, and is copied nearly

verbatim (only omitting repetitions) from the summing-up of Chief Justice Eyre, as given in Howell's State Trials:

"The first witness on the part of Mr. Horne Tooke was Major Cartwright. He said he was a member of the Society for Constitutional Information, of which he was also considered the founder. That Dr. Brocklesby, Dr. Jebb, and Mr. Lofft, were among its earliest members; their object was to give to the public constitutional information, and particularly to promote a recovery of what they considered as their lost rights, meaning the rights of representation in the House of Commons; he never entertained an idea that the objects of the society were changed; and that for the last two years it was hardly in his power to attend, but he was many years in the attending. He never perceived any change of the general sentiments; in the outset they were in favour of universal suffrage and annual parliaments; that the Society was instituted before the Duke of Richmond's letter to Colonel Sharman was circulated, and he had many conversations with the Duke on the subject of that letter. He cannot pretend to say that it was the sole object of the Society to act upon the Duke of Richmond's plan; the sole object was a radical reform in the House of Commons, but there was a considerable difference of opinion; that many would have been glad of obtaining considerably less than that. He said that

if he had perceived that there were any persons who were not friends to the king's government, he would have remained in that society, and would have endeavoured to remove them, but that no man in the society ever started such an idea.

" He had known the prisoner intimately for sixteen years, and he appeared to him, from his public conduct and private conversations, to be a steady, firm and inflexible friend to a reform in the House of Commons. That of all men he ever knew, he was the steadiest and most invariable in his sentiments; that he had never heard any thing fall from him disrespectful to the office of royalty, but the contrary; that at all times when other opinions were put abroad, he always found Mr. Tooke hold that the regal and aristocratical branches of our constitution were excellent in themselves; and that if a reform in the other branches of the constitution could be obtained, it would be, in his opinion, the most perfect of any on earth. The witness had not seen Mr. Tooke since the spring of 1792; but down to that time had observed no variation of opinion.

" He recollected an illustration of Mr. Tooke's which shewed that his object did not go as far as Mr. Paine's. He was speaking of persons travelling in the same stage-coach, and getting out at different places, he said, 'When I find myself at Hounslow I get out, others may go farther.' Mr. Tooke did not write the letter to the Society of the Friends of the People, which was answered

upon the 16th of March, 1792; the witness himself subscribed it as chairman; it was written as a serious, friendly and solemn warning to a new society (see Appendix, No. VIII.), composed in a considerable degree of Members of Parliament, to guard against their departure from those principles which they once professed, friendly to the constitution, and it was the result of general observation that such had been their practice, that they meant nothing but Parliamentary reform. He was also a member of the new Society of the Friends of the People, and continued so. He never heard of any moving towards force of arms or violence. He was himself considered the father and founder of the society. He further said that Mr. Tooke never professed himself a favourer of universal suffrage, conceiving both Locke and the witness to be mistaken; that Mr Tooke by no means approved of all Mr. Paine's doctrines, though he thought some of them might be beneficial to this nation and others; that he approved of Locke only in part, and never praised a pure democracy, but contested the point with those who did.

"Upon his cross-examination the witness said, that the 25th of March, 1792, was the last time he attended that society, that he was present when the address of the jacobins was voted, but was not a party to the other addresses sent to France. That the subject of a convention was not agitated when he was present. He did not remember any conversation relating to strangling the vipers, aristocracy

and monarchy, but if such an expression was used in speaking of governments where monarchy and aristocracy were vipers to freedom, he should have thought it well applied.

"In so large a society as the Friends of the People, the letter sent them might be differently understood. He thought that their answer was carried only by one casting vote. There was no explanation by the Society for Constitutional Information; but there were private explanations by himself and others. He recollected some associated members from Sheffield, but did not recollect their names; they were not at all afraid of strangers. The witness said he meant to go to the obtaining a reform in the House of Commons. He was not governed by any man, but should be glad of the assistance of any man to procure it. He did not recollect being in the chair when they determined to support Paine; but if it was so stated in the books it must have been so. He said he did not consider Paine's writings as a conspiracy to overturn Government, but as discussions on the subject of government; that if he thought there were any conspirators in the society, he would have assisted in bringing them to justice. He believed that he had recommended Mr. Tooke to the society, and that he knew he had been convicted of a libel. This was the evidence of Major Cartwright."—Vol. xxv. p. 712.

Happening to be called again to answer a ques-

tion put to him by Mr. Horne Tooke, Major Cartwright requested to add a word or two in explanation of one of his answers to the Attorney-General, when he asked what persons he would take to his assistance in compassing the end he had in view.

"*Mr. Attorney-General.*—The question I asked you was this, whether you would get out with the Friends of the People at Hounslow, or stay in with the Society for Constitutional Information? In other words, whether you would go on to Hounslow with people of different political principles, whatever their principles were?

"*Major Cartwright.*—I think my answer was that I would take assistance of any man whose end I thought right.

"I beg to prevent any misunderstanding of that answer, to say by legal, moral and constitutional means, and not by any others; and I beg to explain it thus: I have signed many petitions for a reform in parliament, in company with men whom I have thought very bad men indeed; but there is no man so bad with whom I would not sign a petition and concur for obtaining that object.

"*Chief Justice Eyre.*—That may be a very sincere declaration, but it is not a very prudent one; because, in connecting yourself with bad men, you can never be sure that you may not be carried beyond your own purpose.

"*Major Cartwright.*—I mean that if I am doing any act as a citizen, such as signing petitions, men with whom I have acted upon those occasions, are men whose faces I have never before seen, and with whom I could not permit myself to associate with regard to their other purposes."—Howell's State Trials, p. 370.

This opinion he never changed, and to the end of his life he never refused to join in any *political* act, which he himself approved, with any persons whom he believed to be travelling the same road. He would sometimes jestingly ask whether, if the Duke of Wellington had enquired into the private character of every man in his army, and had refused the assistance of those whose opinions or conduct were not perfectly moral and correct, he would have gained the battle at Waterloo? Nor was Major Cartwright singular in this respect. No leader of a party, whether ministerial or in opposition, enquires into the character of all those by whom he is supported; and it is well known to every one that, at the time of an election, persons of the highest rank and proudest feelings will associate with the lowest and basest of mankind for their own ambitious purposes; a condescension which Major Cartwright was never in a single instance known to practise.

Before quitting the subject of the evidence by Major Cartwright on this occasion, it is necessary to mention an error which has arisen, and which

found its way into a popular journal soon after his death. It was there stated that he replied in court, to Chief Justice Eyre's observation, that, "he came not to state what was *prudent* but what was *true*."

The conviction on the mind of the writer of these memoirs that he actually pronounced these words was so strong, that the circumstance was mentioned by her as a fact, and it was not till some months afterwards that the mistake was discovered in reading the following passage in the introduction to the 'Commonwealth in Danger', pp. 8, 9.

"This law-officer [the Attorney-General], in his reply on the trial of Mr. Horne Tooke, was pleased to observe, with no small emphasis, that 'Major Cartwright was deeply implicated in the proceedings of the Society for Constitutional Information, in the spring of 1792.' It is most true, as the newspapers of that time have abundantly made known to the public, and while the representation of Englishmen in the House of Commons shall continue in its present mangled and melancholy state; and there shall remain but three men in the country so virtuous as to contend for its reform, I will associate with those men, and raise my voice in that honest cause.

"When in my evidence I said that I had signed many petitions for reform in Parliament, with those whom I thought bad, and that there was no man

so bad with whom I would not sign a petition for obtaining that object; it drew from the Bench an observation, that 'it might be a very sincere declaration, but was not a very prudent one; because, by connecting myself with bad men, I could never be sure that I might not be carried far beyond my purpose.'

"To this observation I made no reply in court; but I have now to remark, that I did not appear there as a witness upon my oath, to exhibit my prudence by any prevarication, but to speak truth. As the matter originated in my having been asked if I would get into the stage-coach of reform, without regarding the company that might happen to be in the coach, or to that effect; I must also remark that he who has a necessary journey to take, and no means but by a stage-coach, has not the choice of his company. Conceiving a reform in the House of Commons necessary to preserve the liberties of my country, I am not likely to refuse the assistance of any man in such moral means as I choose myself to adopt for that end. A man may travel in a stage-coach without connecting himself with bad men who may chance to be passengers, as he may sign petitions at public meetings without connecting himself with others who attend. I served for many years for the defence of my country in the militia; associated with what Mr. Young calls 'the dregs of the people' (p. 140), since the regiment was in a great degree composed of hired substitutes; and I have also fought the

enemies of England at sea, associated with even the worst men to be found in the night cellars of London, and with felons from Newgate, of whom I remember one man in particular of the name of Nicholls."*

* As the history of this man is very remarkable, it is here subjoined, in the words of Major Cartwright in relating the circumstance to his family:—

"Nicholls, with one or two other men, had murdered a woman in St. George's Fields, under circumstances of extraordinary brutality. In order to avert punishment from themselves, they conspired to accuse a person of the name of Coleman, the overlooker of a brewhouse in the neighbourhood, who was in the constant habit of passing that way every evening to his own house. In consequence of their concurring evidence, Coleman, though a man of remarkably good character, was condemned and executed. On some subsequent occasion, with the particulars of which Major Cartwright was not acquainted, Nicholls turned king's evidence against his accomplices, and officiated as the executioner. As a pardoned felon he was permitted to serve in the navy, and about the year 1760, he belonged to the Magnanime. Not being a regular seaman, he was made to do duty in the afterguard, and was stationed on the deck and poop in sight of all the officers. It was observed during the three or four years he remained in the ship that his countenance bore the marks of extreme dejection; he was never seen to smile, and seldom spoke a voluntary word. He was remarkable for attention to all the duties he had to perform. Upon his discharge at the conclusion of the war, he returned to his old haunts in St. George's Fields, and by a narrative which appeared in the newspapers, Major Cartwright became acquainted with his subsequent fate. Without seeking any employment, he wandered about from one public-house to another, as long as the money he had received for pay lasted, and was at last found dead in a ditch, close to the very spot where the murder of the unfortunate woman was perpetrated. The unmerited death of Coleman excites the more regret, as he left behind him a respectable widow and a large family of children."

In the course of Mr. Horne Tooke's trial, a letter from that gentleman to Lord Ashburton appeared in evidence, in which there is this passage, relating to Major Cartwright and his opinions:

"My virtuous and inestimable friend Major Cartwright, is a zealous and able advocate for equal and universal representation; that is, for an equal share of every man in the government. My Lord, I conceive his argument to be this: every man has an equal right to freedom and security. No man can be free, who has not a vote in the framing of those laws by which he is to be governed; he is not represented who has not this voice: therefore, every man has an equal right to representation, or to a share in the government. His final conclusion is, that every man has an equal share in the representation. Now, my Lord, I conceive the error to lie chiefly in the conclusion; for there is a great difference between having an equal right to a share, and a right to an equal share.

"An estate may be devised by will amongst many persons in different proportions; to one, five pounds, to another, five hundred, &c. Each person will have a right to his share, but not to an equal share."

It may, perhaps, be presumptuous to attempt a confutation of the arguments of so acute and logical a writer as Mr. Horne Tooke; but common sense, without the assistance of learning or deep

discrimination, seems to suggest a few short remarks in defence of Major Cartwright's opinions.

Mr. Tooke certainly intended to allow, that all men had a right (though not in an equal degree) to freedom and security. But, it may be asked, if one man be only to have a *degree* of liberty, is he free? If he have only a degree of security, is he secure? Degrees of freedom and security are something like degrees in honesty: one man may rob his neighbour of only five shillings, while another takes a hundred pounds; but are either of them *honest?*

Supposing that freedom and security are divided into ten parts, and one man to have eight parts, while another has two; in that case, does it not appear evident that the freedom and security of the latter will be endangered by the preponderating influence of the former?

Before we conclude our notice of the proceedings of this year, a letter shall be inserted, on a subject in which, happily, more persons are generally interested and involved, than in trials for high treason. And if the grave politician, or graver critic, who deigns to peruse these pages, shall think it unworthy his notice, he is requested either to pass it over, or to recommend it to the attention of any of his young friends, to whom it may be more useful.

" 16th October, 1794.

" MY DEAR * * *,

" Your agreeable letter of the 10th has been followed by one from your father, and another from your aunt, on the same subject.

" The very high character given in these of the lady's father, both accounts for the generosity of his conduct, and removes every doubt as to the desirableness of the union you wish to form. That the object of your admiration should shew, in her complexion, as much affinity to Asia as to Europe, is a mere matter of taste. European opinion is certainly more favourable to the peach than to the olive; but as long as virtue and intellect do not reside in the skin, if *your* taste can relish that sort of beauty with which the Creator has thought fit to adorn the East, that, my dear * * *, is your own separate concern: connect me but with innocence and amiableness, I will never enquire its colour. I have seen Asiatics, and persons of mixed descent, with very agreeable complexions; but my own experience in that way has not, I own, been sufficiently extensive to overcome my preference to European flesh and blood.

" The advice you have received, not to make your declaration to the lady until you have reason to persuade yourself that it is wished for, is judicious. A too early declaration produces constraint; it converts the mistress into a critic; and, in this state of things, suspicion, caprice, and even reason, may all enlist themselves against you.

Love, and particularly a first love, in a delicate mind, is jealous of its liberty, and shrinks from the thought of solicitation. Doubt, fear and hope are as necessary to love, as changes of season to the myrtle: all sunshine is destructive to either. You will not want penetration to know when to make your declaration; but be not too hasty. Remember Miss * * *'s extreme youth; and that the youthful mind, under the influence of a virtuous passion, is in the happiest of all tempers for receiving deeply every good and every noble impression. Happy is the lover who avails himself of this opportunity to assist his beloved in laying that solid foundation of right principles on which the happiness of life is built. When the tutor is the object of love, the lessons readily take possession of the heart, and are the best securities for an attachment that will pass unshaken through all the temptations of life.

"The uncommon partiality and friendship shewn you by Mr. * * * will not I hope make you vain, but will only serve to animate you to secure the continuance of his esteem, by cultivating those amiable qualities and manly virtues, which can recommend you to him as the husband of a daughter for whom he seems to possess so lively an esteem.

"My opinion of you, my dear * * * is far too high to suppose that motives of selfishness would influence you in the choice of a wife: desirable as money may be, nothing unworthy of a noble mind

will, I trust, ever bias you in its pursuit, or mislead you in its application. Money is power; and the use and the pleasure of power must be to do good.

"No wealth will, I hope, transform you into that vacant, spiritless, useless thing—a mere man of fashion. It is satisfactory to me to find that Miss *** is of a grave turn of mind, addicted to books, and wholly unacquainted with the frivolous occupations of fashionable life. With an affectionate, sensible, and steady guide, her taste may therefore be formed for the superior enjoyments of society, and the duties and sweets of domestic life. Common amusements and common company may be in their turn resorted to as favourable to health, to cheerfulness, and to usefulness in the world. The frothy syllabub of human life is a good ingredient among the other sweets of the feast; but it is sorry food to subsist upon.

"Should the prospects now opening upon you divert your thoughts from the profession you had intended to pursue, let them not tempt you to abandon some particular pursuit and occupation: it may be laid down as a rule, that the more useful to your fellow-creatures that occupation shall be, the more pleasing it will be to the Creator of us all, and the more a source of satisfaction to yourself.

"When your military duties, and your more interesting engagements shall allow you to give us

your company here, it will afford the whole circle much pleasure.

"Your affectionate relation and friend,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

In 1795, he published his "Commonwealth in Danger", in answer to Arthur Young's "Example of France a Warning to Great Britain." Though this work had been a considerable time before the public, he had not heard of it till he was called to attend the state trials in the preceding year*. Mr. Young, it seems, had attacked him with the grossest and most virulent abuse. Jacobin, cut-throat, thief, and reformer, were with him synonymous terms; and he even went so far as to recommend Major Cartwright's works to the official notice of the Attorney General. Among other unfounded assertions, he speaks of Major Cartwright as an indiscriminate admirer of all the acts which followed the French Revolution. This accusation his opponent successfully repels, and at the same time shews by various extracts from Mr. Young's former works, the inconsistency of his opinions.

* In the introduction to this work, p. lxvii., speaking of the ballot he says, "It is necessary to the poor man's protection. In a democracy when an equality of property and power took place to a great degree, it might be less necessary; but every man who contemplates the state of property in this country, and the hereditary powers sanctioned by our constitution, must admit of the necessity of a ballot on a principle of justice."

In page 34 of the Introduction, Major Cartwright says, "It is true that I have always been a friend to such a revolution as should give France a free constitution instead of her antient despotism, and can lay my hand on my heart and say, I have not seen the moment in which I could wish back that antient despotism to be rivetted on the people as a remedy for evils which, though dreadful, I trusted were only temporary; but it is a base falsehood that I have *equally* approved of all the means employed by the successive actors since the beginning.

"In the first constitution I thought I saw defects, and on the other points I had doubts. At present France has no constitution, but a temporary and revolutionary government."

It is indeed lamentable to observe with what illiberality persons otherwise so estimable and useful to the public as Mr. Arthur Young, are too ready to treat their political opponents; and it is probable that Mr. Young himself regretted the circumstance, when in 1797, he introduced himself at Brothertoft Farm to its owner, and an intercourse took place as cordial as if nothing unpleasant had occurred between them*.

* On the death of an unfortunate gentleman who was slain in a duel, Major Cartwright was reminded that he had a few years before been the object of that person's particular censure and gross abuse in the House of Commons. "I had forgotten the circumstance" was his brief reply.

In that year Mr. Arthur Young gave an account, in his survey of Lincolnshire of what he had witnessed at Brothertoft Farm, and we have reason to believe that during his visit at that place, the subject of politics was never mentioned.

Those who were not personally acquainted with Major Cartwright, will perhaps be surprised to hear, that he could accommodate his conversation to almost every person with whom he was in company, and though he probably thought and wrote more on political subjects than any other public character, yet it may be safely asserted, that many have spoken more on the subject in private society in one year, than Major Cartwright did in the whole course of his life.

A gentleman (himself a man of peculiarly polished and elegant manners) who had married one of his near relations, and whose opinions on politics were very different, once spent a week at his house, and on his departure remarked, "he was agreeably surprised to find Major Cartwright (whom he had never before seen) an elegant finished gentleman, possessing a fund of agreeable anecdote and information on a variety of topics, never introducing politics, but discussing them, if they happened to be the subject of conversation, with the utmost temper, mildness, and good-humour."

During the year 1795, notwithstanding much indisposition, he was employed in drawing up petitions for various places, and on various occasions.

Being unable from illness to attend a county meeting at Lincoln, he prepared a petition which he sent to the high sheriff Ayscough Boucherett, Esq., which was rejected without being read, as appears by the sheriff's answer, in which he very honestly says, "I sincerely lament that you did not make use of a more *willing* advocate than myself."

"TO CHARLES JAMES FOX, ESQ.

"21st November, 1795.

"SIR,

"As long as memory remains to me, I can never forget the obligation of an Englishman to you, for the generous and nobly indignant opposition which you have given to the two execrable bills now pending; bills intended for riveting our chains, and silencing for ever the voice of complaint, especially on the grand subject of parliamentary reform.

"Rendered by an accident a cripple to my fireside, I was prevented from going into the neighbourhood to seek for men who felt as I felt. I wrote a few letters, but I fear without success. It not being my nature to sink under such despotism without a struggle, I determined at length to send to the House of Commons my individual petition, which I have to request you will do me the honour to present.

"I have been particularly solicitous that no expression should furnish a pretext for refusing to

receive it, and shall confide in your judgment to introduce it in the most advantageous manner for securing it the reception of the House, hoping its subsequent publication and circulation may thereby be provided for; whereas if rejected, it would fall particularly within the purview of those dreadful bills now passing, since it could not fail to excite abhorrence of that which would then I fear be construed as part of the 'established' government and constitution.

"Should the opposition to these bills fail, it will almost wholly rest with the friends of freedom in Parliament to nourish the cause of freedom. But the next stroke we may expect is to forbid the publication of the debates; for despotism cannot stop with only half its work done."

"TO JOHN CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

"26th November, 1795.

"SIR,

"I beg your pardon for not answering sooner the two obliging letters you have favoured me with. As I suppose the particular day on which your petition is presented is not a matter of importance, I have hitherto deferred it; because, to speak the truth, I have been so hurried with business, that I have not till this morning had time to read it.

"I need not apprize you that my sentiments with regard to universal suffrage are far different from yours; but this difference of opinion in a

point so important, has never prevented me from doing justice to your character, and sincerely admiring that ardent zeal which has so constantly animated you in the cause of the liberty of mankind.

"As a business, not connected with the bills now pending, comes on to-day in the House of Commons, I shall defer presenting your petition till to-morrow.

"I am, with great esteem, &c.

"CHARLES JAMES FOX."

When Mr. Fox presented this petition he said, "That he had not hitherto had the political support of the gentleman from whom the petition came; on the contrary, he had manifested the most ardent zeal in opposition to his measures when he had been in office; and had been equally strenuous and sincere in supporting the present administration, so long as he conceived their measures directed to the advancement of public happiness; but the instant Mr. Pitt abandoned the principles which had raised him to popularity and power, Major Cartwright had withdrawn his confidence and support; but laying aside all partial considerations, he was a man whom all parties respected. He was one whose enlightened mind and profound constitutional knowledge, placed him in the highest rank of public character, and whose purity of principle and consistency of conduct through life, commanded the most respectful attention to his opinions."

In the following year he wrote "The Constitutional Defence of England, Internal and External," addressed to the freeholders of the county of Lincoln; in which he says, "I have no fox-hunter's vote to bestow on any one; neither have I vote for party nor for connexion; no, nor even for sacred friendship. To my friend I will give my purse, my hand, my heart; but I will not give him that which is not mine. My vote I hold in trust; it belongs to my country, and my country alone shall have it."

A general election placed him at this time in the situation of both an elector and of a proposed candidate; and the following letters will farther shew what he considered his duty in these respective capacities.

"TO J. L——, ESQ.

"I owe you, my dear Sir, so much civility and friendship, and should be so truly happy in doing what might be agreeable to Mrs. L——, that if I should not at present be able to say, whether I can or cannot give my vote and assistance to Sir J. T., I trust you will not impute it to any other cause than that in respect of political representation I do not allow myself to gratify any personal feelings which can interfere with a strict adherence to the principles which I conceive to be of moral obligation.

"The result is, that the only candidate I can

assist is he on whom I can rely for a sincere co-operation in every attempt to render the House of Commons a real representation of the people.

"I am, dear Sir, &c.

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

"TO MR. COPE.

"26th May, 1796.

"In case our short conversation of yesterday should have produced any of the effects you wish, and the disengaged party should continue to desire my services, I think it right to communicate to you my sentiments in writing, as the best means of preventing mistakes, and of bringing matters to an issue, for the satisfaction of all parties.

"To be solicited, as I have been, to accept a seat in Parliament, is a compliment of the most honourable nature. My political opinions and objects have been so repeatedly made known, that my readiness to accept of such an offer, under proper circumstances, cannot be doubted for so long a service as my health might permit; or until I could see the ruinous influence of ministers over the House of Commons at an end.

"But on the present occasion, ill customs and practices make it necessary that certain points and explanations should be attended to. I must be clearly and perfectly understood by those who propose to elect me. My meaning is, that my agreement to become their representative, is to be con-

sidered in the light of undertaking a painful and unprofitable office; not as accepting a gift to be bartered away for my own profit and emolument. My sole view is faithfully to serve my country, at a time when she stands in much need of independent and uncorrupt representatives.

"In the antient and wholesome times of *uninfluenced elections*, representatives received wages. I ask no wages. I am ready to serve at my own expense. That I think very sufficient; nor will I do more. Neither now, nor hereafter, will I expend a farthing in consideration of being elected. I will not ring a bell, nor even contribute to a ball. It is for the constituents to do these things if they find cause of rejoicing, in having successfully triumphed over attempts against their rights and liberties. When the parliamentary servants of a community make their rejoicings, and give their entertainments on being appointed, it demonstrates that the very ends of election are perverted and destroyed; and that some great disease has fallen on the system of representation.

"I have nothing to gain from being in Parliament but the good of the public; except personal fatigue, and personal inconvenience. I have no vote to sell. I have no re-election to court. Although I relinquish the wages which would be constitutionally due to me from my constituents, I will not forget, that as an upright representative I ought not to receive either pay or patronage, or

emolument in any other form from those ministers of the Crown over whom it is the first duty of an honest House of Commons to watch with the eye of vigilance, and to hold the strong hand of controul. In short, Sir, I have no motives for either making my election a matter of expense, or my public services a source of private discomfort and vexation. Proud to serve the elective body of the borough in the great council of the nation, I am too proud to fawn on individual electors, or to fall in with the humours of such as may mistake the nature of the political connexion between a constituent body and its parliamentary representative. Those things are done and submitted to as the means of influence, and they too often lead to corruption.

"I have, now, Sir, to observe, that in the present situation of things at Boston, when two candidates seem to conceive themselves secure of success, and when I profess myself to be utterly ignorant of the state of things, it would expose me, not only to ridicule but to odium, to commence a canvass; and the same consequences must follow my appearance as a candidate at the poll on any other ground than that of receiving from *a sufficient number* of electors, an unequivocal and substantial offer of a seat in Parliament. If there be such a body of electors as have power to make that offer, and who disapprove of either of the present candidates, that is a proof that such candidate ought not to be elected. If such a body of elect-

ors wish me to represent their borough, I am ready to receive their commands.

"But, Sir, uninformed as I am of every thing relating to the weight of parties, the only invitation it would, at this late period, be proper for me to accept, is an invitation in writing, signed by a sufficient number of electors, to prove that it would not be ineffectual; signifying that they have seen this letter, and expressing the votes pledged to me; distinguishing such as are to be single, and such as are to be split between myself and another candidate. At the same time, Sir, you will have the goodness to obtain for me from undoubted authority, accurate information concerning the total number of voters. You must be aware, that where there are three candidates, a man may have in his favour a majority of electors, and against him a majority of votes.

"As the offer that has been made me, and the object I am ready to embrace is a *seat in Parliament*, not a *contested election;* and as zeal and sanguine hopes sometimes produce hasty declarations, I trust that with the sentiments I avow, you will see the propriety of what I have pointed out, if I am ultimately called upon.

"I have ever professed myself a strenuous advocate of annual elections. I will now shew the sincerity of these professions. At the expiration of one year from the commencement of the next session of parliament, should I be sent thereunto as a representative for Boston, I will, if required

by my constituents so to do, resign my seat; or at the expiration of any other year, according to their wishes in that respect.

"I remain, Sir,

"Your most obedient Servant,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

As this letter was not calculated to advance the interest of a candidate in a borough-town, it is hardly necessary to say, that the party concerned did not renew the application.

Mr. Horne Tooke being at this time about to publish his "Diversions of Purley", thus writes:

"TO JOHN CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

"MY DEAR MAJOR,

"I write the moment after Mr. F. shewed me your note. I have so lately set up the trade of a bookseller, that I do not carry it on in a proper manner. I thank you for becoming a subscriber, but you must also be a retail dealer for me if you can find customers.

"I have been very ill these last three weeks, but am now something relieved by a smart fit of the gout in my foot. Gurney submitted the trial (as his son informed me) to the Chief Justice, the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, Mr. Erskine, and Mr. Gibbs. But when applied to by my friends, I was refused a sight of any part of it. When you read it you will see the consequence.

"If the people consent to a substitute for bread,

the poor of this country will eat bread no more. This war is intended to put, and is likely to put the seal to the deed of transfer of the English constitution. I think the cause of reform is dead and buried *.

" Yours, &c.

" J. H. TOOKE."

In consequence of the alarming mutiny in the navy, which took place in the year 1797, Major Cartwright wrote to his friend Admiral, afterwards Sir William, Young, who was then one of the Lords of the Admiralty, suggesting what appeared to him the best means for bringing back the discontented sailors to their duty †.

In this correspondence he suggested the propriety of his old commander, Lord Howe, being employed to bring the mutineers to reason, for he felt persuaded, that he who had been justly styled by the King " The Father of the Navy", would not be heard in vain by British sailors, however exasperated and misled.

It is well known that Lord Howe was afterwards employed with success on this occasion.

* In the margin of this letter is written in Major Cartwright's own hand-writing, " But J. C. is a believer in the resurrection."

† Sir William Young attended at Warwick in the year 1820, to prove this fact on the trial of his friend; but the business being then put off, he was prevented afterwards by illness from appearing. His affidavit, however, was produced in the King's Bench, in June, 1821.

In this year many efforts were made on the part of Major Cartwright for the promotion of a public meeting at Boston, which were for some time ineffectual. The leading gentlemen on the popular side being consulted, one of them declared his wish to see examples set by other places of greater importance, and another that it would be expedient to observe first what would be the conduct of the Livery of London; though both were fully sensible (to use their own words) "of all the arguments adduced, they could not perceive the expediency of instantly acting up to their conviction."

To this mode of reasoning, our reformer had been accustomed from the earliest period of his political career, and indeed it was the language which attended him to the last, but he was not the more inclined to relinquish his attempt, and he had soon after the satisfaction of witnessing a respectable meeting at the Cross-Chamber in Boston, where he proposed and carried a petition, which, by a letter from Mr. Tierney, appears to have been presented by that gentleman about the 20th of April to the House of Commons.

A counter-petition was afterwards signed, of which an honourable member thus writes: "The number of those who signed the Boston counter-petition were ninety-seven. The petition was chiefly about corn, but the last paragraph takes notice of Cartwright's meeting, denies that it speaks the sense of the inhabitants, and prays that

Parliament will not alter the present state of the representation."

In the year 1797 was written and published, "The Appeal", in favour of which some of the reviewers were profuse in their praises. Of this book, Mr. Wyvill says, "I am obliged to you for the present of your Appeal on the English Constitution, which was sent me by Johnson. I shall be eager to read it, being convinced of the soundness of your political principles, and the rectitude of your intentions as a reformer, though it has been my lot to serve the public on grounds far less extensive in the hope, now daily diminishing, to avoid a revolution by effecting a gradual reform."

"FROM CAPEL LOFFT, ESQ.

"In consequence of your kind letter, I have at length obtained from Mr. Johnson your valuable and most impressive Appeal on the English Constitution.

"I am glad to hear of the intercourse which has taken place between you and Mr. Arthur Young, and of your conferences and correspondence on agricultural subjects. He is greatly to be pitied for his late loss of a daughter of every amiable and virtuous promise.

"I believe his spirits were soothed by conversing with you on his favourite topic of agriculture, and it is pleasant to reflect, that two men at the widest distance in political matters, yet amicably

confer and act together on this other great subject of public interest."

Major Cartwright being this year, 1797, much consulted in the formation of several infant societies, gives to one of their presidents the following advice:—

"I thank the * * * Union Society for the communication made to me of two papers, one containing the constitution adopted by their body, and the other an Address to the Nation.

"I hold it to be the truest wisdom in all virtuous men to extend as much as possible a knowledge of the constitution and of the true principles of Government, and nothing is more likely to conduce to that end than the formation of societies for those particular purposes.

"In forming and conducting such societies, we see that the utmost prudence is required, and indeed, to say the truth, such societies injudiciously formed, or ill-conducted, will probably do the cause of liberty more harm than good. When political societies make public declarations, and venture to go beyond first principles already admitted, in a publication of facts which cannot be controverted, a very considerable share both of caution and of knowledge is necessary for avoiding errors, which may not only mislead themselves and others, but give advantage to the enemies of freedom. Among this last-mentioned class of men,

there is much ability and learning, and it contains persons deeply skilled in political economy, finance, and other branches of the science of Government, who of course never fail to turn against the friends of freedom their own inconclusive arguments.

"I take the liberty of making these remarks, because I observe some passages in your papers of which I should fear advantage may be taken.

"I have not time for criticism, nor many observations on the subject (which, indeed, is deep and extensive); but wishing to guard the society against attack, I shall offer to their consideration a few notes, and shall be happy if they are esteemed of any value*.

"The appointment of a *committee of electors* seems to be a close imitation of the electoral assemblies under the French constitution; which I esteem its greatest blemish. On this subject I beg your attention to the note in page 59 of the Appeal; of a copy of which I herewith beg your acceptance.

"Should you retain this part of your constitution, you must expect to be assailed by your adversaries with great ridicule. Even in the French, who do not adopt universal suffrage, it is barely excusable, and shews them not to have formed accurate notions of political liberty; but in a society which exacts from its members a test in favour of universal suffrage, to have its administrative com-

* As the constitution of this society is not preserved, some of the remarks upon it would be obscure, and are therefore omitted.

mittee elected by a mere deputation, is against all principle, and would completely condemn the notions of universal suffrage.

"It is much to be wished, that some one who has leisure would properly criticise this part of the French constitution, before it infect the several republics now rising under its shadow*.

"The phrase 'domineering rich' is exceptionable, as it may, by cavillers, be construed into an attempt to excite the poor to invade the property of the rich. It is not by an invasion of such property that the condition of the poor is to be amended, but by such EQUAL LAWS as would have a natural tendency to prevent injustice, and to benefit every class of the community.

"By means of associations in favour of reform, it is to be hoped a more complete circulation of political knowledge will be effected, and that, in due time, the mass of the people will be instructed in their rights and duties, as citizens, without violating a single law, or giving a rational alarm to any but the children of corruption. When *they* take the alarm, good men ought to rejoice; as it proves that some progress has been made towards restoring the lost rights of the people."

* This defect was afterwards repeated in the constitution of Spain, and has been remarked on in different parts of Major Cartwright's works, particularly in his Appeal, Part I. p. 48. See also Vol. II. of these Memoirs, p. 107, and letter to Mr. Northmore, 6th January, 1823.

In the next year (1798) the indefatigable patriot published another edition of his Appeal, with additions. The circumstance which chiefly occasioned these additions, and which he considered was a feature of the times worthy of animadversion, was the prevention of a public meeting proposed to take place at the Cross-Chamber at Boston. The mayor's promise of the use of the chamber had been obtained; but at the sessions which took place soon after, an alarm was excited by a gentleman connected with the borough, who insinuated that Major Cartwright's intentions were dangerous to the state, and that the persons who had signed the hand-bill, announcing the meeting, had, but a few years back, earned their livelihood by the spade and the plough.

In consequence of this representation, eleven of the grand jury signed an address, to request the mayor to recal his promise, and to forbid the use of the room. The twelfth man, though a publican, and threatened with the loss of his licence, refused to sign, declaring that he could never be brought to believe that the Major was a dangerous person, or that any thing alarming to the state was in contemplation. With regard to the resolutions proposed to be offered to the meeting, Lord Stanhope and Mr. Fox seem to have entertained the same opinion with the honest publican, as appears by the following letters:

"TO JOHN CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

"Chevening House, near Seven Oaks,
"January 19th, 1798.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I return you a great many thanks for the very excellent resolutions which you have had the goodness to send me, and which you intended to be moved at Boston on the 27th instant, in favour of parliamentary reform.

"You know I have long been of opinion that a substantial reform and annual elections are indispensable to preserve the liberty and prevent the ruin of the nation. Every day confirms me in that opinion.

"It is one which it is impossible not to be rooted in the mind of every man of sense who means well; and especially after what we have seen of late!!!

"Ever your most faithful

"STANHOPE."

"TO JOHN CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

"12th January, 1798.

"DEAR SIR,

"I return you many thanks for your three letters, and the obliging expressions in them towards me personally.

"I assure you, when we most differed I never failed to do justice to the goodness of your intentions.

"I think your resolutions very proper, and that there is nothing in them that can justly be considered disrespectful.

"I am, dear Sir, &c.

"CHARLES JAMES FOX."

"TO JOHN CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

"29th July, 1793.

"DEAR SIR,

"I deferred answering your letter of the 19th instant, till I received the pamphlets, which I did not till yesterday evening. I shall certainly read Sir William Jones's, and that of Mr. Sharp, which relates to the militia.

"I suspect that you and I, on the subject of national armament, agree very exactly, not only upon principles, but upon the application of those principles; but I suspect, too, that our opinion is very far either from being, or from being likely to become a prevalent one for some time.

"If you should think that publishing upon the subject is likely in any degree to conciliate people's minds to it, it is certainly very laudable in you to do so; and the more so, as I think it evident that nothing can now be published in favour of liberty, without considerable risk. The decision against Wakefield's publisher appears to me decisive against the liberty of the press; and indeed after it, one can hardly conceive how any prudent

tradesman can venture to publish any thing that can in any way be disagreeable to the ministers.

" I am, with great truth,

" Dear Sir, yours ever,

" St. Anne's Hill, Saturday." " C. J. FOX."

" TO JOHN CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

" Wichen Park, near Stoney Stratford,
30th July, 1798.

" DEAR SIR,

" In a packet of letters, papers, &c. from the Temple, two days ago, I received your obliging letter of the 21st instant. I should be sorry that you should extend your work to any great length. It is quite sufficient to shew, that the people anciently exercised their *right of electing magistrates, judges,* &c. without descending to the tedious process of tracing the steps by which they successively lost these most valuable rights; for the latter will not only require much time, and many words, but will be more particularly liable (in these jealous times of military violence) to excite the animosity of time-servers against you. And even with respect to some parts of my own letter (to Mr. M.) on this subject, I conceive that their publication would not be effectual to any good purpose against the interested party-prejudices of the present corrupt times; but whatever use you think proper to make of that work, the name of its author ought, at least, to be concealed from

the public, in order to abate, in some degree, the bitterness of *tory-prejudices* against his doctrine.

"You ask me, if I can '*shew that any other encroachment on the people's rights has operated to the loss of election in this case?*' If you mean *the case* of the loss of *electing the high constables*, I must answer, that in the said loss was involved the loss of electing the *military commanders* of each hundred families—the loss of electing the proper *militia officers* of every district and neighbourhood; for in these the *civil* and *military* authorities were always united in the same person, while we enjoyed a *constitutional militia*, with *officers elected by the people;* but the *modern militia* is rendered completely a mere branch of the *standing army*, through the want of *residence at home* (as well as the want of *election*), and also through want of *rotation* in the service, whereby the individuals are deprived of their trades and callings, or ordinary means of subsistence, and of course lose entirely their *civil capacity*, and rely only on their military pay as mere *sold*-iers, or mercenaries. So that by the unfortunate disuse of *frank-pledge*, the people have really *lost all their own proper power*, the '*power of the county*,' or '*posse comitatus*'; and that *this power* ought never to have been entrusted in other hands *than those of the people themselves*, it will be sufficient (without mentioning more obvious reasons) to urge the impossibility that any nation can *be able to support the expense of paying* a sufficient mercenary power to protect it; for all the most

wealthy and powerful nations of the world have actually been taxed into bankruptcy, and ruined by this abominable measure of maintaining *standing armies*, besides the greater evil of being *enslaved* into the bargain; though all this ruinous expense to the people has been furnished from their own pockets against themselves! But no encroachment on *elections* has been more fatal than that on the *popular election of bishops*. I have added a distinct tract on this head at the end of my book on *Congregational Courts*. In the beginning of the same book proofs are given, from Holy Scripture, that the judges *and officers*, of every degree were *elected by the people* under the *theocracy;* and the highest evidence of *popular rights* is surely the open acknowledgment and declaration of them by the *prime minister* of a great nation, who was unquestionably appointed to that dignity, even by the Almighty himself!

"Respecting *juries*, you will find eight whole chapters in Chancellor Sir John Fortescue's excellent book, '*De Laudibus Legum Anglice*', '*On the Commendations of the Laws of England*', (from the 25th to the 32d chapter inclusive,) which, though wrote in Latin, has an English version annexed in an opposite column. But I don't find that any mention is therein made of the *election* of *jurors* by the *hundreders*, or by the householders, as such; but only of the *naming* or *proposing* of them by the *sheriffs*, with particular directions for their guidance in this duty. That they shall

summon '*good and lawful men, against whom neither of the parties have any manner of exception, or challenge; and of whom at least four out of twelve shall be of the hundred where the village standeth, wherein the fact whereupon the suit riseth, is supposed to be done.*' *That every such juror shall have lands or revenues for term of life, at least to the value of forty shillings*, &c. But on an exception being found to convict the sheriff of *partiality*, the pannel is to be made by the *coroners*, or (on their likewise being found faulty) by two *clerks of the court chosen by the justices*, and *sworn* to make an *indifferent pannel*, (that is an *impartial* pannel, *indifferent* to both parties,) and in all these cases due legal exceptions by the parties in the cause at issue are to be allowed. A jury, therefore, is not formed, either by the *election* of the *householders* as such, or of the *sheriff*, or of the *coroner*, &c., but rather by the just and legal exceptions of the parties at variance, excluding, as far as human prudence can suggest, all partial, influenced, and improper judges of their cause. And in cases of criminal charge, as for treason, &c., it is certainly *reasonable* for the furtherance of justice, that the Attorney-General or counsel for the King should also be allowed to challenge any juryman *as far only as he can produce any* JUST *and* LEGAL *exceptions*, but no farther. So that your quotation from Judge Blackstone, (Book IV. 350, shewing that *peremptory challenges, though granted* '*to the prisoner, are denied to the King*', &c.) is

surely an ample confutation of the *present Attorney-General's* claim to a *peremptory challenge* for the King in such *cases*. But with respect to the *modern* practice of *striking* juries, as directed by an act of 3d Geo. II. mentioned by Judge Blackstone in Vol. III., p. 358, it seems to be only a prudent regulation in the *mere form* of appointing juries, but not at all contrary to the genuine spirit and intention of the institution. When you returned my tract on Congregational Courts, you sent with it an excellent book by Mr. Trenchard, &c., which does not belong to me, but I will take the first opportunity of returning it after I have perused it. I propose to return to London in about a week or ten days. With respectful compliments to Mrs. Cartwright and yourself, I remain, dear Sir,

"Your affectionate friend and humble Servant,

"GRANVILLE SHARP."

The difficulty which Major Cartwright experienced in finding a publisher for the second edition of the Appeal to the Nation, obliged him to become his own bookseller; and the work was accordingly advertised in the following manner:—"This day is published, and sold by the author, An Appeal, Civil and Military, on the subject of the English Constitution, by John Cartwright, Esq. who now appeals to an English People on the Condition of the English Press. What that condition is, he needs not describe on the present occasion;

it is enough to say, the state of the press left him no choice that was congenial with his feelings. Secret circulation he disdained; and a painful sense of duty to himself and to the public, has made him his own bookseller. Could he have suffered certain openly avowed doctrines, and certain deliberate and systematic acts, which not only strike at all English freedom, but which also lead (and by no indirect course) to the ruin of the aristocracy and the subversion of the throne, to have passed without observation, he could not have had the consciousness of acting as an Englishman ought to act; or could he have submitted to suppress a work intended to vindicate the constitution of his country against the worst faction that ever caused her either danger or dishonour, he must have felt himself that abject thing to which it seems intended that every Englishman shall be reduced.

"Applications and orders to be addressed to the author's servant, Mr. Richard Hayward, No. 1, Russell Court, Drury Lane."

The French Revolution was styled by Madame Roland, "that touchstone of mankind," and it may be said, that politics are sometimes the touchstone of friendship. A man of a dissipated character, a gambler, a defaulter to Government, may be tolerated in polished society, but friendship is not always proof against the charge of associating with those who vindicate and assert the rights of the people. The publication of "The Appeal" caused the loss (if loss it could be called) of

two of Major Cartwright's intimate acquaintance, who, with every expression of personal respect and friendship, begged to inform him that such an unqualified declaration of his political opinions, obliged them in future to decline his society. It is, however, somewhat singular, that about this time, as it were to make up for their secessions, he made two valuable additions to the number of those friends who were destined never to forsake him.

It is gratifying to record that in many instances his confidence in the stability of human friendship was not misplaced; and among the most conspicuous of these, it is impossible not to mention his worthy and excellent friend Mr. Northmore.

At the election at Westminster, and twice at Warwick, did this gentleman, though at a distance of above two hundred miles, come forward to assist the venerable reformer by his presence, and when, to use his own forcible expression, "It pleased God to call this friend of humanity to himself," nothing but the most unavoidable circumstances prevented his joining the faithful band who paid the last tribute of respect to his mortal remains.

From the confidential correspondence which took place between these fellow labourers in the field of reform, extracts will be given in the future part of this work, whenever they tend to throw a light on those political events of the day in which Major Cartwright was concerned.

In a letter which accompanied the packet con-

taining this correspondence, Mr. Northmore thus addresses the writer of this narrative:

"Cleve, 29th of January, 1825.

"The letters I send you comprise a period of sixteen years, and afford no trifling proof of my late excellent friend's ardent and persevering exertions, through good report and evil report, in the great cause of human freedom and his country's happiness.

"My late friend and tutor, Gilbert Wakefield, used to say, that '*no effort is lost.*' The Major's are daily producing their effects.

"Among the various misrepresentations of our worthy friend's attainments is that of Hazlitt; see his ninth essay 'On People with One Idea'*, particularly where he speaks of 'that love of distinction which is mostly at the bottom of this peculiarity,' p. 142, 3; for the Major's ruling passion was the love of his country and of man†, and Hazlitt himself, upon another occasion (p. 111)

* In this work Mr. Hazlitt must have been misled in his judgment, by the erroneous report of others, for it does not appear that he had any personal acquaintance with Major Cartwright. That gentleman being asked if he knew Mr. Hazlitt, replied, "I am not aware that I have ever been in his company, but I have a faint recollection that I had once an opportunity, when applied to by a friend, of doing a gentleman of that name a trifling service."

† It was remarked by a foreigner, to whom Mr. Hazlitt's opinion was mentioned, that "He was perfectly correct, Major Cartwright having certainly one idea which engrossed him, but in which were comprehended all the best interests of mankind."

admits that one proud distinction is enough for any individual to possess or to aspire to.' But the fact is this, that Major Cartwright was not so confined in his acquirements as Hazlitt supposes. He had taste and judgment in laying out grounds, and he planned some for this place. Secondly, he was versed in the theory of ship and boat-building (a science of no little value), and I had occasion to consult him upon that subject. Thirdly, architecture was not unknown to him; witness his beautiful design for a national hall. Fourthly, as a military man, his plan of defence is before the public.

"The last effort of your uncle's pen, 'The Constitution Produced and Illustrated', will alone hand his name to posterity with their applause and gratitude. It is, in my estimation, his 'last best work', and proves, to mathematical demonstration, the soundness of his intellect, and the accuracy of his judgment; and it is a complete refutation of all the malicious jargon of his opponents at the Westminster election, and forcibly proves my own observations on the hustings at Covent-Garden. My best regards to his amiable relict, so worthy of him."

Major Cartwright was much occupied during the years 1799, 1800, 1801, and 1802, by the affairs of his brother, Dr. Cartwright, whose various inventions, though calculated to increase the prosperity of the country, brought nothing but disap-

pointment and embarrassment upon their ingenious author.

Numerous piracies of his patents having taken place, his brother was indefatigable in their detection, and in bringing the offenders to justice. Even a brief account of the various trials in which he was engaged, and of his personal exertions in preparing the business for the courts, would occupy a very considerable space in this work; a few passages, therefore, will suffice to give some idea of the fatigues he had to encounter: and it may be further remarked, that though he was in the end successful, the amount of the damages given in courts of justice, and awards by arbitration, was very inadequate to the expense and trouble which this necessary litigation brought upon him.

"25th June, 1799.

"MY DEAREST AND BEST FRIEND,

"The extreme press of law and hard work, both of body and mind, make me want rest before the battle arrives. It will, however, soon be over. We have, on our side, justice, law and common sense.

"I cannot think of farming or any thing else, at present, but our cause. I rise at five, and breakfast at eleven, which I sometimes forget."

"3d July, 1799.

"Lord Stanhope has been an excellent legal adviser. The hard work my nerves had undergone for many days, brought on a great degree of

fever. By quiet and good advice they will get composed again."

"February, 1800.

"I am working so hard for the lawyers, I can spare you but a minute. The mysteries of law, as well as of mechanical science, are deep; and the approaching trial requires all my time, as I trust nothing to attorneys or clerks, &c. The law of England is *good*, but the *application* of that law is a *scourge*.

"On Saturday I had another fag, which cheated me out of my dinner."

"April, 1800.

"A verdict for the plaintiffs, damages £1000. The tide of misfortune once turned, the stream will soon flow beneficially."

In these trials his friend Lord Stanhope, who, it is well-known, added to his other acquirements a profound knowledge of the principles and practical application of mechanics, was a very useful witness*; and Major Cartwright always acknowledged, in terms most honourable to Lord Eldon, the patience which his Lordship exhibited on this occasion, and the pains which he took to make himself complete master of the merits of the case.

* Earl Stanhope, at a very early age, when pursuing his studies at Geneva, obtained a prize from a society at Stockholm, for a memoir on the construction of the pendulum.

While compiling the foregoing pages, the writer has been informed of a circumstance, which, as it occurred in the year of scarcity, ought to be mentioned in this place. That it never was spoken of in his family circle by Major Cartwright himself, will not be matter of surprise to those who were acquainted with him; but the quarter from whence it has been received insures its authenticity. Being at Nottingham in the month of December, 1800, on important business relative to his brother's inventions, he received intelligence from Sheffield which induced him to travel post to that place. The lower orders in that neighbourhood were so exasperated by want, that it was believed that a party of them intended, on the next market-day, to enter the town of Sheffield, and to seize all the provisions they could lay their hands upon.

On Major Cartwright's arrival, he found a party of these misguided persons assembled in a barn. He entered it alone, spent the whole night among them, reasoned them into calmness, and in the morning they returned peaceably to their famishing families.

In the following letter from Mr. Horne Tooke, dated 12th December, 1800, we find an allusion, in that gentleman's peculiar style, to the distresses of the country during this disastrous year.

" TO JOHN CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

" MY DEAR FRIEND,

" I went to town last Friday, on purpose that I

might, after so long a delay, deliver the little parcel for you, with my own hands, to the Boston coachman. I was half an hour too late; my usual *misfortune*, which truth would call *fault*. However, I left it with a trusty tradesman in Fleet Street, who promised that it should be carefully sent by last Monday's coach. That I might tell you this by last Saturday's post, I got a frank ready: the old *misfortune* recurred; again too late.

"With this frank I will not be too late.

"The parcel contains two honeysuckle roots, laid down purposely for you, of the standard evergreen honeysuckle; some white and red strawberries, and many sorts of large gooseberries, which I had from Manchester, where they are very curious in that fruit.

"I have two sorts of strawberry, which those who gave them to me represent as very extraordinary. If they prove so, you shall next year have some. I am promised by different persons (some of whom, like myself, will probably be always too late), many very curious plants and flowers. When next I see you, you shall tell me whether any of them will suit you.

"Whilst we are cultivating our gardens, the *Victualling-Office*, of whose exports the Custom-House takes no note, is sending grain and cattle out of the country, much beyond all actual, or, probably, possible importation. Thirty thousand oxen in the course of a few weeks past. But Mr. Pitt holds him a jacobin, who ought to be impaled,

who suggests that the war may possibly be some cause of the scarcity. I think I may, perhaps, be able to send you some authenticated facts concerning that terrible office, which is starving the miserable inhabitants of this land. You will be better pleased with these roots of bitterness than with the paltry roots I have sent you. I believe the lawyers would say that this letter contains a libel; perhaps they would call it treason; but I should have no objection to be tried and convicted, provided they would permit me, on such trial, to bring to light, by evidence, the operations of this despotic war.

"Till the proper time arrives, when truth may be useful, let us go on cultivating our gardens.

"J. HORNE TOOKE.

"Wimbledon, December 12, 1800."

The course of the narrative will be here interrupted, by the insertion of some of Major Cartwright's letters to his nephew (the only son of Dr. Cartwright), which, with a natural feeling of respect towards the venerable writer, have been preserved by him, as memorials of his uncle's parental anxiety.

Being chiefly on subjects connected with the welfare of a young man on his first entrance into life, it is thought expedient not to break the series by inserting them in the different years to which they more properly belong.

" Marnham, 26th December, 1791.

" MY DEAR EDMUND,

" It is with very great pleasure that I send you an engraving of the Declaration of Rights. If hung up in your rooms at Oxford, it will probably lead you into arguments on the subject with many who are prejudiced against such doctrines as it maintains. I think it may be safely trusted to your good sense and love of truth, to listen with attention to every argument that can be offered against your own opinions, and to be ready to embrace new sentiments whenever sound reasoning shall require you so to do. And you have a right to call upon all opponents to observe the same rule. It is truth alone by which we ought to be guided, and to which we ought to submit. Neither custom nor authority are to be regarded, when they tend to error and mischief. When men argue for the sake of victory, or in support of mere party dogmas, they are not likely either to convince others or to improve themselves. But when it becomes evident that a man, in his reasonings on any subject, is actuated by a sincere love of truth, and that his ultimate aim is to establish what is most beneficial to his species, his opinions will be respected; which is a very important step towards their being embraced.

On the particular subject of civil liberty, we, in England, have, in my opinion, two lights in which to contemplate it. First, in the abstract; which leads us to consider what sort of government would

be most agreeable to the will of the Deity, and most beneficial to man. Secondly; how to preserve whatever is valuable in our own constitution, and, as occasion may offer, how to improve it by approximation towards the perfect model we may have conceived as above. Even in the bringing about any reforms, we ought not to use dishonest means, nor rashly to hazard more ill than there is a probability of good. The most rational, efficacious and virtuous means are to enlighten the minds of the people on the science of government. That once done, reform will readily follow. This is a time peculiarly favourable to this plan. Much has already been done, but much more remains to be done. Our English reformers, in general, have been too much biassed by one party or another; but I believe the sincere part of them are beginning to discover, that every party, commonly so called, is no better than a faction, actuated by self-interest and ambition; and that no reform worth attention can take place until the general voice of the community shall demand it, and such a reform as cannot be made subservient to the indirect views of any faction.

"Whatever may be your profession in life, it doubtless is the noblest part of education to learn how you stand related to your Creator, to your fellow-creatures, and what are your duties to each. Unhappily for mankind, religion and government, including their most important interests, have but too much been made the engines of oppression and

misery; so that on those two subjects it is particularly incumbent on all who can think for themselves, to be provided with the armour of knowledge, and the weapons of argument.

"But I must conclude this very hasty epistle, with my most earnest wishes for your success in the pursuit of truth, and for that happiness which is the result of a man's having made a right use of the talents entrusted to him.

"Your affectionate uncle,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

"TO LIEUT. EDMUND CARTWRIGHT, OF THE WEST-YORK "MILITIA, TYNEMOUTH.

"16th August, 1794.

"DEAR EDMUND,

"I wish I could be a better correspondent to you; but in truth I have not of late found much time for pleasurable employments; and the want of health frequently obliges me to devote to rest those hours which I would gladly employ in corresponding with you, or in reading.

"Perhaps your father has mentioned to you an idea I threw out to him the other day. As it respects yourself, the sooner you know it the better. As the course of your studies has been broken, and as the present aspect of affairs does not promise a speedy renewal of them with effect, it becomes a question demanding consideration, whether or not it be advisable for you to think of any other future plan of life than that you have hi-

therto seemed much inclined to. Physic will require a very assiduous application of some years, and at an expense which none of us at present have the means of providing for. And when a degree is obtained, and the student is ready to enter upon the practical duties of his profession, there are difficulties still to encounter, and possibly an exercise of much patience must be exerted ere he can obtain a decent income by his labours. These are matters for your consideration.

"Now what I have to offer to your thoughts at present is this. If it should suit with your inclinations to become an agriculturist, it is in my power to introduce you to that situation with much advantage. Until you might have made sufficient trial of the practice, and become thoroughly acquainted with the profits attending it, I would not have you think of embarking in it a shilling of your fortune. If upon experience you acquired a real relish for the profession, and found the advantages worthy of your attention, you might then embark at first on a limited scale, and afterwards more largely as circumstances might make it most advisable. If no one of my own family should be in a situation to succeed me, the advantages of this establishment must at my decease pass into other hands; but in case of your turning your thoughts that way, I think I might have it in my power to form arrangements which with your co-operation, might secure to you the occupying of the estate.

"You will turn these matters in your mind, and let me know your sentiments. If the bias of your inclination determine you to other pursuits, I shall be happy when able to promote your views, but in respect to pecuniary advantages, I incline to think your adopting the plan now suggested may, with ordinary attention on your part, secure to you an ample income, and in a profession affording you leisure for studies and amusements adapted to your taste.

"The plan would be very agreeable to me, in as much as it would give me much of your society, it would in time ease me of trouble, and it would afford me great satisfaction in thinking that my labours were likely to be highly beneficial to one who possesses my esteem and affection.

"Yours, my dear Edmund, very sincerely,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

"TO CAPTAIN CARTWRIGHT, WEST-YORK MILITIA,
"NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

"Brothertoft Farm, 28th June, 1795.

"MY DEAR EDMUND,

"I congratulate you on your promotion, and shall be very glad to do so on another event which we are informed, and believe may in due time take place.

"This leads me to say a few words on your future plan of life. I have understood that you have sometimes shewn an inclination to the church. If you

really have any serious thoughts of that profession, I wish you to examine well into the nature of the engagement. In order to this, it is necessary to scrutinize the thirty-nine articles, and to weigh well the creed you are to teach. If, on due consideration, you can truly and honestly subscribe to those articles, and to all the forms of prayer which arise out of them, you may most conscientiously undertake the ministry of the Church of England. But, if you cannot digest all this, it should seem there are difficulties in your way of more importance than you may have been aware of. To the unprincipled, or the dissolute, who can make religion a trade, neither articles, nor creeds, nor subscriptions, will be any impediments: but I persuade myself that you will not make light of these things.

"Thinking these matters deserve your serious consideration, I have given you my thoughts, and wish to know your own sentiments. If you incline to become a Christian minister, I am far from objecting to it. I know not any profession which I more respect. All that I would guard you against is, professing a faith before you have adopted it; or subscribing to strings of propositions before you are satisfied of their truth. If you determine to enter into the priesthood, let it be of that church, or that sect, with whom you really agree in sentiment.

"Have you examined my manuscript on tactics?

And do you find it calculated to give simplicity and certainty to military manœuvres? Your expectations of peace I suspect to be ill-founded; and the sooner France can be at peace with all the powers of the continent, the longer I fear it will be before she will listen to a peace with this country.

"Wheat at Newark last Wednesday, 4*l.* 14*s.* per quarter. It seems but a suitable retribution on the people of England for their infamous policy of starving France into submission to despotism.

"Your affectionate uncle,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

"29th of December, 1795.

"Amongst other thoughts and wishes for your advantage, I understand Mr. W. has had the goodness to think of getting you into a banking-house.

"It seems so plain, so easy, and so direct a road to the accumulation of an independent fortune in a reasonable time, that such a thing appears extremely eligible, especially to one who has no taste for the usual country amusements, and relishes a town life. The risk I apprehend to be confined to this one circumstance, the honour and prudence of the principal acting partners; and even here, if the other parties reside in town and keep an eye on the books and transactions of those who manage, all danger I apprehend may be guarded against.

"The book-keeping, although it require great correctness, and must be balanced every night, yet

is the simplest and most easily conducted of any in the whole article of trade.

"On the subject of the Bills of Lord G. and Mr. P. I scarcely know how to conceive the possibility of the people remaining quiescent any long time, in the present state of political knowledge. I should expect they would produce petitions for a reform of Parliament, to which immense numbers would give their signatures. The association of the Whig Club appears to me an injudicious measure. I recommended the club's offering themselves as members to the Society of Friends of the People, and then promoting a reform. Such an union would have made an impression, and directed men's attention to the only right, and indeed, the only possible remedy. A national association to get a repeal of two bad laws, were a misapplied effort. It would tend to inculcate this belief, that if those laws were repealed, the Bill of Rights and our liberties were completely recovered; whereas we should still be at the mercy of those who made those bad laws, and something else as bad, in other shapes, would be invented. The opposition ought to declare that without a reform the liberty of the country cannot be preserved; and they ought also to declare, that, as no honest man can serve the state under the present system, they never would accept the reins of Government but as reformers; and that unless supported by the people in that primary measure, they must immediately retire again into private stations. Such declarations I incline to

think would put the reins into their hands in a short time, and enable them to effect the reform.

"If they have not virtue for such a conduct, their country will never derive any advantage from their exertions.

"Yours, affectionately,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

"B. F. 6th January, 1796.

"DEAR EDMUND,

"* * * * *. The Yorkshiremen disgraced themselves miserably on the late occasion.

"We did better at Boston, where a meeting of the hundreds of Kirton and Skirbeck assembled. After great previous management, and with all the dependants in and about the port, the courtiers did not (as I am informed) get above a dozen signatures more than their opponents.

"This event, and the publication of my letters to the sheriff, have brought forward several friends to freedom; and the letter has made several converts. Of course I get heartily cursed for disturbing the quiet of the country.

"I hope you will find your little wife in perfect health when you return to her. All here desire to be remembered. In haste,

"Your affectionate

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

"13th February, 1796.

"When you come into the country I shall wish to converse with you on my future plans and

wishes, as well as your own. My only discouragement in my present career is, not having any one, who is immediately interested in the success and future prosecution of my plans, to co-operate with me at present, and to prepare himself for the management of all these concerns. I would by no means have you engage in any undertaking against a strong bent of mind, or without that inclination and alacrity which would insure activity and diligence.

"If you feel great inclination for science, science properly so called, by which you may be instrumental in extending human knowledge and happiness, you may be more usefully and satisfactorily employed than in agriculture, though it is the fundamental science, and presents a wide field of exertion to the speculative mind. As to antiquarian researches, they may amuse, but they do little towards invigorating the mind. I rather think they have sometimes a contrary effect. Genuine science delights to look *forward* into the unexplored regions of thought. But what is the effect of an exclusive attention to antiquarian enquiries? to give a retrograde direction to the mind, leading it back into the ages of ignorance and barbarism, to waste its powers upon objects scarcely worth picking up and preserving, when raked out of their dust and rubbish.

"I do not mean absolutely to condemn such enquiries; they are well fitted for the moles of mankind, who have not eyes for stronger light

than is adapted for researches of this kind. And, indeed, I feel myself obliged to them for the trouble they take; but neither a spark of envy or emulation ever arises in my breast, from a contemplation of their achievements.

"I would not have you make any decision without consulting Mr. W. Your amiable wife will probably feel most satisfaction in the adoption of that plan of life which bids upon the whole most fair for placing you in ease and affluence, and being an agreeable employment of your time.

"Your affectionate

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

"Well Vale, 9th March, 1796.

"MY DEAR EDMUND,

"I shall not enter upon a subject which must chiefly occupy your thoughts at present, leaving it to time, and employment, and just reflections, to restore tranquillity to your mind.

"My last was written when I had flattered myself that no change would take place in your dearest connexion. Your personal situation is now materially altered: you are of an age, and of a character, to reason well on your future plan of life. On whatever you determine, I wish it to be the result of due reflection and free choice. And I think it would be satisfactory to you, if, in that choice, you met with a concurrence of sentiment on the part of your father and of Mr. W., whose

paternal kindness to you I am sure you will never forget.

"On such subjects I should like to converse with you; not by way of formal discussion, but with a view of coming to some immediate conclusion. A scheme of life should not, in my mind, be so decided on, where the principal is competent to judge for himself. Many conversations, a variety of views of the different plans which present themselves, and repeated reflections on the subject, may be necessary to a satisfactory decision. Should you feel inclined to talk with me on these matters, my principal desire will be to assist you in forming just opinions on every question that may arise; but as my particular wishes may possibly influence me in the opinions I may offer, you should be upon your guard against any such bias, and put those opinions to the strictest test of criticism.

"In regard to pecuniary prudence, I incline to think the plan I recommend to your attention affords the best prospect; but that alone I by no means think a sufficient motive to your giving it the preference. I am not desirous to see you a wealthy boor. Mr. Burke, whose learning and various knowledge might furnish out an hundred *gentlemen* at least, I am told, is a good farmer*. Amongst our present race of nobles and of landed men, setting aside those who are wholly occupied

* See the original letters lately published in the New Monthly Magazine, November, 1825.

with state affairs, or in the more arduous labours of science, perhaps the most learned, the best informed, and most polished, will be found amongst those whose chief occupation is agriculture.

"I return home to-morrow or next day; I need not say how happy I shall be in your company at my farm. Your aunt joins in every good wish.—God bless you!

"Yours sincerely,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

"11th April, 1796.

"At Colchester you will be in the neighbourhood of two families numbered among my friends. When I was about your age, and commanded a cutter at Harwich, one of these families resided there; that of Mr. Purvis, younger son of Admiral P.—From no persons did I ever experience more hospitality and kindness; and I have ever kept up a friendship with them, and such an intimacy as distance would admit of.

"I was mortified at your being snatched away so suddenly from this neighbourhood, nor did it reconcile me to the disappointment, when you mentioned your destination being at *barracks*. It is a word that grates my feelings. I know the specious arguments in favour of them, but I know also they are a part of the machinery of despotism. If you wish to have correct ideas of a military establishment for a free nation, read with attention "*Advice to the privileged Orders.*" As

that system is now perverted and corrupted in this country, we may with strict justice be said to be subject to a military government under a mask.

" According to the plan at this moment forming; considerable bodies of troops kept in barracks, separated from the people, nurtured in principles to make this separation as complete as possible, are to be stationed all over the country.

" I will not despair of the commonwealth, because the means of recovery are visible. But the constitution and the liberty of the country are gone, while few know or care anything about it; the abuses of power will, however, make it known. It is not uncommon to hear a man say, ' I have nothing to do with politics.' According to my conception, it would be as laudable to say, ' I have nothing to do with morality.' You are entering into active life at an awful period. The best advice I can give you is, never to do that as a man or a citizen, on which you cannot reflect with satisfaction.

" I have lately had a slight attack of fever, which nevertheless has required several days of medicine and attention. When in my best health, I am so unequal to the exercise which the superintendence of my farm should require, that I was perpetually sensible of wanting an assistant, who had an interest similar to my own in looking after it. My late indispositions have made me feel that want still more; and indeed every incident which by its nature leads to reflections on the instability

of life, has caused some regret that I had not a successor in readiness, to build on the foundations I have laid, and to benefit from my labours at this place. I think you judge rightly in not quitting the militia till the end of the war. As the least exceptionable of our military establishments, it deserves the preference; and it is of importance to the public, that it should not fall into the hands of servile-minded men. Besides which, a time of war is not a season for retirement from the service; nor should I think it handsome towards the Duke of Norfolk, for you to leave it till peace."

"June, 1796.

"An article from Plymouth, concerning the prevention of a great mutinous movement in the Marine Barrack, has a very incredible particular. It states that a marine had been a delegate. I should as soon have expected a negro to have been chosen a delegate by a body of West-India planters, as a marine to have represented a body of seamen.

"Can you inform me if there were any fortifications or batteries on the Isle of Wight, which have been erected there within these last twenty years; particularly for commanding the entrance of ships at the east and west extremities of the island? I wish you to inquire, and to let me know. In the American War, I pointed out to Government some defects in those particulars, and the fatal consequences to which they might expose us. The Duke of R. very much applauded my re-

marks, and has since been at the head of the ordnance department for several years; I wish therefore to know the present state of that island.

"I am, &c. &c.

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

"27th November, 1797.

"I have been publishing lately a sixpenny pamphlet, '*An Appeal on the Subject of the English Constitution.*' Your father says it is unanswerable; and others have been pleased to speak of it very favourably: but I much fear it is preaching to the winds. Our nobility, a solitary individual here and there excepted, are without nobleness of character; and the independent English gentleman is a being almost unknown; circumstances which, in this age, appear to lead to a catastrophe, that may involve the great, the proud, and the wealthy, in one common ruin, and fill the land with horrors.

"The leaders of opposition, instead of seceding, should occupy themselves on all the great points of the constitution. Their speeches might be a continued series of lectures to the public; and, if they could once bring themselves to look to the constitution only, and utterly disclaim office and power, unless accompanied with the recovery of national liberty, I am convinced they would be well attended to. Hitherto they have been too much actuated by a party-spirit, to have grand and enlarged views. They have not seemed to comprehend either the danger of their country, or by what means it is to be saved. At least they

have touched so seldom on essentials, as to betray an apparent indifference about them.

"As to secession, there are but few cases in which it is excusable; one, when all is utterly lost, and when it is a disgrace to belong to the legislature: in this case, the secession should be complete like that of Grattan, who has returned to a private station.

"Of all modes of publishing and circulating just principles, that of parliamentary debates is the most effectual, for they are eagerly read by all ranks and classes in society. The importance of this vehicle, and the superior advantages it has over every other mode of using the press, have not been duly attended to. In the hands of a truly patriotic and intelligent phalanx, it were the seat of Jove, from whence political lightning and thunder would be sure to arrest the attention of men. But, without any figure, a patriotic party in Parliament ought to take a comprehensive view of their country's wrongs, and of the proper constitutional remedies; and contrive, on a regular systematic plan, to hold up both continually to view; so that the public might in due time perceive their drift, the wisdom of their counsels, the virtue of their measures, and the indispensable necessity of uniting with them for saving the state. Adieu! God bless you.

"Your affectionate uncle,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

"25th June, 1798.

"DEAR EDMUND,

"By this post you will find yourself called on to decide a most important question. Whether as an officer of an English Militia, you are a volunteer to serve in the present civil war in Ireland. You will see that Mr. Wombwell and the majority of the officers have determined in the affirmative, and that Lord Fitzwilliam and a minority have refused to go. There are also about 100 of the privates who refuse. Mr. Wombwell does not offer you any advice, nor give you any opinion. I think it, however, right to mention to you what he said to your father and me last night. That he disapproved of the measure, that he told his company he disapproved of it, and if he had been offered the rank of lieutenant-general as an inducement, he would have refused, but that his military services began with them, and as they had decided to go, he would go also; and he repeatedly declared to us that although he thought the thing wrong, he had not fortitude to resist. I mention this, that you may know his real mind, as I wish you on all occasions to pay a just deference to one who has been so much your friend.

"Now to the question itself in a constitutional point of view, the precedent is of the very worst kind. This very act has broken down the last fence we had between a militia and a standing army. On this ground, there can be no question in my judgment, but that the militia officer, as well as

the member of Parliament, ought to resist it. Those who are volunteers for the service ought to say, 'as militia men, we cannot go, nor will we go; but if you will accept our services in any corps of another description we are ready to embark.'

"But there is another branch of the question still more important. The habits of thinking introduced and rendered familiar to us by the existence of a standing army in our country, and by the horrible state policy of involving the country in war on unjust grounds, has almost extinguished in our minds all discrimination as to *the cause* in which we draw the sword; although no proposition can be more clear, than that on that point hinges the morality, and that is the distinction which decides, whether we commit justifiable homicide or murder.

"Are you then sufficiently acquainted with the measures and the system of government that have been pursued in Ireland, to say decidedly whether or not the resistance of the people be justifiable or the contrary? If on this point you are in the dark, to volunteer to Ireland in the service of Government, is to leave it to chance whether the acts you commit are to be justifiable homicide or murder. Can you run such a risk? If you will allow me to offer an opinion on this point, not lightly taken up, nor without inquiry and information, and a certain knowledge to a sufficient extent for governing that opinion; I have to say, that in my judg-

ment, no nation ever had a juster cause for resistance to oppression than the Irish.

"But still it may be said, it is the policy of our Government that Ireland should not succeed, because separation from England and union with France would be the consequence, and therefore on a principle of self-defence, we ought to suppress the present insurrection. To this I, in the first place, answer, that murder is rather too much to commit on systems of policy. Secondly, that if Englishmen should think it a legitimate cause of war, that Ireland should be compelled to unite with England rather than France; to embark in such a war under the present ministry, and in the present state of things, were to unsheath the sword to establish a hideous despotism over both islands; for those who, in that cause, have scourged Ireland into her present resistance, are equally prepared to act the same part in England; and if Ireland be once reduced to slavery by means of an English army, Irish armies will be made to return the favour, and to subjugate the people of England. Thirdly, as it is the evident interest of Ireland, provided she can have freedom, to unite with England rather than France, we ought, by restoring her liberty and recovering her affection, to lay the grounds of union; to which end the present rulers in both nations ought to be displaced, and substantial *reforms* for the security of freedom ought to take place; and if there be left to Englishmen

no means of effecting these changes, but by withholding from the ministers our personal aid and assistance in their horrid schemes, this, at least, is in the power of each individual.

"I will not at present trouble you with any thing more on the subject. Wishing you only to decide on the ground of morality on a question of such high importance,

"I subscribe myself,

"Your affectionate uncle,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

"6th of March, 1798.

"Looking to the bottom of the unhappy situation of Ireland I cannot but much lament your going thither, especially in a military character, to be one of the rulers with a rod of iron of that ill-fated country.

"As the scene to which you are going will furnish to politicians and historians abundant matter for narrative and argument, I *earnestly* recommend to you, from the moment you set foot in Ireland, to keep a regular journal of all political and military occurrences coming within your knowledge, either from personal observation or authentic information; also a separate record of all such occurrences already past, of which you shall obtain accounts to be relied on. I need not say, you ought to do this with perfect impartiality to the various factions, interests and parties in the country, in order that it may hereafter furnish a fund of matter which may be useful.

"You must however be upon your guard in receiving your information, and should always note down your *authority* and the political party of your informant; because you will probably have abundant occasion to correct your first statement; and in the present inflamed state of mind in that miserable island, no man ought implicitly to receive from any party his statement of facts.

"In conversing with men of different parties, always dive to the bottom of their opinions, by making yourself master of the political principles they build upon, and their notions of the constitution of their country; and on these points endeavour to settle your own opinions on some principles which to your own mind are solid and incontrovertible, or you never can form a rational and valuable estimate of the opinions of others. On the essentials of the constitution, I trust you will find a safe counsellor in the 'Appeal'.

"As the grand difficulty, at present, in harmonizing Ireland, is the claims which numbers of Catholics imagine they have to the estates of Protestants, whose ancestors stepped into them when forfeited to the Crown, it should be an object of your particular attention to find out, if possible, to what extent it is supposed any such claims or pretended claims could be plausibly made out; and whether or not there be a reasonable probability, that if the Catholics were in all other respects to be treated with protection and kindness, and gradually emancipated, and placed on an equality

with Protestants, they would become good subjects.—I think I see the difficulties in the case; but I also think they are not insuperable. As the present distempers of Ireland are unquestionably the fruits of seed sown in former reigns and former ages, it will be impossible to form a judgment, without carefully perusing the history of the country. I should therefore recommend to you Warner's History; in which you will find enumerated all the other historians. Thucydides and Xenophon studied history in the bustle of action and of war; but neither of them had, in my judgment, inducements so powerful, or hopes so well founded of doing good, from acquiring a true knowledge of the affairs of Greece, as an Englishman now has, from making himself master of the constitution of this country, and of the causes of the corruption and disorders in both England and Ireland.

"With regard to your military plans and prospects, I have so little satisfaction, or rather so much dissatisfaction, in the employments given to both army and militia, that, in my own judgment, the sooner you are clear of both, the sooner you will be out of danger of being made an instrument of injustice. Whatever are your present sentiments on the services expected from military men, and whatever may be your present ideas on the subject of military obedience, a time I think will come, when you will know, that to employ the military against the liberties or constitution of the people,

is the very consummation of political wickedness; and how to ascertain the fact when it happens, or well to understand when a military man ought to stop in the career of obedience, is a point of much delicacy and embarrassment."

"I am, &c.

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT.

"TO THE REV. E. CARTWRIGHT.

"B. F. 6th February, 1801.

"DEAR EDMUND,

"I have long been intending to write to you, but business and engagements, and absence from home, have prevented it. I wish you joy of your new appointments, and sincerely wish the young man you mention may prove your friend, and a valuable man in the community, as I also hope that no connexions, however elevated, you shall form, will eventually influence your mind so as to prevent its forming an unbiassed judgment on public questions; but rather that, by forming such judgments yourself, you may prove a safe and valuable counsellor, if your opinion should ever be asked by those in much higher stations. I say this, because of the very critical and awful period in which I am now writing; a period which, I much fear, is not rightly understood by the persons alluded to, nor by such in general as surround them, and have their confidence. I wish you as little to take upon trust my own notions on public matters, as those of any other.

"Your determination against settling here as an agriculturist has changed my views, and I now wish, as soon as an opportunity shall present itself, to sell this estate.

"Woad is now at £40 per ton; I should have been going on well in that article, had not this new clap of thunder come from the North, which I fear will strike a deadly blow at our trade, as there are strong appearances of all the ports of Europe being shut against us. With every good wish,

"I am, my dear Edmumd,

"Your affectionate uncle,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

In 1800 Major Cartwright first began to bring forward his ideas on the subject of a temple of naval celebration; a subject which was at that time much agitated, and for which many plans were offered to the public.

It has been the opinion of many persons of distinguished taste, that the design which he took so much pains to recommend to the attention of Government, was by far the noblest that came under their consideration: and the late venerable President of the Royal Academy (Mr. West) declared, that it would immortalize the name of its author.

The beauty and elegance of the accompanying decorations have been acknowledged by the artists who have examined them; and it is worthy of remark, that some of these ornaments have been

appropriately adopted in the admired monument of one of our naval heroes.

Among these designs, forty-six in number, were five nautic orders of architecture, personifications of eight of the winds, studies for bas-relievos, numerous friezes full of taste and imagination, and a personification of the Genius of Britain, intended to crown the column. A list of the drawings exhibited will be found in the Appendix.

Though Major Cartwright had never studied drawing as a science, nor was able to give those finishing touches to which it must owe its principal effect, yet natural taste and a discriminating eye enabled him to give correct and beautiful outlines, from which more experienced artists completed the coloured drawings afterwards exhibited by him for the benefit of the Marine Society*.

Mr. Gandy, the celebrated architect, was employed for the elevation of the column, Hamilton (since deceased) and Stothard for the friezes and ornamental decoration, and Turner for the sea-fights, represented in entablatures upon the base; and the manner in which they are executed, is not less worthy of the taste of the designer, than of the skill of those whom he employed. It was the earnest wish of the writer to have given an engraving from this beautiful drawing, but besides the great expense of employing a first-rate artist,

* The original outline of the elevation consigned to the flames by its author, was happily rescued from destruction by Mrs. Cartwright, by whom it is carefully preserved.

it was thought impossible on the small scale required for an octavo volume to do any thing like justice to the design, or its decorations.

The ardour with which Major Cartwright engaged in this design, in the midst of his other avocations, can hardly be conceived by those who are unacquainted with the energy of his character, his enthusiastic affection for his original profession, and his unceasing desire to embellish as well as to serve his country.

In his opinion, the fine arts, as well as the cultivation of every manly feeling and acquirement, would have been the necessary consequences of this comprehensive design, for the adoption of which he spared neither time nor trouble. That any prejudice could arise from its being *his* work, he could scarcely bring himself to credit; and it was not till after many years of fruitless toil, and an expense which amounted to above five hundred pounds, that he gave up entirely all hopes of its erection.

In his work called "The Trident", he has detailed every particular relative to this design; in which were to be comprehended a variety of objects for the improvement of science, and the encouragement and reward of genius; in short, for every thing which can embellish a country, exalt the character of its people, or promote the welfare of the state.

But it is necessary to resume the narrative of his exertions in the cause of reform in Parliament,

and the following confidential epistle, connected with the subject, is here presented to the reader*:

"TO MR. THOMAS HARDY.

"5th February, 1801.

"DEAR CITIZEN,

"I this day received your letter of the 24th ult. I was at the time putting a finishing hand to a string of resolutions I had been requested to frame for a large town, where I have reason to believe they will be adopted, together with a petition to the House of Commons.

"The expectations you give me of a Common Hall are extremely gratifying, as I believe that manly conduct in that body would, at this crisis, fly through the country like wild-fire. And as you give me credit, not only for good wishes in favour of freedom, but for having rendered the state some service, and by long experience having acquired some judgment how we ought now to act, I will send you, as soon as they can be transcribed, the resolutions above-mentioned. They are purposely calculated for all meridians in our island, and if I were to choose that in which they should be first adopted and published, it would, beyond all question, be the meridian of London.

* Major Cartwright was first introduced to Mr. Hardy at Mr. Tooke's, in the year 1792; but their chief acquaintance and correspondence took place after the trials in 1794. Soon after that event, Major Cartwright called on Mr. Hardy, and told him, "*that no man but himself should ever make him a pair of shoes so long as either of them lived*"; a promise he strictly adhered to, until Mr. Hardy retired from business.

"They are not, according to the usual fashion of such productions, couched in a very few words. That mode may do, when the public mind needs no instruction; but it seems to me proper, at this juncture, that those who take a lead in raising up an effectual resistance to ministers, should do it in so enlightened a mode, as to shew that they understand and feel the deplorable case of their country, and are well able to instruct all who wish to follow their example.

"What I have already said, is an answer to your question, of *what I think should now be done.* I am decidedly against applying to the King, because I do not want a statement of the public grievances to sink into the pocket of a bed-chamber lord, never more to be seen or heard of. But what I now say is with an exception to the *Livery of London in Common Hall;* for I would have them apply both to the King and House of Commons, and never to abandon their right to be heard upon the throne. Upon the last-mentioned point, I sent up to town by a friend, in October last, a letter for publication in an opposition paper, with instructions to have the whole of it printed, or none at all. It came back, but without explanation. As it may serve on a future occasion, and you can make a better use of it than I can, it shall be sent you.

"If your friends of the Livery should think my opinions of any value, they are, on the points of your letter, as follows:

" 1. As the saving a nation so nearly ruined as this now is, cannot be done by superficial measures, or by any measures not calculated to instruct the public mind, to excite the public sympathy, to arouse the public spirit, to inflame the public indignation, and to unite in one focus the public opinion; so, in all our public movements, we must aim at doing all this, or we shall do nothing.

" 2. We cannot act with all this energy too soon, nor take too much pains, by publishing our resolutions and by correspondence with the populous towns, to animate our countrymen.

" 3. We should exert ourselves in procuring proper members to present our petitions to the House, and to bring the subjects of them into discussion.

" 4. Whenever such resolutions as I allude to are published in the newspapers, the newspaper press should throw off plenty of copies separately for circulation.

" I do not agree with many, who think it is even now too late so to compose the public mind as to be able to stop at *Reform*, instead of driving on to a *Revolution;* since I am thoroughly convinced, that a complete reform in the representative part of our government, would still save some certain privileged parties, how little soever they may be thought by some to deserve saving. I consequently still think it their interest to join us with sincerity. In the transports of recovered liberty, we should be in too good humour to keep in re-

membrance their past sins; and having that liberty completely secured against their future attacks, we should not trouble our heads with what they wore on theirs. The example of France would certainly operate, to prevent our thinking of settling things on a totally new bottom. To them it seems, indeed, to have been necessary. There was no intermediate point on which they could rest with safety. To us such a total change is not, in my judgment, necessary; and I should fear that to attempt any such thing, would do us infinitely more harm than good. An English Government, according to our constitution, is questionless a republic; and provided only we secure the complete independence of the House of Commons, which I think we now know how to do, it would be far too good a republic to be hazarded upon speculation, in hopes of something better: and I am perfectly confident that so general would be the confidence in it, and so general would be the dread of any attempt to go farther, that here we should stop and repose in perfect safety to liberty; for if the genuine representatives of the people have once the command of the purse-strings, there is nothing they indeed may not take, if provoked to it; but when they are known to possess the power, they will never receive the provocation.

"Yours sincerely,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

As in this letter Major Cartwright says, that "the English Government is questionless a re-

public", it may not be amiss to quote a passage in his "Commonwealth in Danger", p. 107, where, in advancing the same opinion, he gives examples to prove that this opinion was confirmed by the statute-book, as well as by history. "It is", says he, "beyond all question, that notwithstanding the antient phrases and style of 'kingdom', 'monarchy', and 'his Majesty's dominions', and so forth, were most unwisely suffered to pass current, the Government, in its composition, form, frame, and substance, was truly a commonwealth. But, indeed, from its Saxon ancestry, and from the popular blood in its veins, it had in many seasons, and at very early periods, been so styled in acts of Parliament, as may be seen by consulting the statute book. See Richard II. stat. 1. 'To the praise and honour of Almighty God, the profit of the realm of England, and the service of the *Republic*', &c.

"31 Hen. VIII. c. 10. 'Forasmuch as in all great counsels and congregations of men, having sundry degrees and offices in the Commonwealth, it is very requisite', &c.

"Ed. VI. c. 1. 'To the intent that his loving subjects, provoked by clemency and goodness of their prince and king, shall study rather for love than for fear to do their duties; first to Almighty God, and then to his Highness and the *Commonwealth*', &c.

"Queen Elizabeth, in her speech to the deputies of the Commons—see Rapin: "I know that the *Commonwealth* is to be governed for the good and

advantage of those that are committed to me; not of myself', &c.; and again, 'I think myself most happy that by God's assistance, I have hitherto so prosperously governed the Commonwealth in all respects.'

"James I., anno 1621, says, 'The king makes laws, and ye are to advise to make such as will be best for the *Commonwealth.*'"

He then proceeds to quote Sir Thomas Smith, one of Elizabeth's privy counsellors, Sir John Davis, attorney-general to the same queen, Lord Coke, and Blackstone, who all make use of the word *Commonwealth* in speaking of the Government of this country.

In February, 1801, Major Cartwright was anxious to promote meetings in the different counties, for the discussion of the subject of reform, as appears by the following letter from Earl Stanhope:—

"Chevening, February, 1801.

"DEAR AND EXCELLENT CITIZEN,

"You have known me too long not to be *sure* of the approbation which my heart must bestow on every truly honest and enlightened plan for promoting a reform. I have again and again considered all the means, the legal and laudable means, which you suggest, and others of a similar description. I have weighed the whole in the scales of probability; I am willing to follow London, if London acts right—I am willing to follow Yorkshire, if Yorkshire acts right. I *was* (not *am*) will-

ing to do more; namely, for the *minority of one* to propose a meeting of men of property and enlightened men. I have spoken to some, thought much, and I repeat it, I have weighed the whole in the *scales of probability*—and my inference is, that success is not likely to attend your laudable plans to effectuate a reform, nor mine at present.

"I have a firmer, more cheering, and a better trust; namely, in a kind Providence: and many of the best men in the nation are growing of this opinion. But come what will to our dear and threatened country and perfect constitution, be assured, my dear friend, that you will ever find me, unaltered, unalterable, and immoveable in the storms of fate.

"Ever your faithful

"STANHOPE."

Major Cartwright published, in 1801, his letter to Wyvill, in which he urges that gentleman to promote, by his presence in London, the formation of a society, to be entitled "A Society for promulgating Parliamentary Reform, on the true Principles of Representation, for the Recovery of Political Liberty."

Speaking of enthusiasm, he says,

"Let not the word be condemned. You, my dear Sir, are an enthusiast: without enthusiasm, who ever excelled? Who ever became illustrious by great achievements, without this heavenly spark? Who ever toiled in the cause of truth or virtue or public freedom?

"Enthusiasm is the ardent spirit in the composition of the mind, without which it neither resists corruption, nor is influenced by a genuine love of liberty."——

The work concludes by an eloquent appeal in favour of the labouring classes of society.

"TO JOHN CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

"Burton Hall, April 28th, 1801.

"DEAR SIR,

"Yesterday, in the morning, I received yours of the 20th instant, and in the evening, the packet which it announced, containing the copies of your printed letter to me; for all which I return you my thanks. On the subject of your printed letter I shall take a little time for meditation, and then inform you sincerely how far I can concur with you, and where I must be obliged to take a different road, in pursuit of the same object; viz. the freedom and happiness of the public.

"With respect to the contents of your written letter, I am not surprised at your contempt of the major part of our country gentry; many of whom are too little accustomed to reflection to have formed any rational judgment of our political situation, or any just principles of conduct to guide them at this time. Yet, as I have formerly said, I think them more prejudiced and deluded by the friends of power, than corrupted by its bribes. If, therefore, it had appeared to you that you could, with propriety and effect, have applied to the bo-

dies who are preparing a petition to prolong the pause which, at your instance, they conceded before, I did hope that our honest but deluded gentry, in the failure of this third negociation, might have been induced to come forward; but on reading your printed papers, I found that I asked what was too contrary to your plans to be granted.

"I am, dear Sir, &c.

"CHRISTOPHER WYVILL."

"TO JOHN CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

"May 29th, 1801.

"DEAR SIR,

"The printer at York has at last finished my very short letter in reply to yours of the 14th of March, and twelve copies will be sent to yourself, which I request you to accept. I cannot hope so trifling a piece can do much, if any good; but at least, it can do no harm.

"I find our friends in Yorkshire are so apprehensive of universal suffrage, that, in order to prevent the possibility of doing harm, I must add, in a new edition, two or three pages by way of explanation, to shew that I consider the principle of universal suffrage as only applicable to some future and improved state of society, now at a great distance. When the second edition is published, I shall take care you shall see it. And I hope you and your friends will duly consider the difficulties I have to avoid, when I admit the principle, but dissuade the practice, from knowing, as I do, the insuperable objections of many even of our warm

friends, and which I feel as not without great force. Wishing you well at all times,

"I remain, dear Sir, &c.

"CHRISTOPHER WYVILL."

Major Cartwright being obliged, on account of his brother's patent causes, to go to London in the month of April of this year, took that opportunity of endeavouring to forward his plans, already mentioned, for the adoption of the Hieronauticon, or Naval Temple, as a national structure. His letters to Mrs. Cartwright, during this period, are chiefly upon this subject.

"April, 1801.

"I have this morning seen, and left with Lord St. Vincent, the column. He received me with expressing great pleasure in renewing an acquaintance that had been suspended for thirty years. On seeing the design, and hearing the explanation of it, he said every thing that was gratifying, and that nothing which had appeared could be thought of after it.

"Lord St. Vincent sent for his principal secretary, who, he said, had a taste for these things, in order that he might accompany me to Mr. Davison's, the treasurer and chief manager of the society for erecting a pillar. In half an hour I shall call on the secretary for that purpose. The interval has been employed in meeting with lawyers about Amatt and Co."

"7th of April.

This morning Old Barry breakfasted with me, in company with General Debbieg*, and saw the column. In the course of examination he suggested only one alteration, which was to omit the pedestal, agreeably to the admired specimen of the temple of Diana of Athens; but on hearing my reasons for retaining it, he entirely agreed with me. He was, moreover, pleased to pay the column, for its naval instruction and the grandeur of the design, very high encomiums.

"I am just come from the exhibition of naval pillars sent in by the competitors for the prize medals. Some are very fine, and many very paltry.

"I this day met my old friend Wilberforce in the street, who shook me very kindly by the hand, and asked much after you. Among other friendly expressions, he said he hoped we should meet in a better world: I answered, that '*I hoped we should first mend the world we were in.*'

"On Wednesday I shall see an engraver about the pillar, but do not think I shall agree with him. * * * * * has called four or five times, but has never invited me to his dinners. Has he been told not to keep bad company?—He, however, once talked of my taking a family dinner with him when I had done with the lawyers.

"This I should prefer, as I have too much re-

* In West's celebrated picture of the death of Wolfe, the portrait of General Debbieg may be seen in one of the figures standing immediately behind the expiring hero.

gard for him to wish to be of his parties when he has about him the slaves of office, whose company I as little like as they can mine.

"As soon as the trial shall be over and decided, as I trust it will be in our favour, there will be several orders for machines, so that I now look forward with the fairest prospect, not only to the recovery of some part of my great losses in this business (not less than £14000), but to a repayment to C. E. and F. of what they have also lost in forwarding the same object."

"TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE H. ADDINGTON.

"No. 28, Arundel Street, Strand.
"11th of November, 1801.

"SIR,

"It being amongst the rumours of the day, that, towards alleviating the public burthens, you have, amongst other resources, turned your thoughts to the royal forests, the writer thinks it right to suggest to you, that in case the forests should be alienated, except on a plan which should have for its basis the providing in future an assured supply of oak timber for the navy, consequences extremely dangerous to the public may ensue.

"For the purpose now spoken of, a plan was presented to Lord North by the writer about thirty years ago, and according to his recollection, it was likewise offered to the consideration of every minister.

"As that plan will doubtless be found in your

office, it is recommended to your attention, especially as it is believed the principle of the plan will be found equally applicable to the estates of the Crown in general.

"I have the honour to be,

"Sir, &c.

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

"TO MRS. CARTWRIGHT.

"5th March, 1801.

"MY DEAREST AND BEST FRIEND,

"Yours of the third entered the door as the Duke of Clarence went out. He and Sir C. Pole had been about two hours, during which time I explained to my royal visitant the whole design, with which he seemed so little wearied, that he expressed a wish to see it again before it went to the committee, and assured me he would attend the committee when it should be presented.

"He asked me many questions, and expressed much approbation, and as he professed not to understand architecture, his approbation seemed to arise more from feeling than from court politeness.

"Lady S—— was prevented keeping her appointment, which makes it probable she will not see the drawings before they go to the committee, for I cannot give much time to the inconstants of fashion.

"Lord and Lady Buckinghamshire are to be here on Monday, and I hope Lady Albinia. The same day, I expect Hodges and our new niece.

"It is now intended that all the naval history on the column shall be executed in bronze, which has this recommendation, that it can be executed as fast as the building is carried up, and therefore does away the only objection made to the design by an artist, which was, that the scale was so great sculptors could not be found to execute it.

"You complain of the shortness of my letters, and speak of ten minutes as nothing, whereas, ten minutes are more precious in my sight than ten millions in the sight of a minister.

"I am generally up at five, sometimes sooner, and working till dark. In order to get through what is before me, I must work morning, noon and night, so, when I fail to write, suppose me intent on the additions, corrections and polishings of the Trident, or 'The National Policy of Naval Celebration.'"

"25th March.

"I could not write yesterday; first, because I was much pressed for time, and secondly, because I was this day to shew my child to Lords Romney and Spencer, Sir C. Colpoys, and Sir W. Dolben, as President of the Marine Society, to which I have offered the profits of my book, and if they think fit, of an exhibition of the drawings. They have been here with our friend Young, and paid the child many compliments. Indeed, now I have got its face prettily painted, I really think it looks beautiful. Six of the large pieces of historic sculp-

ture are put upon it, and till I saw the effect, I could scarcely believe how much it would enrich the elevation.

"The estimate for the shell and column ornamented is £662,000; supposing it to take fourteen years, the annual expence will be £75,000. If the whole were paid by lottery, it would stand on voluntary subscription, and if paid by the public, still the expence of each year would be less than the expence of half a day during the late war.

"I have not seen West lately; he is preparing for the exhibition. Wyatt also fixed to come, but did not. Nothing, as it strikes me, will prevent the Marine Society from accepting my offer, unless Lord ——, fearing what may be in the book, should influence them; but when they shall see it, although I say nothing inconsistent with my own sentiments, they will find nothing to give offence."

"April 3d, 1802.

"I was just sitting down to write yesterday, when Southey and his friend Duppa, the painter, called on me, and kept me engaged until obliged to run away to dinner. Southey breakfasted with me the day before, and told me he had been dreaming and thinking of the Naval Temple ever since.

"If there should be any considerable profit from the book or exhibition, it would have been convenient enough, as I am at this moment disappointed of money out of Yorkshire, but I preferred offering it to the Marine Society.

"This society since its institution by Jonas Hanway has furnished to the navy above 55,000 men and boys.

"I am hunting for a book on the fine arts, written by the present minister, who is said to be favourable to them.

"To-morrow Lord Nelson * and Sir W. Hamilton are to be here."

"April 26, 1802.

"The Marine Society have elected me an honorary member, and accept of the exhibition, for which Mr. Christie has very handsomely offered me the use of one of his great rooms in Pall-Mall.

"I hope your mother will be able to hear you read the history of my castles in the air, in which there will be nothing to agitate or interest much, but something to amuse.

"With regard to engravers, they are, that is all the good ones, so engaged, that I have not been able yet to obtain one for the nautic orders only. I have conversed with Lowry, who is the best in that way.

"No answer yet from Mr. Addington. Although this is vexatious and wearisome, it seems to me that if he were determined to throw cold water on the

* Lord Nelson expressed his great admiration of the design, and remarked that it ought to be placed so in sight of the Thames, that every seaman sailing from or returning to the metropolis, might be reminded of his country's glory.

design, he would probably have given an answer before this time.

"In return for my book, the Royal Academy have sent me, by the hands of their secretary, a very handsome letter of thanks, which says 'that they will be happy to place in their library a work which evinces such an honourable zeal in the cause of the country and its arts.'"

The following letter is from the late venerable President of the Royal Academy, for whom Major Cartwright entertained sentiments of the truest regard, and with whom he kept up an intimacy through life:—

"Newman Street, October 12, 1802.

"DEAR SIR,

"I am just returned to this place from Paris, and found your letter of the 10th of September waiting for me. My visit to Paris has been to the galleries of art which that city contains. They are truly wonderful, and are what the united world cannot make again of the works of those masters which constitute their greatness.

"To give you some idea of them, the gallery of paintings is in length 1600 feet, forty feet wide, and near the same in height; as long as Pall Mall, and filled by the first works of the greatest masters of the Italian, Flemish, and French schools. The gallery of ancient statues is 150 yards in length, forty in width, the same in height: that gallery contains all that is fine in statues by the ancients,

with the Apollo and Laocoon at their head. The gallery of drawings by old masters is of the same size as that of the statues.

"To a man who knows what constitutes fine arts, these galleries are the greatest entertainment the world can afford.

"Of the collection you inquired after belonging to Count Truckness I know nothing, but if they are of the same quality of those he brought to England, I think he would be wise to let them rest in Germany; and as to this country making a national gallery of pictures and statues to rival those of Paris, would be idle and vain, the French not having left materials enough in the world to afford it.

"I am, therefore, most inclined to a national gallery made by the abilities of our own countrymen, and the subjects to fill it, national; so that it would be the rival of our neighbours, and the glory of the country.

"The artists who have seen your design much approve it. Whether his Majesty has read your book I cannot inform you, my time having been spent for the last eight weeks at Paris. Should I when I go to Windsor, which will be in a few days, know whether it has been read by him, I will give you information. With great respect

"I am, dear Sir,

"Your obedient and obliged

"BENJAMIN WEST."

Towards the end of this year, being still anxiously employed in collecting evidence of the piracies of his brother's machinery, a person of the name of Heron, who was employed by him for that purpose was arrested and had his papers searched, a circumstance alluded to in the following letter:

"4th December, 1802.

"My emissary Heron, whom I sent into Yorkshire, is in custody. Of this his wife brought me word last Monday, and said one of the Bow-street officers found one of my letters in his possession, which he could not understand. I dare say this letter was laid before the decypherer, as containing, under the mask of *drawing off rollers* and *crank-lashers*, something dangerous to the state. Be this as it may, I immediately waited on the Attorney-General. He was not at chambers, but I left a note to say, that Heron was suspected of having been sent into Yorkshire on some improper errand, and that I was ready to explain the business whenever he would honour me with an appointment.

"I received an answer on Thursday, excusing himself from receiving any information from me, as it would be of no use. I then immediately replied that his letter had surprised me, and proceeded to explain the meaning of my correspondence with Heron, on a business about which I had already one trial, and was preparing for another.

The next morning brought me a very polite answer from the Attorney-General*.

"You ask my opinion about the affair of Despard; what is his character I know not, but if he be guilty of what is laid to his charge, he must be more insane than Peg Nicholson.

"In an attempt at assassination, one man may hope to approach the object, but for Despard with a gang of blackguards at his heels, to kill the King when going in state surrounded by guards; to take the Tower, which is fortified and garrisoned; and to seize the Bank, where a strong guard is mounted; must be madness run mad.

"I hope the news of the total expulsion of the French from St. Domingo is true. It must make Buonaparte's pillow very uneasy. Fresh armies may not choose to fight the yellow fever, nor will he have much hope of subduing these blacks, after the failure of so vast a force."

In 1803, Major Cartwright published his "Letter to the Electors of Nottingham", which the Anti-Jacobin Review for May in the same year, called a senseless jargon on the constitution and popular rights, but of which the monthly reviewers gave a different account. "In a strain", say they, "of bold, nervous, and animated eloquence, the author attacks that which is called the borough faction,

* Heron was liberated in a few days after this correspondence.

and reprobates with indignation the despotic principle of taxation without representation."

One reason which the Anti-Jacobin Review gave for disapproving of Major Cartwright's work, originated, in his "neither agreeing with Mr. Reeves, who was a lawyer and understood the constitution, nor yet with Mr. Arthur Young."

Nothing indeed could be more at variance than the political sentiments of the author of the Letter to the Electors of Nottingham, and those which these gentlemen had professed in their different publications. Mr. Reeves, in his "Thoughts on the English Government", asserted, that the English Constitution was a *monarchy* (a government by one), and that each of its members might be lopped off and thrown into the fire, without injuring that constitution; and Mr. Arthur Young (see page 94 of his "Example of France a Warning to Great Britain"), maintains that the Commons House of Parliament is not intended to represent the Commons of this country.

The letter to the electors of Nottingham was followed by another which Major Cartwright addressed to the Speaker of the House of Commons, on a review of the proceedings upon the petitions, complaining of an undue election and return for the town of Nottingham.

This being the period at which the overwhelming ambition of Napoleon Buonaparte spread dismay throughout the country, he was anxiously em-

ployed in devising means of defence against the invasion so generally expected.

He was indefatigable in promoting meetings of the gentlemen of the neighbourhood, in apprizing the Government of the unprepared state of the Lincolnshire coast, and in communicating to them various plans for its protection.

Though his representations were little regarded at the time, it was afterwards fully proved that his alarm was not ill-founded, and that his knowledge in naval and military affairs had led him to form a just conclusion on the subject; that very coast, from the peculiar accommodation it afforded for the disembarkation of troops, having been intended as the scene of French operations if an invasion of this country had taken place*.

Among the different plans which at this time occupied his attention, was a flying drawbridge, which met with the approbation of the late Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore. He also invented a pike of a peculiar construction, which he denominated the Britannic Spear.

This weapon, though it was not adopted by those to whom it was then offered†, has nevertheless been highly approved of by a number of military men of different nations, and he had the satisfaction of knowing before he died that one of those spears had been conveyed as a model to Greece. A drawing and explanation of this weapon was given

* See Paine's pamphlet quoted in the Ægis.

† See Appendix, No. X.

in his "Hints to the Greeks", published in 1821, together with some military manœuvres which he conceived were peculiarly adapted to the Greek mode of warfare.

In this year he republished Sir William Jones's Inquiry into the Legal Mode of Suppressing Riots*.

Disturbances having taken place at Nottingham during the election, he thus alludes to the subject in a letter to Mrs. Cartwright, written in February, 1803:—

"Riot, intemperance and intimidation are not to be justified, but I believe the truth to be, that none had their coats torn, or were otherwise ill-used, except the identical persons who, a few years back, had been concerned in the most wanton and brutal behaviour towards all who were opposers of the late war; on which occasion houses were broken open and persons dragged out, halters were put round their necks, and they were plunged into the muddy brook by the side of the town. At that time there was no cry through the kingdom against such enormities, no inquiry after the perpetrators, all was as it should be; but now that the popular voice is in favour of freedom, the nobility and gentry make large subscriptions to keep it down, and tearing coats is an unpardonable offence.

"In consequence of the known wishes of some,

* The opinion of Mr. Granville Sharp on the same subject may be seen in the Appendix, No. XI.

and the presumed inclination of others, and in hope of rendering good service to the cause of truth, justice, and English liberty, I have printed my thoughts on public affairs in a Letter to the Electors of Nottingham, saying that they should not want a representative to act on the principles there laid down, and if they choose to invite me I am at their service.

" My brother* and I have had a very friendly correspondence on the subject of my standing for Nottingham.

" A letter from N. just arrived speaks with confidence of my success, but I scarcely think it can yet be judged of.

" Personally, I feel at ease. There are things in Parliament which I am certainly anxious to attempt, and several of these things do not depend on oratory but are within my capacity and strength. On this subject do not disturb your mind; the event is but a chance and probably a slight one. I am well aware that success might be followed by inconvenience; but I believe I am influenced by a sense of duty, and I am much too old to pursue politics for popularity."

* Captain Cartwright was at this time barrack-master of Nottingham. During the electioneering disturbances, though holding an obnoxious situation, and known to be a violent Tory politician, he used to walk and ride through the streets in the midst of the popular commotion; and while others on the same side were afraid to show themselves, a way was invariably made for him to pass without insult or molestation.

"13th May.

"We have had two days interval (of law business concerning the patent causes), but they were not days of rest to me. Wednesday I was at work from seven in the morning till eleven at night, with only breakfast, and occasionally a dish of chocolate. Yesterday I was very busy from six till near eleven at night, but had got so far through my work as to have nothing on my mind. I am to enter on my reply to-morrow, and Mr. —— is to have a rejoinder. I hope all will be over to-morrow except the award upon which the arbitrators will consult by themselves. What time it will take to have it signed and engrossed in form I know not, but I shall urge despatch: arbitrators and lawyers are however not to be driven, and they do not work from six in the morning till eleven at night.

"I am alive and merry, and have better and better hopes of a good award."

"30th June.

"The award is pronounced for £1250 damages. I am astonished, but there is no remedy; and the less that is said about it the better. I must do as well as I can; and it will be my study to get into a more tranquil state.

"The Morning Chronicle this moment tells me, that Mr. Secretary Yorke has written to the lords lieutenant *not* to drive the country on the approach of an enemy, but only to remove horses and oxen. I have strong hopes that the eyes of the ministers

are opening to the proper means of defence, and to the present unprepared state of the country. They say there is only one battalion between Portsmouth and Brighthelmstone."

The harassing and expensive business relative to these piracies being now concluded, he returned into Lincolnshire, and was once more occupied on the subject of the defence of the country, and particularly of that part where he resided.

"TO J. CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

"St. Anne's Hill, 28th November, 1803.

"DEAR SIR,

"I return you many thanks for yours of the 22d, and the packet accompanying it.

"That your plan is on a right principle, is beyond a doubt; how far it might be so entirely practicable, even if men could get so far the better of their alarms at democracy as to think of adopting it, may possibly be more doubtful, but these alarms put all questions of now carrying it into execution beyond probability.

"It is impossible not to admire the steadiness with which you persevere in your endeavours at the public good; but it is vain to hope that you, who mean freedom, can ever get your systems patronized by those whose wish it is to enslave the country more and more.

"I am, with great regard, &c.

"CHARLES JAMES FOX."

"TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE CHARLES JAMES FOX.

"December, 1803.

"DEAR SIR,

"I received your obliging letter of the 28th of November, and am not so visionary as to hope that any system recommended by me will be willingly adopted by the conductors of our government, until that government may, by some extraordinary turn, get into the hands of men who reason and feel like Locke and Sidney. But unwise or corrupt men may, by want of money, be partly compelled, or, by events, driven headlong into other measures, and I send formally the Ægis to the ministers that it may implant in their minds a consciousness of knowingly pursuing wrong systems. The military despotism—for I cannot bring myself to write the word republic—of France, and the personal character of the First Consul, are much in our favour; and if that person shall act as we may expect, he may yet render us the greatest service, in opening the eyes of the fascinated nobility and gentry to our present situation.

"With regard to the scene of invasion, I expect it in *England** rather than in *Ireland*, as more

* "Had I succeeded in effecting a landing, I have little doubt that I should have accomplished my views. Three thousand boats, each to carry twenty men and one horse, with a proportion of artillery, were ready. Your fleet having been decoyed away, as I before explained to you, would have left me master of the channel. Without this, I would not have made the attempt. Four days would have brought me to London. In a country like England, abounding in plains, defence is difficult. I have no doubt your troops would have done their duty; but one battle

practicable, more in the manner of Buonaparte, and more likely to answer his views: and, indeed, in our present state of defence, we might, in my judgment, tremble for the consequences: but my opinion turns upon circumstances I have not time now to enter upon.

"You seem to entertain doubts of the practicability, even if we had the disposition, of an arming so extensive as I recommend. Laying the basis of the system in first arming all tax-bearers, as those who are proprietors of the whole property of the country, the system should seem to be free even from difficulty, and much more from impracticability. Let us contemplate the right mode of proceeding.

"1. To call on tax-bearers, capable of the expense, to provide a stand of fire-arms and accoutrements.

"2. To call on all other tax-bearers to provide a Britannic spear, described in the Ægis, at an original expense of a few shillings, and causing no future expense in ammunition.

"3. To enrol the most proper representatives of females, and the infirm, of the above two classes, as their legal substitutes.

"4. For every *two* persons of the above de-

lost, the capital would have been in my power. You could not have collected a force sufficiently strong to beat me in a pitched battle. Your ideas of burning and destroying are very plausible in argument, but impracticable in theory."—Voice from St. Helena, Vol. II. p. 368.

scriptions, to enrol *one* of an inferior description; and for this last class, to provide arms at the public expense. And here part might be fire-arms and part spears, or even pikes.

"As to training, I trust that, in the Ægis, I am fortified against all objections. But the rock of our freedom is, to get the arms and accoutrements into the houses of the people. The most difficult thing is, to provide for the permanency of the system; and it would require all the wisdom and vigilance of our patriots to obtain laws for its future existence.

"I trouble you with these few observations, and I earnestly entreat you to pursue, in your own mind, the simple course to be taken, until your doubts of practicability are removed; for on a point of such infinite importance to freedom as this of arming, we ought not to be deprived of the benefit of your authority and power of persuasion.

"I am, &c.

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

"TO N. VANSITTART, ESQ.

"Arundel Street, 21st February, 1804.

"SIR,

"Learning that his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence is not as yet able to appoint a meeting of the committee of naval celebration, for want of knowing the sentiments of the Chancellor of the Exchequer on his Royal Highness's communication of last year, I have the honour to request that

you will have the goodness to remind that minister of the communication I mention.

"Business keeping me in town for some weeks to come, it would be convenient to me to attend upon the committee during that period, with the architectural design I am prepared to submit to their inspection, rather than be called out of the country for that purpose, which I hope may serve as an apology for the trouble I now give you.

"I have reason, Sir, to believe the design alluded to comprehends all that was suggested in a paper some time since presented to his Majesty by the Royal Academy of Arts, as well as other matters not unworthy the attention of British statesmen and a British sovereign.

"I have the honour to be", &c.

In 1804, appeared the first edition of the Ægis; a work which obtained for its author the thanks and compliments of many persons whose opinions would carry with them much weight and consideration. Though the affected contempt of his writings shown of late years by one particular party of politicians, might justify their insertion, yet an unwillingness to mention, without absolute necessity, the names of living persons, and to swell these volumes with mere complimentary epistles, has determined the writer to confine herself to one letter on the subject, written by the Rev. Christopher Wyvill, after the publication of the second edition.

" March 23d, 1806.

" DEAR SIR,

" I have just finished the perusal of your Ægis, which I received a few days ago, and for which I return you many thanks.

" In the general principles on which your book is written, I have long been agreed with you; and on reading it, I have scarcely met with any sentiments which I could not immediately approve, or any measure which, if I were a minister, I should hesitate to support. I am particularly pleased with the elevated tone in which you have delivered your remonstrance against the base corruption and servility of the age, and your own manly sentiments of patriotism and honour; with your severe reprobation of the doctrines and measures of Burke and of Pitt and Melville, with your candour to the Duke of Richmond, when censuring the faults of his pamphlet, and your cordiality in praising that attachment to the constitution which is manifest in every page of it. I found, with pleasure, also, that you had privately communicated with persons in power, a short supplement of observations, which, in 1803, would have been less fit for publication. This was a very prudent precaution; and it must, I think, gain you credit with the ministers, and with the public. The same ought to be the result of your having pointed out the coast of Lincolnshire as the most vulnerable part of England, so long before Paine's late pamphlet (which is quoted in your Ægis), has shewn, that

on that coast it was the actual intention of our foe to land in person, accompanied by Paine.

"That your ideas will be adopted to the full extent of your plan, can hardly be expected, in an age so luxurious, from a parliament which contains such a mass of corruption, blended, it is true, with a considerable proportion of true public spirit and zeal for constitutional liberty; yet, as power is fortunately lodged in the hands of men who are unquestionably of this last and honourable description, and who possess, with the influence of their station and of their uncommon talents, the confidence of the public, at least in a very considerable degree, I hope the new measures to be brought forward in Parliament will be formed on your principles, to an extent which will give us a much increased security against every attempt of our foreign or domestic enemies to destroy the liberty and independence of our country. I congratulate you on the prospect, and hope you will live to receive that reward of public esteem and gratitude to which your patriotic labours justly entitle you.

"I am, dear Sir, with great regard, &c.

"CHRISTOPHER WYVILL."

In another letter on the same subject, Mr. Wyvill says, "You already know I am of your opinion respecting the necessity of reverting to the practice of our ancestors, and of arming the nation."

In the year 1805, Major Cartwright let his

estate in Lincolnshire, and removed to Chase-Green, Enfield. This change was very agreeable to him in many respects, not only as it brought him nearer to some of his most intimate friends and political associates, but as he was thus released from those agricultural concerns which his increasing interest in public affairs had for some time rendered irksome to him. Soon after his settling at Enfield, an election took place for the county of Hertford; and so great were his exertions in favour of Mr. Brand, that he returned one day from the election in a state of such exhaustion, that his family were considerably alarmed for the consequences.

In this year he published, "The State of the Nation," in a series of letters to the Duke of Bedford. The profits of this publication were given to the Middlesex Freeholders Club, instituted in 1804, for guarding the freedom of election, and thereby preserving the independence of the country, of which association he was the permanent chairman. By the permission of his Grace, a permission most obligingly expressed, he quoted in this work a passage in a letter from the Duke of Bedford decisive of his opinion upon the subject of reform. At the end of "The State of the Nation" is found a list of all those distinguished persons who have at different periods been most favourable to reform of Parliament.

While occupied in completing this series of letters, he thus writes to Mr. Wyvill:—

" Enfield, 24th September, 1805.

" DEAR SIR,

" I was much mortified to find that, in the business of Lord Melville, &c. you did not succeed in obtaining a county meeting in Yorkshire. I should wish to know from what quarter you found cold water thrown on the attempt, because, as all powerful men resort to the capital, and have influence more or less in Middlesex, it may be of use to know such men's characters.

" On that occasion I was much disposed to have offered some motions to *our* county meeting, grounded on the evident connection between corruption in office, and corruption in Parliament, but thought it prudent to consult a very considerable person in opposition. It was his opinion, and that of Mr. Fox, that it was not then advisable, and I found they were much more afraid, than I even now think was necessary, of such motions having at that juncture an ill effect in the more distant parts of the kingdom. Although there could have been no doubt of their local success, and although I had promised myself much more extensive good, I consented to withhold my motions, and merely to state in argument my opinions, which I did, but it was only from a deference to the noble person I consulted and his friend, that I might not prejudice the question then immediately before the public, and with a full reservation to myself of a

right to take an early opportunity of bringing forward the general question of reform.

" Although the spell of Mr. Pitt's direful power was even then broken, yet perhaps it was as well to let the public see that meetings might be once more held without being dispersed by servile magistrates; perhaps it was as well that the people should once more feel their strength in a case wherein they were not likely to have a struggle. I say *perhaps*, and that *perhaps* is grounded on that which is not very honourable to men of family and distinction who have at any time professed a regard for public liberty, and the prosperity of their country; for with a very moderate portion of knowledge and spirit in that class of men, the opportunity might have been gloriously improved.

" But we must not, my dear Sir, allow this degenerate idleness and insensibility to the public interests to destroy us. We must bring forward the doctrines of salvation. We must put a friendly force upon timidity and lukewarmness. Of the general mass of Englishmen, if judicious and convincing propositions can be presented to them, we are sure, and we must act accordingly.

" I have a pamphlet nearly ready to appear— " The State of the Nation"; in a series of letters to the Duke of Bedford. Its grand object is, to urge the necessity of popular interference in public meetings, for obtaining a reform in our representation, and a removal of ministers, and I have

the Duke of Bedford's permission to quote a noble passage of a letter from him to me in April last, most decisive of his Grace's opinion of the absolute necessity of reform.

"Considering the additional advantage given me by the unexampled profligacy with which the ministry and the corrupt part of parliament acted subsequent to our Middlesex County Meeting, I am now well content that I restrained myself on that occasion, and have since employed my time for giving force to the effort when it shall be made.

"I am prepared with a requisition for calling a meeting of this county; and with the ready means for obtaining to it at least five hundred respectable signatures, as a thunder clap to the terrified apostate. This being the case, and considering also the great and expressed reluctance with which I consented to keep back my propositions in May, the rectitude and acknowledged necessity of such propositions, the fallen character of the minister, the universal sense of the abominable corruption of the government, the present state of parties, and all other circumstances of the time, I feel no small confidence of having to our requisition great and weighty names. The same motives which ought to produce an exertion in Middlesex, would, one should naturally expect, on the principles of ordinary prudence, stimulate the leaders of opposition to a similar exertion wherever they have influence. I transcribe you a draught of the pro-

posed requisition. I hope to be favoured with your early sentiments, as the time for action approaches. It has not the fashionable conciseness; but I feel convinced of the propriety of departing, at this particular period, from that custom. I am not without lively hopes that we shall be able to move the City of London. If Middlesex and London set a good example, there can be little doubt of other neighbouring counties; and I trust that Yorkshire will not forget its former honours in the cause of liberty.

"I give the profits of my publication to the Freeholders Club of the county, and can rely upon their energies in the cause.

"Although all this is imparted in confidence, and in a full reliance on your judgment and wisdom, it is certainly intended for such use as you may think fit to make of it.

"With great respect and esteem,

"I remain, dear Sir, truly yours,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

In the month of October Major Cartwright wrote to the Dukes of Norfolk, Northumberland, Bedford, to Lord Dundas, to the Earls of St. Vincent and Stanhope, to Messrs. Grey, Fox, &c. &c., urging the necessity of calling another meeting of the county of Middlesex.

From most of these distinguished persons he received very flattering replies, but they seemed generally to have adopted an opinion that it was

not the time to agitate the question, and Mr. Fox in particular observed, that "to stir it at that time would not only be highly prejudicial to the interests of reform itself, but to every other measure that could be taken for the general good, in this critical and disastrous state of public affairs."

It is a little remarkable, that during so long a life as that of Major Cartwright, he never in the opinion of some persons, found out the happy moment for agitating a question which they acknowledged to be of the highest importance, and that whenever he proposed any public measure, the country should be either in a state too apathetic and prosperous, or else too critical and disastrous.

It would have saved him much time and trouble, if he could have concurred in the opinion expressed in a letter from his friend Lord Stanhope. "I must confess I have seen too much, not to be thoroughly sick of the old dull road of meetings of freeholders convened by the aristocracy. If the people be true to themselves they will inquire of the candidates for high offices, what it is they will solemnly pledge themselves to do for the people in case they should come into place. Every thing short of this is firing at sparrows."

"TO MR. COBBETT.

"October, 1805.

"SIR,

"It was only lately I became a reader of your Weekly Register. Your energy, your indignant

warmth against peculation, your abhorrence of political treachery, and your independent spirit, command my esteem. As a token of it, I beg to present you with a few essays written to serve our injured country, which has too long lain a bleeding prey to devouring factions, and which cannot be preserved, unless that public spirit and courage that were once the characteristics of England, can be revived.

"Your efforts to that end deserve every praise. The national feeling in the case of Lord Melville, and the approbation of your writings, are good symptoms of convalescence in the public mind. We must not therefore despair.

"Your obedient Servant,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

In the year 1806 Major Cartwright published the second part of his "Ægis, or the Military Energies of the Constitution." The chief design of this work was to demonstrate the necessity of preparing and defending the country against the threatened invasion of Napoleon, the inadequacy of the volunteer system to that end, the unconstitutional tendency of standing armies, and the necessity of recurring for safety, from both foreign and domestic enemies, to that system of defence which was introduced into this country by the wisdom of our Saxon ancestors.

This publication has become extremely scarce, in consequence of the seizure which will be here-

after noticed, of several hundred copies, in the year 1812; and as, with the exception of the "Constitution Produced and Illustrated", it is the most detailed of his writings, some extracts from it will be here given, together with the dedication of the first part to Mr. Fox.

"To whom, in the present conflict for empire and existence, ought to be dedicated the 'Energies of England', but to him who, of all her sons, possesses a mind the most energetic? To whom shall be dedicated a proud effort to restore to full vigour and energy the military branch of the English Constitution, but to him who has the most comprehensive knowledge, and holds the purest principles of that constitution?

"Although a dedicator, I am no flatterer. I have occasionally differed, and I may again differ from you in opinion on particular points. But if, when I were to be led to battle, I could have the choice of my general, it would not be him I should choose with whom I had never disagreed, but him in whom I found combined the greatest talents with the truest devotion to the cause in which I was to contend.

"When we are now to fight, not only for our fields and fire-sides, but for those laws and liberties which make an Englishman's field an Eden and his fire-side an earthly heaven, we cannot but turn our thoughts to one in whom, by a singular felicity, are united the most popular accomplishments

for inspiring union, confidence, affectionate attachment, and public enthusiasm; and, at the same time, a grasp of intellect for counteracting the gigantic schemes of the ruler of France, and a robustness of mind for wielding the power of Britain.

"Had, Sir, your ruling star gratified your early ambition with long possession of the reins of government, perhaps no work of real patriotism might ever have been dedicated to you. When a government has received a deep taint of impurity, it is an infected habitation from which those who, in the full fire of their passions, have ever made it their abode, do not, without a miracle, escape in moral health. What statesman, in our time, has tarried in that habitation and escaped without infection? Which of them can make the honest boast, that he restored purity to the government and energy to the constitution? Alas!—but, no: I will suppress the agitating emotions arising within me. From the hateful spectacle of freedom betrayed, a constitution trampled upon, and the wicked audacity of unbridled power, I will turn to that school of political adversity, in which I trust you have acquired a mastery over your passions, fortified your integrity, matured your judgment, and plumed your genius for bearing you aloft in the region of a luminous and generous policy which, at the same time that it maintains the prerogative and raises the glory of a sovereign, consults the rights, the interests, and the feelings of a free people." Dedication, pp. v, vi, vii.

"At the period when Francis I., according to Robertson, 'saved the whole kingdom by sacrificing one of its provinces', a standing army had been introduced into France between ninety and one hundred years; and we are told, that 'in less than a century after their introduction, the nobles and their military tenants, though sometimes summoned to the field according to antient form, were considered as an incumbrance upon the troops with which they acted.' Here was an early operation of 'the policy of the three last centuries.' It is worth remark, that the same government which first introduced standing armies, was the first to experience their inadequacy to national defence, and to feel the necessity of calling, for that purpose, to their aid, the horrid expedient of desolating a fair province." Vol. I. pp. 78, 79.

"In what I shall say of standing armies, I certainly shall not utter a syllable with intent to give offence, either to the present army or to the present rulers of our country. The army did not form itself, neither was it the creation of our present sovereign, or of his ministers. They found it a part of the machinery of government, and they continued to use it as such." Vol. I. p. 86.

"Residing, in October, 1803, near the sea-port town of Boston, in the county of Lincoln, the merchants of which, at that time, were become somewhat uneasy, on account of depredations then making on the coast by a privateer or two of the enemy, I took occasion, after consulting a chart,

and taking a ride along the shore, to propose a select meeting of gentlemen, to take into consideration the defenceless state of the coast. At that meeting I addressed, to the gentlemen assembled, my sentiments; intended to apprise them of dangers to which they were exposed, and to which they seemed completely insensible; dangers infinitely beyond the loss they might sustain from a few lurking privateers; and to be myself secure against any misapprehension of what I should say, I spoke from a written paper; which paper, at the same time that the resolutions agreed upon by the meeting were transmitted to government, I enclosed in a letter to the proper minister. Vol. II. p. 33.

"Whether in the foregoing speech I magnified the danger to be apprehended, or have now given any information to the enemy not before in his possession, may be seen by a publication purporting to be dated America, May 1804, and to come from the pen of Thomas Paine; which, from the internal evidence of it, I take to be his.

"He tells us 'that the union of Belgium to France makes a new order of things'; that 'the plan of a descent upon England by gun-boats, began after the first peace with Austria, and the acquisition of Belgium by France. Before that acquisition France had no territory on the North Sea, and it is there the descent will be carried on.'

"'The English coast on the North Sea including the counties of Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Lin-

colnshire *, is as level as a bowling-green, and approachable in every part for more than two hundred miles. The shore is a clean firm sand, where a flat-bottomed boat may row dry aground. The country-people use it as a race-ground, and for other sports when the tide is out. It is the weak and defenceless part of England, and it is impossible to make it otherwise.' This, Thomas, is not true; but I believe that you have as little desire to see it properly defended, or the people to be truly informed, as their own minister himself."

" 'The original plan, formed in the time of the Directory (but now much more extensive), was to build one thousand boats, each sixty feet long, to draw about two feet water, to carry a twenty-four or thirty-six pounder in the head, and a field-piece in the stern, to be run out as soon as they touched the ground †. Each boat was to carry a hundred men, making in the whole one hundred thousand, and to row with twenty or twenty-five oars on a side. Buonaparte was appointed to the command, and by an agreement between him and me, I was to accompany him.'" Vol. II. pp. *53*, *54*, *55*.

" Alfred did not, in short, rely either upon de-

* Paine was born in Norfolk, and was afterwards an exciseman at Alford in Lincolnshire, near the coast.

† When at Southend in Essex, in the autumn of 1822, Major Cartwright saw and examined a foreign vessel of this description, which was said to have been built at this time by order of Buonaparte, and which became afterwards the property of a fisherman at Southend.

solation, upon a calculation of chances, or upon a navy for that defence of the state which it was the common duty of all his people to secure by courage and by their swords; notwithstanding his navy had done for him so much.

"And can a navy, I ask, do more in respect of defence than was actually done by the navy of Alfred? In the English navy I was bred; towards that navy I have exerted my talents, such as they are; and, provident for the permanence of its glory, in conjunction with the honour and best interest of our nation, I can safely challenge, on evidence now before the public, the most passionate of its admirers, or the most faithful of its friends, for zeal in its service. But in respect of a navy towards national defence, I think, and I would act, precisely as Alfred thought and as Alfred acted." Vol. II. p. 89.

"I must not yet take my leave of the dangerous policy of relying upon a navy for defence against invasion. Perhaps the Christian world are already sufficiently disposed to contemplate Napoleon as one of those instruments in the hands of the Deity by which, from time to time, his dispensations for the punishment of nations, and for throwing down proud states and empires, are brought about; and he himself seems well disposed to propagate such a persuasion." Vol. II. p. 101.

"I cannot close this work without expressing my sentiments on a pamphlet entitled 'Thoughts

on the National Defence', which, not only from strong internal evidence, but from the information of the bookseller, I understand to come from the pen of the Duke of Richmond.

" It has ever been my opinion, that the defence of England cannot be understood, and consequently cannot be provided for, I mean by furnishing a right system, unless by one in whom the knowledge of a soldier is united with that of a constitutional statesman; for a mere soldier, while he fortified London might undermine our liberties, and while he preserved the soil might destroy the constitution of our country. It has, therefore, been with very great satisfaction, mixed a little with occasional dissent, that I have read and considered the valuable work I have mentioned, and upon which I shall now venture to give at some length an opinion.

" It has appeared to me that the defence of our land and of our liberties may go on hand in hand, and that in every step we take, our first consideration ought ever to be, the constitution, which I trust has not on this occasion suffered in my hands. So far as I had ventured in my first volume to lay down military principles, I felt indeed great confidence of the solidity of my ground, because I thought I had not gone out of my depth, and had bent the force of my mind to do justice to my subject; and it is with singular satisfaction that I find myself in no small degree supported by one so able to advise as the noble author of 'The Thoughts.'" Vol. II. pp. 119, 120.

Copies of this work, Major Cartwright sent to all the cabinet ministers, besides many other persons of note.

By a letter from Mr. Windham, it appears that gentleman entertained the same apprehensions with himself on the probability of invasion on those very coasts which were generally imagined to be safe from impending danger. The same opinion was also entertained by Mr. Arthur Young, as appears by a letter which will be found in Cobbett's Register, Vol. IX. p. 13.

Major Cartwright was as usual actively engaged in promoting a meeting of the county. In these endeavours he was much thwarted by the fears and scruples of the leading gentlemen of the opposition, with whom he had some communication during a short stay he made in town in order to attend the funeral of Lord Nelson.

The three following extracts are from Mr. Wyvill's letters at this time, and relate to the meeting proposed by Major Cartwright:—

"Baker Street, January 26, 1806.

"It is the very critical state of public affairs at present, and the very uncertain situation of our parliamentary friends, which induces me to remind you, that if you have not consulted them upon the measures alluded to, since our last conference, it is due to those friends, and may prevent disappointment to them, and incalculable disadvantage

to the common cause, that you pause, till you have consulted them, especially Mr. Fox and the Duke of Bedford, against whose wishes and judgment, if they are decidedly adverse to the agitation of that question at popular meetings at present, I conceive you would not wish to bring it forward at the next meeting of the county of Middlesex, but rather to confine yourself to *that ground* which Mr. Fox thought properly taken. At a subsequent meeting of the county, the measure alluded to might be agitated without inconvenience, and probably with their approbation."

"Baker Street, January 29, 1806.

"I am glad you have sent a copy of the requisition to Mr. Fox, though I still wish it had occurred to me sooner (that is, before the requisition was put in circulation), that it would probably have a good effect, if the Duke of Bedford and Mr. Fox were consulted, respecting the proposition of national defence.

"I shall conclude with assuring you, that no one estimates more highly than I do, your merits and services to the public in respect to the subject of defence; and that I look forward to the result of your labours at present with a confident expectation of success."

"Baker Street, February 6, 1806.

"From farther conversation since the 4th, I am more fully convinced that it will be best for

the cause of constitutional reform to suspend your proceedings for some time, even if the persons named in my letter of the 4th (who are all persons most deservedly esteemed for their attachment to that cause) should have given you their concurrence; but if my information on the 4th was correct, the prudence of admitting some delay is still more evident. How long prudence may require your intended meeting to be delayed, it is impossible at present to determine; but this, I think, may be hoped, that a more favourable opportunity than the present will occur in the course of the next twelve months; I mean, that in that time a change of political circumstances, and consequently of opinions, probably may take place, which will be advantageous to our views; and will afford a more fit juncture for the meditated attempt of the freeholders of Middlesex, to obtain for the taxed and unrepresented householders of the county, and if possible of the whole kingdom, redress of their grievance of non-representation.

"Such a measure will come with peculiar force and propriety from the freeholders of Middlesex; and I am only anxious that a more favourable time for bringing it forward should be patiently waited for, in order more effectually to secure the success of their attempt."

The requisition alluded to was as follows:

"TO JOHN ANSLEY AND THOMAS SMITH, ESQRS.
"SHERIFF OF MIDDLESEX.

"February 17, 1806.

"GENTLEMEN,

"We the undersigned possessing freeholds in Middlesex, request you to call a meeting of the county, to consider of an address to the King, to thank his Majesty for having, by changing his ministers, opened to the people a prospect of counsels more congenial with the English constitution than for many years past they have experienced, as well as the hope of a redress of grievances: also, to express our confidence that the new members of his Majesty's executive Government will resort to the best energies of the constitution, for calling forth an impregnable strength at home, to put an end to every apprehension of invasion, and to ensure to us honourable and lasting peace."

"TO WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, ESQ.

"March 24, 1806.

"DEAR SIR,

"I see that your name and mine are on the same list, as *promoters* of the *fine arts*. As you are not likely to engage in any thing upon light grounds, I wish much to have some conversation with you and Mr. W. Smith, who takes an active part in the new institution, on the object of it.

"The fine arts are a family of much frailty; and unless we can give them a virtuous education

and a right direction, they will be full as likely to produce moral and political evil as good. By wise legislation, they may, as I conceive, be made powerful instruments of moral and political improvement. It is for these ends I wish to have the pleasure of conversing with you and Mr. W. Smith.

"Meanwhile if you can find leisure to peruse the inclosed letters to the president of the institution, they will lead you into my views. I wish you likewise to have the goodness to put them for the same purpose into the hands of Mr. W. Smith. On the subject and on the mode of presenting them, I wish to consult you both. Addresses of such a nature from an entire stranger are sometimes disregarded or misinterpreted. As I have not the smallest knowledge of the personal character of the present Lord Dartmouth, I may perhaps be unnecessarily cautious. But I do not wish to be considered as some interested adventurer, or as a vain projector who has lost his wits. My aim is to have what I tender to the institution gravely and seriously considered. That I imagine could only be well done through a small committee, on whose judgment the directors of the institution could rely. My distance and my occupations allow me few opportunities of making calls in town, especially at an uncertainty. But if you could mention a time for my waiting upon you with not less than a couple of days' notice, I would make a point of doing myself that pleasure.

"Should you favour me with an appointment not many days distant, the enclosed letters need not in the mean time be returned. The second letter is left without my signature, that I may, if necessary, add to it before delivery.

"You will use your own discretion in communicating the letters to the other members of the institution, or other persons besides Mr. W. Smith, before I have the pleasure of seeing you.

"With best regards, I am, &c.

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

Mr. Wilberforce's answer to this letter is in the same friendly strain, as all those received by Major Cartwright from that gentleman, whom no difference in political opinion seems to have prevented from doing justice to the character and motives of his early friend.

The result of Major Cartwright's application on the subject of a plan for a temple of naval celebration, may be seen in an extract from the minutes of a meeting of directors, held the 22d of May, 1806:—

"Resolved, that the thanks of this meeting be presented to Major Cartwright, and that he be informed that so extensive a plan as that proposed by him, does not appear to come within the views of the British Institution."

On the 5th of June 1806, he announced his intention of withdrawing his name from the Whig

Club, in the following letter to the secretary, Mr. Clarkson:

"SIR,

"Finding that attending the Whig Club becomes inconvenient to me, I will be obliged to you to strike my name out of the list of its members; as I think it better wholly to withdraw, than to keep on the list, and neglect the duties of attendance. From the principles on which the Whig Club is founded, I trust I never shall recede, and in my wish that it may be an instrument of diffusing a general love of liberty, you may be assured there is no abatement.

"I remain, Sir, &c.

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

On the 17th of November a dinner-meeting was held at the Crown and Anchor, Major Cartwright in the chair, in which were given the following toasts: "The King, Lords, and Commons; may they mutually unite and co-operate in the adoption of all those measures that may be necessary for the restoration of the happiness and character, and for the preservation of the independence, of the country, in spite of the machinations of its enemies, domestic as well as foreign." "The Free and Independent Electors of Westminster." "The Independent Freeholders of Westminster." "The Naval and Military Defenders of our Country;

may they be made to participate in all those rights which will render public liberty as dear to them as their military fame; and may their deeds prove hereafter as they have done heretofore, that we stand in no need of the introduction of foreign troops, an introduction so strictly forbidden by those laws which were bought by the best blood of our forefathers."

Several other meetings took place at this time, in favour of Mr. Paul's election, in which Major Cartwright was called to the chair, and received, as usual, the thanks of the meeting, for his upright and impartial conduct.

In November 1806, he was invited to stand for Boston, and though he was not in the end successful, for the same reasons which had always rendered him too honest a candidate for the present system of election, it appears that his doctrines met with some admirers even in a borough-town; for a friend residing in that place informs him, 22d of November 1806, "H—— has had many applications for your three addresses to the electors, and intends, if you approve it, to publish them in a small pamphlet. If he does this, would there be any impropriety in his publishing them with Mr. Whitbread's letter to Sir Francis Burdett, and your admirable one to Mr. Whitbread?"

As the addresses above alluded to, are not written in the usual style of electioneering composition, they are here given with some trivial omissions*.

* They are published at length in "Cobbett's Register" for 1806.

"TO THE ELECTORS OF BOSTON.

"GENTLEMEN,

"Understanding it to be the point of honour, in a Boston election, for every candidate who stands a poll, to give five guineas a man to all such of the electors who vote for him, and will accept of money; but thinking such a custom would be more honoured in the breach than in the observance, I venture, late as it is, to offer my services to represent you in Parliament, as I have nothing to fear from losing an election. My political sentiments being well known to you, I may, on the present occasion, be silent on that subject; but the supposed custom of your borough, sanctioned, as I apprehend, and as I lament, by the practice of all the boroughs in England, demands a few words. Although, Gentlemen, you should approve of what I say, it is not necessary you should accept of my services. You may know persons more entitled to your confidence; or I can, if you wish it, mention to you men more able, both in body and mind, to do you and their country-service; men who, although they may not exceed me in inclination, have more strength, more learning, more knowledge, and more talent, than myself. They are men, Gentlemen, whose presence in our House of Commons is as much to be desired as that of Nelsons in our navy, or Stuarts in our army: and yet against whom, by the unhappy evil on which I have touched, the doors of Parliament are effec-

tually barred; while they are thrown unwittingly open to every son of rapine and violence, and to every unprincipled betrayer of his country, who, at a general election, drives into a borough-town properly prepared for stabbing the constitution. One word more on the subject of voting.—A vote is not in the nature of a chattel, that we can legally or morally sell, or can give away, for any private gain or gratification whatever; but is a sacred right held in trust, to be exercised only for the good of our country. Here, again, I must remind ye, that a vote at an election is what a verdict is on a jury. As we are bound to give this for the sole ends of private justice, so we are equally bound to give that for the sole ends of public justice. In one case we are sworn to give our own verdict, without favour or affection, according to the evidence; and in the other case we are sworn, that, for giving our vote, we have neither directly nor indirectly received, nor have the promise or expectation of any reward. And is not this equivalent to swearing, that, in giving our vote, we are solely guided by a sense of public justice, and, without favour or affection, prefer the men most entitled to preference; or, in other words, to our verdict, according to the evidence before us? Before we enter a jury-box, we may have formed our opinion of the cause; and, if I may use the expression, we may have promised our verdict to him who, in our judgment, has justice on his side. But such a promise is of course con-

ditional; for if it turn out that justice be clearly on the side of his adversary in the suit, we are then bound to give our verdict for that adversary. Our promise, in fact, was to do our duty, and to administer justice; and when given, we were under an error in respect to the party entitled to it. It is precisely the same in elections: we can only promise to perform our duty, and to do justice in disposing of our vote. It has been in order to guard you against imposition and error, that I have reasoned upon what I conceive to be the nature of election promises. God forbid I should wish to violate any engagement sanctioned by justice and by duty. If an elector cannot, at the same time, keep a hasty promise to an individual, and fulfil a sacred duty to his country, it must, in such a dilemma, be left to his own feelings and conscience to determine how to act.

"I remain, Gentlemen,

"Your obedient servant,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

"Sunday Evening, 2d November, 1806.

"GENTLEMEN,

"When I yesterday returned from the poll, I was joined by flags and music. Such an expression of the approbation of well-wishers, I hope will not be repeated, as it has an appearance of uniting me with a town-party. The writer's business here is to make a practical effort in favour of public principle. Whether he shall or shall not

personally succeed in his present attempt, is a very inferior consideration. In making it he has higher views. He believes he is doing political good. Of the borough he has seen enough to persuade him, that, if as much pains were taken to inculcate public principle as town party, the best things in favour of the liberties of our country might be expected from the electors of Boston.

"I remain, Gentlemen,

"Your obedient servant,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

In December, 1806, Major Cartwright was seriously indisposed, from the effects of fatigue, and inattention to the necessary refreshment which so much exertion required; an inattention which often occasioned his family much uneasiness during his absences from home. On the 2d of this month he says,

"All I had to do with the Middlesex election was to attend at Brentford to give my vote, and to write a few papers. At Mr. Paul's request I took the chair at two dinners and one meeting. The letter to Mr. Windham, and a second to Mr. Whitbread, will appear in Cobbett's Register. Finding myself very unwell, I sent for Dr. Hamilton, and must in future avoid fasting."

Although the avowed object of this work is to give to the world a just idea of Major Cartwright's

unceasing labours, both public and private, yet a great difficulty has occurred during its progress. To detail these labours would be to fatigue the reader, whose interest in the subject cannot be expected to equal that of his immediate friends and relations. A man so willing to work for others, would not, of course, be suffered to remain idle; and we find by his correspondence, that he was continually consulted upon a variety of topics (not always political), to which he gave the most patient and unwearied attention. Much, therefore, it is necessary to pass over, which might tend to illustrate his character; and when any material circumstance demands attention, the occurrences of each year are noticed with as much brevity as possible.

In 1807 he wrote several small pieces on political subjects, no copies of which have been preserved. His letters to Whitbread, of which a correspondent says, "R. tells me your letters to Whitbread are in great request in Cornwall", were this year published in "Cobbett's Register." A parable of his composition at this time, which has been compared by a Greek scholar to a part of Plato's Seventh Book of the Republic, will be found in the Appendix, No. XII.

In the spring of the year he was called into Lincolnshire by business relative to his property there, and was once more put up for Boston, at the general election.

In an address to the electors, 28th of April, 1807, he says:—

"As a nation, our affairs have nearly run to the worst that can be, short of ruin: but having at the critical juncture cast from us that national wickedness and reproach, the Slave Trade, let us hope, if we persevere in rectitude, and pursue reform according to the principles of our constitution, which accord with the laws of nature and of God, that by his providence we and our cause shall not be cast off; but that our affairs taking a happy turn, our liberties and our happiness may be replaced on their proper basis.

"To be an humble instrument for such end, is all my ambition. Weak instruments in designs supported by public opinions, and the favour of Providence, may be employed with success in breaking down the loftiest barrier of *wrong*, and in building up the strongest bulwark of *right*.

"Although, Gentlemen, I cannot insult you, nor dishonour myself by unworthy acts or arts for securing an election, I have thought it right to canvass, because it is fit that the electors should have an opportunity of taking pledges of candidates for a faithful performance of duty in case of becoming representatives.

"On the nature of a canvass you already know my sentiments. I shall therefore not feel myself entitled to any vote unless at the time of polling the party can then give it with a perfect conscious-

ness of fulfilling to his country the sacred duty of an elector, in the choice of those who are to be the law-makers and guardians of the liberties of the nation.

"The witty Dr. South being of opinion, that in covetousness there is much sin, tells the miser in one of his sermons, that '*tis bad economy to be damned to save charges.*' Now it is to be observed, that the money for which the miser runs this risk, *he really gets*; whereas I have heard of electors who, after risking all the consequences of doing wrong, are not likely to get the promised reward.

"That you, on whomsoever your choice of representatives may at any time fall, may on all occasions secure to yourselves by your conduct, not only the inward satisfaction, but the praise of both integrity and wisdom, is the sincere prayer of, Gentlemen,

"Your friend and well wisher,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

By a letter written during this election, he does not seem to have buoyed himself with any false hopes on the occasion, for he says:—

"The election here begins on Tuesday. I am as quiet as if nothing were going on. Betts run that I shall have ten votes. The husband of Mr. Wilberforce's sister has published a pamphlet entitled 'The Dangers of the Country', which begins, 'We may be conquered by France', &c. There are

arguments to show we are not prepared for defence, and he seems strongly to recommend general arming, but professes not to understand the detail. Some of his arguments are very strong. His 'War in Disguise', is a very popular work. The present is written with great ability. I have only looked into this work, but have not seen any difficulty which the system of the 'Ægis' does not go directly to remove. Should Napoleon prove master of Poland, which is highly probable, our ministers must look about them on the subject of defence.

"I have received information from good authority, that farther peculations of public money have been discovered by means of the enquiries of the commissioners.

"In one, of a sum of £20,000; and an intimate friend of Mr. Pitt, who was also an acquaintance of my own, is the person criminated."

"23d April, 1807.

"I shall not defend Lord Howick, but I do not find that those who speak against him, have any objection to the King's signing a paper requiring a written pledge, that they will never advise him contrary to his opinion of what is right.

"If this is to be tolerated, nothing more is necessary to the King's being absolute. This straining at gnats and swallowing of camels does not argue much independency of mind, or freedom of thought.

"Those who have wished to be the friends of Lord Howick have more reason than his enemies to find fault with him, and can easily pick holes in his coat; but for every bodkin-hole to be discovered in it, a pocket-hole may be found in the coats of those who have succeeded him and his party.

"*Conscience* is a good thing—but the same conscience which refuses to make it lawful for half a dozen or half a hundred of Roman Catholics to rise to commands on the staff, to be *masters general of the ordnance* or *commanders-in-chief*, to which they could never rise by seniority, nor enjoy otherwise than by the King's express appointment, once consented to make the Roman Catholic the established religion of Canada, and gave assent to the Act of Parliament for so doing. So much for *conscience!!!* As my old friend John Jebb used to say, 'Don't tell me of a moderate man, he is always a rascal.' So I begin to think this same Mr. Conscience is no better than he should be."

"29th April, 1807.

"We are here in the midst of an election contest, in which I am a candidate and sure to lose my election, though highly praised by several who vote against me. Mr. Langton has had the goodness to favour me with his presence. Mr. Maddocks has lost many votes by not coming sooner, and by the old trick of setting up the cry of 'No Popery.'

"Should Sir R. Heron stand for Lincolnshire, I

shall probably vote for him. I send you the answer from the author of 'The Dangers of the Country.'"

In this answer, that gentleman (Mr. Stephens) expresses his gratification, that one so well known as Major Cartwright for political information, and who has travelled the same road, thinks so well of his views; and that he himself should have recommended the same or similar principles in the work before him, viz. "England's Ægis."

The election at Boston terminated by Major Cartwright's having fifty-nine votes, forty of which were plumpers: and when it is considered that every one of his voters lost the usual douceur, it is only matter of surprise that so many disinterested persons should be found in the borough. Probably few others in the kingdom could have furnished a greater number.

In the year 1807 an important change took place in the administration; those ministers who belonged to that set of public men usually denominated whigs, were obliged to give way to a more powerful party, who came into office on the 25th of March.

Major Cartwright was no less indefatigable in recommending his systems of defence to the new ministers, than he had been to those who preceded them; and accordingly instructed his publisher (Mr., now Sir R. Phillips) to send copies of "The Ægis" to the following noblemen and gentlemen;

viz. His Royal Highness the Duke of York, Lord Camden, Lord Eldon, Earl of Westmoreland, Duke of Portland, Lord Mulgrave, Earl of Chatham, Earl Bathurst, Lord Hawkesbury, Lord Castlereagh, The Right Honourable G. Canning, and The Right Honourable S. Perceval*.

Those sent to Generals Murray, Cartwright and Gwynn, were accompanied with a note to this effect:

"The author of 'The Ægis' requests General ——— as a military officer of rank in the confidence of the King, to accept a copy of that work, written in the hope, that, in the hour of trial, the throne may be preserved to his Majesty, and the constitution to his people."

"TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD HAWKESBURY.

"Storrington, 10th July, 1807.

"MY LORD,

"Half a century ago your father made a most admirable beginning towards a restoration of the military branch of the constitution. In 'England's Ægis', which the author trusts his publisher has presented to your Lordship, he believes it is

* Though fearful of inserting any circumstance in these Memoirs solely from memory or report, the writer cannot avoid remarking, that about this time she was informed by a friend, that one of the then ministers, in speaking of 'The Ægis', had declared it to contain so many valuable suggestions on the article of defence, that, if it had not been for his known *intractability*, the author would have been consulted by the administration.

shewn how that necessary work may be completed.

"Possibly, my Lord, he might have laboured to little purpose, had not another instructor arisen, whose admonitions, if we would shun the fate of other nations, must not be disregarded.

"Submitting these matters to your serious investigation, I have the honour to be, &c.

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

Major Cartwright having drawn up the schedules of two bills, one for arming the people, and the other for their more complete representation in Parliament, was extremely anxious, during the session of 1808, to have them discussed in the House, and had flattered himself that his friend Sir Francis Burdett would bring the subject forward. That gentleman, from indisposition, and probably from a conviction, also, that he should meet with no support, suffered the session to pass, much to the dissatisfaction of the zealous Major, who had bestowed, on the framing of these bills, six months' incessant labour and application. Writing on this subject to Lord Stanhope, 29th May, 1808, he tells him he had got back the papers from the friend to whom they were entrusted, and thus continues:—"Not being acquainted with Lord Folkestone, I have submitted to Cobbett, whether he should mention the subject to his lordship; but time is flying; the session draws near its conclusion; before another, it is probable the King

of Sweden may cease to reign, Spain may be completely French, Turkey partitioned, and Napoleon in readiness to direct, to the destruction of this country, all his immensity of means.

"Stand in the gap, my good Lord, whether any thing can or cannot be done in the Commons. Fashion the bills to your own liking; make a stand in the House of Lords, and let us call to this great object the public attention.—Cobbett's paper has a circulation and authority which nothing of the kind ever had.—Suspend your ship-building for a few days, and prevent the vessel of State from sinking."

Whatever might be the extent of his disappointment on this occasion, cooler reflection probably induced him to acquiesce in the reasons given by Sir Francis Burdett, in a kind letter explanatory of his apparent neglect; for on the 13th of June, Major Cartwright says, "You had made me angry, and I suppose I made you so in return. This can do the public no good; we must each work in his own way."—It does not appear that the friendly intercourse subsisting between them was suspended by this circumstance; but candour obliges us to confess (as in the case of Mr. Wyvill's taking the chair at a proposed dinner, mentioned in a subsequent place,) that he was too apt to exact a diligence and zeal equal to his own, without making sufficient allowances for the illness, business, or pursuits of others. In

fact, it cannot be denied, that the nearer his political friends approached the point which he considered indispensable, the greater was his desire that they should leave nothing undone. That this slight species of intolerance arose solely from the excess of his anxiety for the public weal, and not from conceit in his own judgment, is sufficiently apparent from the very letter just quoted, in which he gives Lord Stanhope the permission of fashioning the bills to his own liking, and of introducing them in any way most agreeable to himself. In fact, if he could have found others willing to execute the work, he would have been always satisfied with the office of prompter.

A letter, dated the 13th June in this year, to Mr. W. Smith, M.P. for Norwich, still farther explains the cause of what might, as he conceived, be styled pertinacity in his conduct, when he says, "You see how incorrigible I am: if you can furnish me with a few copies of Thursday's votes, containing my petition, you will oblige me. So far as their contents may go, they will be held cheap enough, I doubt not; and therefore there will be no difficulty in complying with my request. If there were any other objects than those to which I point, that could do any good, I might be less pertinacious. I confess I see no good to be done by any other means—certainly not by coalitions or by ministries in which the Whigs are to have a share. We have had them both, and what was

the benefit? Reformation, and a restored constitution we have not had.

"If the Whig leaders would for a season forget that ignis fatuus expediency* which for half a century past has led them into nothing but deserts and quagmires, and seek the only means of strength, public confidence, by really deserving it, they might do their country great good, even yet. But if their policy be too refined for such home-spun conduct, they never will do any good for the public, and will only accelerate the subjugation of England."

The affairs of Spain at this period assumed an aspect which could not but interest every friend to freedom.

That noble country so long sunk in sloth and apathy, the faithful attendants of despotism and superstition, now seemed suddenly to awake from the trance, and to shew signs of a generous spirit worthy of that antient asserter of the rights of the Cortes, the gallant and martyred Padilla.

That these systems had no better effect than that of restoring her antient dynasty, whose bigotted tyrant still triumphs over the patriots of that unhappy land, must be matter of unceasing

* On another occasion when recommending expediency, Major Cartwright says, "By expediency *I* mean a mere preference of the wisest among various just means, for accomplishing a right end or object."

regret to the friends of humanity. Had the advice of one of her most sincere and disinterested friends been at that time implicitly followed, her situation might not now be so deplorable; but be that as it may, it is desirable to shew in what that advice consisted, by inserting a letter to one of the Spanish deputies then in England. That Spain should a second time fall into a state of almost hopeless slavery, was one of the last and most cruel disappointments which this benevolent friend of mankind had to encounter. It clouded with regret the last few months of his existence, but HE NEVER DESPAIRED, still implicitly believing that Providence would assist the cause of freedom in Spain, and that "virtuous instruments" might yet arise to effect her deliverance.

"TO THE VISCOUNT MATEROSA.

"Enfield, June 15, 1808.

"MY LORD,

"The English gentleman by whom you are now addressed, feeling the present cause of your nation to be the cause of the human race, has the honour to offer you his sentiments; and fortunate shall he esteem himself, should his opinions coincide with your own.

"It should seem to be immaterial whether a Bourbon or a Buonaparte shall despotically govern Spain; but whether the Spanish liberties shall or shall not be recovered, is not immaterial. The independence and the dignity which are so conge-

nial to the Spanish character, and so necessary to the well-being and glory of any state, Spain cannot but desire.

"Should not *these* be the objects at which her leaders aim, they ought to consider, whether any others can be worth the blood that must flow in the struggle.

"At present, my Lord, those whom you represent in the northern parts of Spain, appear in the character of insurgents, or at the best, as the part of a people who are faithful in what they esteem their loyalty, and who are however in resistance against one who has furnished himself with a written formal title to sovereignty, and is likewise sovereign *de facto*, having also a very powerful army to back his pretensions.

"I know not how far notions of attachment to the kings of Spain and Portugal, and to their families may have an influence, but true loyalty is an adherence to those fundamental and natural laws of society, by which the rights of nations are preserved, and their happiness promoted.

"In this view of the subject, and circumstanced as Spain and Portugal now are, the best counsel that can be given seems to be, that the Asturias, with the adjacent parts, as far as can instantly be done, should declare themselves an independent state, and form alliance with England.

"Conceiving every moment of your time employed in important business, the writer will endeavour to avoid giving you unnecessary trouble,

and will put his sentiments in distinct propositions as follow: namely—

" 1. The new state might assume the title of the Commonwealth of the Iberian States. Such an appellation would be consistent with a re-union of Portugal with Spain, without humiliation on the part of the former.

" 2. The constitution adopted to contain the form of the legislature and the grand essentials of free government, namely—What immediately keeps the sword in the hand of the people; what gives them a substantial representation in the legislature; what provides that the citizen shall at all times have complete security for his person against all species of arbitrary imprisonment; and subjects him to confinement only when convicted of crime by due course of law; what secures free speaking with free writing, and publishing as an inherent and common right; nothing in writing or speaking being punishable, unless false, malicious, and wicked, or contrary to decency: besides all which, care should be taken for establishing a correct administration of justice by known law, with trial for property, character, liberty, and life, by a jury of equals: and the constitution ought explicitly to declare, that the legislature is not competent to alter the same without the consent of the people duly expressed; to which end it should be made necessary that any desired alteration should in the first instance be fully stated in the legislature; that it should in the next place be referred in writing to

the people, and thrice publicly read at the time of divine service in every place of worship, with intervals of seven days, and prior to the next annual election of the Cortes; at which election the people in their several districts should have a right to instruct their representatives how to vote upon the question.

" 3. The constitution to declare that all such parts of antient Iberia as should accede to the union, should equally partake of its benefits.

" 4. Perhaps the legislature might with advantage consist of an assembly of representatives to be called the Cortes, a senate of Grandees, and a Regent.

" 5. The senate to be in number one-fourth of the Cortes, both at first and in all time to come. To be elected by the Cortes from among persons of rank with considerable estates, for three years.

" 6. The Regent to be elected once in five years by the senate and an equal number of the Cortes; namely, one-fourth of them—in order that the grandees, having rivals, might be stimulated to excel in knowledge, talents and virtue, the regency being open to any gentleman not under thirty years of age.

" 7. The Regent to have the whole executive government, but no voice in legislation.

" 8. The Regent to appoint his own executive council of state, or junta, to consist of seven secretaries of state, each being the organ for commanding and controuling a department of the state,

with responsibility in such secretaries respectively for every public act of the regent.

" 9. The department to be as follows :—

" I. Religion, morals and education.

" II. Law and domestic administration.

" III. Defence and land war.

" IV. Colonies and naval war.

" V. Foreign relations.

" VI. Finance.

" VII. Arts, literature, and public emulation.

The senior member of the junta to preside, and in case of equality, to have a casting vote.

" 10. No member of the junta to hold any other, or to exercise any religious, judicial, military, naval, or fiscal function, otherwise than as aforesaid, in being the organ of the regent for command and controul, for keeping all agents of government to their duty.

" 11. All members of the junta to have seats in the legislature, with liberty of speech, but no vote. A right also to propose laws which had previously received the approbation of the junta in council, exclusive (in this case) of the regent: the same right of proposing laws to belong alike to every member of the legislature.

" 12. The legislature alone to authorize the commencement or the declaration of war; and no treaty of peace to have validity until ratified by their authority.

" 13. The territory to be divided and sub-di-

vided on principles equally applicable to military, civil, and judicial administration.

"14. The fundamental division of the territory to be made on principles of *population*, and the district enclosed furnish for defence of the state a brigade of armed population or militia, to include all males from fifteen to sixty-one years of age, those under eighteen being only cadets receiving their military education, and those above fifty-eight exempt from field-service, except on emergencies. The intermediate population being divided into classes; each class extending to five years of life, with regulations for annually adjusting the classes, and perfecting the corps formed out of them; so as always to have troops equally fit for the most active services, and a regular gradation of others less active and more experienced.

"15. Every district which so furnishes a brigade to the militia, to return a member to the Cortes by an annual election. The representatives to be chosen by the meeting of families who bear arms and pay taxes to the state. The representative to have a qualification in landed property. And every such district to have its magistracy for administering justice, and keeping the militia to their duty.

"16. The said fundamental divisions of the territory to be sub-divided for convenience of business, as well as several of them added together for constituting military districts, on principles of

space and according to local circumstances, within each of which military districts the militia should be a powerful army.

" 17. The militia to be officered by election of the masters of families in each fundamental division of territory, and hold his commission for five years. Officers to have qualifications in property: the superior officers in land only.

" 18. The taxes to be given and granted by the Cortes exclusively.

" 19. Every public accountant to have in his office a table of the books kept in the same: this table and all the said books to be open to the inspection of a standing committee of the Cortes on a certain day in every week, from noon to night.

" 20. All public accountants to keep their books in the manner of merchants, to strike a balance every week, and within a week after the expiration of every year to strike the annual balance.

" 21. A regular army to have no established existence, but to depend for that, as well as for its strength, on an annual vote of the legislature, or rather of the Cortes, on whom it must depend for its pay.

" 22. The army and navy commissions to be granted at the advice of the respective secretaries, who should countersign them and be responsible for their advice. Commissions given by commanders-in-chief abroad, to run in the same form of words as others, on a presumption that the secretary would advise, and the regent grant the ap-

pointment, the commander's signature being only in nature and manner as a countersigning. On the officer's return home, such commission to be no longer valid, until signed by the regent and countersigned by the secretary.

"23. All children whose parents are unable to educate them at their own expense, shall be taught to read their native tongue at the expense of the public.

"24. The Regent to be patron of an institution for promoting the fine arts and literature, as well as for exciting emulation in whatever should exalt the reputation of the state.

"Such, my Lord, are the suggestions which the writer offers to your consideration.

"Presuming that arms are among the wants of your countrymen, the writer can furnish your Lordship, if acceptable, with a specimen of a weapon of a new invention, which is cheap, easily executed by country workmen, and, consequently, multiplied with great rapidity. Although not a fire-arm, it is superior to the bayonet, and during a scarcity of musquets, might even serve to arm whole corps in the second line of an army for charging, whenever the first line should be put in disorder. It is particularly well adapted for arming the most aged corps, as guardians of the public peace; and the use of it is extremely easy.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

On the 18th of June, 1808, a petition from Major Cartwright to the House of Lords, was presented by Earl Stanhope, in which he declared the local militia bill, then before the House, to be a defective system of defence*, and inconsistent with that constitution on which depend life, liberty, and property.

" TO JOHN CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

" 20th June, 1808.

" MY DEAR SIR,

" On Saturday I had the pleasure to present your petition to the Lords; and in order to shew them my approbation, I read the whole very loudly and distinctly myself. They wished not to receive it, because it was not addressed to the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal;* but I got it received, notwithstanding.

" I am, dear Sir, most sincerely yours,

" STANHOPE."

* " The general objection was, that the bill did not go far enough; and upon this ground a petition was presented against it by Major Cartwright. That venerable patriot—never was man more rightfully entitled to the honourable appellation—had, some years ago, published a plan for arming the people, as being a system naturally arising out of the principles of the *posse comitatus,* deducible from our common law, an integral part of our constitution, coeval with and essential to our liberties. To that system we shall come, whenever this country is blessed with an enlightened ministry: it will relieve us from the burthen of a standing army; it will unite the character of the soldier and the citizen, each liable to be degraded when they exist apart; and it will for ever secure us against even the threat of an invasion."—Edinburgh Annual Register for 1808, p. 90.

In July, this year, Major Cartwright had it much at heart to convene a public meeting on the relative affairs of Spain and England, and applied to many persons of rank and consideration to sign a requisition to the sheriffs for that purpose; but though, "on abstract principles, they concurred in the measure, many of them thought it was not exactly the time in which such a subject should be brought forward."

It appears, however, by a letter dated 25th August, that Lord Holland, as far at least as related to the affairs of Spain, approved of the meeting, and signified his intention of being present; at the same time his lordship declared, that if prevented attending, he should take some step to let that approbation be made public.

This meeting took place on the 30th of August, as appears from the Edinburgh Annual Register for 1808, Part II. page 176.

"A meeting of the freeholders of this county (Middlesex) was held at the Mermaid, Hackney. Major Cartwright, after a speech, in which he expatiated upon the great exertions of the people of Spain, the situation of which country, in many circumstances, he contended, strongly resembled that of Great Britain; in which he particularly dwelt upon the degraded situation of the representatives of that people, by the constitution of Buonaparte, moved the following resolutions, which were carried without opposition, excepting a slight amendment to the third,

proposed by Mr. Mellish, and readily acquiesced in by the honourable mover:

"1. That for aiding the Spanish patriots, the King is entitled to the gratitude of mankind.

"2. That a people who will fight for their liberties, are alone worthy of the friendship of a free nation.

"3. That to have found such allies, is an event peculiarly gratifying.

"4. That we ardently desire to see re-established in Spain the antient government of a King, and an independent Cortes, so balanced as to secure their national liberties.

"5. That in the grand example of Spain is seen how a nation is to be defended, and how Europe is to be delivered.

"6. That what has been lost to the sacred cause of human liberty, by the levity, the vices, and excesses of France, since from that she departed, we trust may be regained by the gravity, the virtues, and the moderation of Spain."

"TO THE VISCOUNT MATEROSA.

"15th September, 1808.

"MY LORD,

"An extraordinary change having taken place in the affairs of Spain since I first did myself the honour to offer you my sentiments, I am induced to communicate to you the contents of certain papers in my possession which might be useful to your country. At the period alluded to, namely,

the middle of June, an early union of the Spanish provinces was more to be hoped for than expected. At present an union both of sentiment and action seems to prevail. Our public journals have told us of a general junta composed of deputies from other juntas assembling at Lugo, and we have had various intimations of a desire, on the part of the Spanish patriots, to convene a general Cortes.

"At the same time, the success of the patriotic arms over the French, shewing what is practicable to men inspired by a love of their country, affords the best hopes; but, my Lord, France, by the latest accounts, was in the possession of the country beyond the Ebro, and, consequently, of the Pyrennean passes; and there seems reason for believing, that great efforts will yet be made for the subjugation of Spain by her powerful foe.

"It appears sufficiently evident that when Napoleon first seized the Spanish crown, he had no expectation of a serious resistance being made to those armies which he had previously introduced into the country; or he would not have had his forces divided as they were, and incapable of mutual support. The loss of some of his armies is therefore in a great degree to be attributed to his having been in effect taken by surprise. This error he will of course correct, and in future act in Spain as he has been accustomed to do in other countries, when he looked for formidable opposition. Having the passes, he will pour armies into Spain, with which he will act upon one line of operation, until

he make himself master of positions, from whence he can give support to his detachments.

"Although the late achievements of your countrymen have done them the highest honour, and have sufficiently proved what is practicable to a nation standing on its defence against invading armies, yet the hasty enrolments and all the warfare thereupon dependent, must have been too unsystematic for durably sustaining the conflict. Spain must likewise take to her aid, the utmost regularity of system.

"The writer's general ideas on this subject will be found in the work which you did him the honour to accept, and to guard against a reverse, he is anxious that Spain should be in possession of what he considers a right plan of defence.

"Such a system once introduced, the task of defence would be thenceforth universally understood, simple in the execution, and effected with the smallest possible share of calamity, as well as with the utmost economy of blood and treasure; but unsystematic defence must be always attended with danger, and its success will be more doubtful, if the people shall not be convinced that they are fighting for real national liberty, as well as for mere independence from the domination of another government."

"But though the principle of defence will be found in the work alluded to, between such a mere outline as will be found in 'England's Ægis', and a complete practical plan, with all its minutiæ

of detail, there is as wide a difference as between the plan of a fortress on paper and the fortress itself.

"It is this consideration, my Lord, which has induced the writer again to address you. Arms in the hands of free men, and a constitution founded on political liberty, are the fundamentals of defence. In extreme cases they can alone be depended on. And, considering that Spain is in contact with the very soil and territory of France, along a line of about 300 English miles, if any nation ever stood in need of the very best means of security, Spain is that nation.

"The fundamentals just mentioned refer to the most vital branches of human government. The militia, or the martial branch of a government, is first in the order of nature, and of the most importance.

"The means of security to a nation being its arms and laws, or its sword and its parchments, it is soon seen how these are to be classed. Should a crafty ruler embezzle the parchments, still, provided the sword remain in the hands of the people, there will be no danger. An armed people have but to demand a restoration of the stolen securities, but if the ruler can so far lull the people to sleep, as to secure the sword, the case will be very different. He will then be sure to seize on the parchments also; and how shall they, in that case, be reclaimed?

"The object of a prince in monopolizing to

himself the arms, is, that he may become master of the laws of the state, and the property of the people. His policy is thenceforward to reward out of that property mercenary soldiers, mercenary courtiers, and all other servile instruments of his despotism, that is, to make the people pay for their own chains.

"Thus, it is apparent how much depends on a rightly-constituted militia. If you would form a free state, and could take your measures in orderly succession, the militia is the first step—it is the grand fundamental. For Spain, it is fortunate that the same means to which she ought to resort for the preservation of her independence against France, are the best and only true means of securing hereafter her political liberty.

"In publishing his 'England's Ægis', the writer hoped to stimulate some virtuous legislator of his own country to frame and to propose in detail, such a system of defence as that of which he there sketched the outline. And when after waiting in vain for several years, he felt impelled to undertake the work himself, he at first imagined that in consequence of his mind being familiar with all the principles, and from his having already traced an outline, the task would be easy; yet when he sat down to the undertaking, he found it much more arduous than he had expected, and in truth a work of great labour, how little soever that may be now thought by those who read it.

"Such a work, however, he has now by him in three separate manuscripts, in the form of three laws intended to have been proposed last session in the English Parliament. In that expectation, however, after being kept some months in suspense he has been disappointed, and at present he is uncertain when the measure will take place.

"Wherever there is any force under the denomination of a militia, there are certain laws which may be called its system; but all modern militias exhibit only a perversion of ancient institutions, when all Europe was a collection of armed nations; and the militia of the United States of America is at present too defective to become a model.

"These manuscripts are at your service, either to peruse or to copy for the use of your country; and should explanations be wanting, the writer may be commanded in any way publicly or privately, as may suit your Lordship's situation and business in England; as he is well aware you may have reason for being circumspect.

"The three manuscripts are all parts of the same system, although one of them is confined to elections of the representative part of the legislature, for it must never be forgotten, that the very essence and vitality of defence is the liberty of the people; the want of which liberty on the Continent has been the true secret of the triumphs of France.

"It is feared that the condition of Spain for a long time past, precluding discussion and political light, has been extremely unfavourable to liberty,

and that there is little of what, in England, we call public opinion. Under these circumstances, every thing must depend on a few. May those few prove sufficiently enlightened and virtuous to save their country!

"The cultivation of a free press ought to be particularly attended to.

"Possibly too much must not be attempted at first. But every thing seems to favour the introduction of a militia on a right model.

"If a meeting of a national Cortes be shortly expected, such a system as that which the writer recommends might be adopted, although any part of the country should be at the time the seat of war; and it is one of the merits of this system that, in any individual province not immediately the seat of war, it could be carried into execution in full perfection, so that in the rear of the main defensive armies a military power may be created, which must very shortly furnish the means of effectually stemming the tide of invasion, and finally triumphing over the most powerful invader.

"By your very flattering letter of the 18th of July, I was made happy in the belief, that the expression of my good wishes towards your country had not proved unacceptable. With the warmest wishes that your labours in her service may be successful,

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

The system of defence recommended in "England's Ægis", was so highly approved of by one of the most distinguished of the Spanish patriots, who, both at this period and a subsequent one, held a high situation in the state, that he wrote a work in his own language entitled "The Military Constitution of Spain", formed upon the principles of Major Cartwright.

But unfortunately this work appeared during the late disastrous revolution, and at a time when the organization of such a system was rendered impossible by a variety of untoward circumstances.

Had it been adopted in the year 1808, when the patriots of Spain were possessed of greater facilities, and when even the prejudices of the nation were in their favour, it is impossible to say how beneficial the consequences might have proved in that unhappy country.

"TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

"19th November, 1808.

"MY LORD,

"Agreeably to your desire, I return the letter of Mr. Whitbread* which your Grace has done me the honour to communicate. I have long, my Lord, had so much esteem for the character and talents of that gentleman, that I cannot differ from him

* Though differing in opinion with Major Cartwright, Mr. Whitbread in this letter expressed the highest esteem for his talents, character and exertions.

in political opinion, without feeling much pain; because on such occasions I am disappointed in wishes that are near my heart.

"As Mr. Whitbread alludes to my modes of reasoning and acting, his observations call for a few remarks in reply. In common with us both, your Grace will perceive that our reasonings turn on the importance and effect of *public opinion*, and on what is a man's political duty in respect thereof: as far, then, as public opinion is defective or erroneous, it should seem to be the first of all the political duties of a patriot, whether in or out of Parliament, diligently and intrepidly to labour for its correction and the manifestation of truth.

"Surely, my Lord, it is for those alone whose objects are vicious, and whose means are corrupt and base, to be afraid of making their efforts until they have 'conviction' they shall succeed. Such a fear does not become those who have no consciousness but that of rectitude. In the best sense of the word, such men are 'sure' of success*.

* The reader may be interested in observing how exactly Major Cartwright's opinion on this subject coincided with that of Lord Charlemont: "As far as my experience goes," says that enlightened nobleman, "this maxim appears to me infallible, that every measure intrinsically just and good will finally be carried by virtuous and steady perseverance. In the pursuit of what is salutary and right, let no patriot be discouraged by defeat, since though repeated efforts may prove ineffectual, the time will come when the labours of the virtuous few will finally succeed against all the efforts of interested majorities; when a coincidence of favourable circumstances will conspire with the justice and utility of the measure, and beyond the reach of human foresight carry into execution

They are sure of that self-approbation which of all triumphs is the highest. And, my Lord, if the liberties of our country are ever to be recovered, it must unquestionably be by such men steadily and perseveringly acting upon such principles in contempt of usurped power, and unmoved even by repeated defeats. In such a cause, defeat is so far from disgrace and a cause of weakness, that men of invulnerable private characters are sure to rise from every defeat with new strength; because they have proved their fidelity and have caused DISCUSSION, which, when they do not deviate into faction, is the food, the soul of their cause.

"I am by no means insensible (as may sometimes be imputed to me) of the high value of *expediency;* but long experience and observation have taught me that this same expediency is a suspicious counsellor. He is an excellent servant, but the worst of masters. If I be, on questions touching the vital interests of my country, to err, be it, in God's name, on that side which shall not cause mine enemy to sneer at, nor my friend to doubt, my principles!

"With regard to not attempting political measures until 'sure' of success, or at least until we

even that which by the weak and timid was deemed impossible. Nil desperandum is a maxim in patriotism which I solemnly recommend to the observance of my children. Let them always endeavour after what is right, how difficult soever it may appear of attainment, since though they should not live to witness success, they will lay a foundation for the success of their survivors."—Hardy's Life of Lord Charlemont, Vol. I. p. 361.

have a 'conviction' that we cannot miscarry, nothing, I think, can be more clear, than that this doctrine is infinitely more applicable to efforts against ministers, than to attempts for recovering those rights which are fundamental and indispensable; and yet when ministers are to be attacked, we do not observe all this refinement of expediency, this excess of scrupulousness, this demand of a 'conviction' that victory will follow the attack, nor this extreme care to be 'sure' of carrying a proposition before the moving of it must be ventured upon.

"For bringing the minister of the day into disesteem with the nation, we see all oppositions equally alert; and the venal newspapers incessantly appealing to the people, with question after question on the comparative merits of the inns and the outs; while the leaders themselves as industriously bring on motion upon motion, and measure upon measure, discussion upon discussion, within the walls of Parliament, where they must generally have a conviction that they want strength and are even 'sure' they shall not succeed.

"On the newspaper and parliamentary theatres, the contending parties can manage their contests in their own way; satisfied, as it should seem, if they can but amuse the people and divert them from thinking or acting for themselves. If, however, both sides be not at bottom equally hostile to true freedom, equally supporters of our borough ruin, if there be any real difference between the professing

whig champions of liberty, and the known and hated instruments of despotism, why in the name of wonder, this invariable and ominous agreement between the two, in always dreading meetings of the people, wherein liberty is but even *likely* to become a subject of discussion! I speak, my Lord, from painful experience. I know what has been attempted, and I know what has been stifled in different parts of the kingdom. I have in particular a lively recollection of what has happened within the last four years in Middlesex.

* * * * * * *

"In truth, my Lord, I am as much surprised as I am afflicted, at the reluctance that has appeared to stand forward on the most important occasion, at the hazard of the most important question which Englishmen can be called on to discuss; and I trust that both your Grace and your friend will take what I have now said into consideration, when I shall confidently hope that the cause of liberty now at issue, will neither want your previous countenance nor your subsequent support.

"I am, with much respect, &c.

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

"London, November 21, 1808.

"Having lost the post on Saturday, I can now inform your Grace that the names to our requisition exceed an hundred, and that there is a confident expectation of increasing them to three or four times that number."

Being anxious to see his old friend Mr. Wyvill in the chair at a meeting proposed to take place in the ensuing February, Major Cartwright wrote to that gentleman on the subject. In reply to his application, Mr. Wyvill, though expressing great pleasure in the intended meeting, and confidence in its success, begged to decline his proposal on the score of age and infirmities.

To this excuse his ardent correspondent thus replies:

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I should be very deficient indeed in the materials necessary to a reformer, to desist from the object of proposing you to the chair on the last Monday in February, on no better plea on your part than 'infirmities.' What so proper for age and infirmity as an arm-chair? And what so likely to make a man twenty years younger, as seeing around him hundreds pursuing with a well-regulated ardour and enthusiasm, the most virtuous and most glorious of objects, to which the exertions of his own life have been directed with uniform steadiness, and the universal esteem of good men!

"Tell me no more of infirmities, when your presence on the revival of our great cause is of the first importance, to disarm the malignant, to encourage the timid, to confirm the doubting, and to unite all descriptions who look to a parliament-

ary reform for the salvation of my country! I *must* propose you.

"Truly yours,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

"TO JOHN CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

"Burton-hall, December 24, 1808.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I continue to decline the post of honour at your intended meeting, to which your kind partiality would call me. It is my intention never to accept the station of chairman at any great assembly of the people, such as you describe in glowing colours.

"You smile at my plea of 'infirmities'; but I am conscious that mine unfit me for the task of conducting the business of the meeting, and therefore they forbid me to undertake it. But the time may come when Yorkshire may be re-animated with that patriotic zeal which the minister Pitt took so much pains to quench; when under the guidance of such men as Sir William Strickland, Mr. Wrightson, Mr. Fawkes, and above all, of our excellent representative, the friend of Fox and follower of Sir G. Savile, Yorkshire may resume the cause of political reformation, not with a view to destroy, but to preserve and perpetuate the constitution."

"I am, &c.

"CHRISTOPHER WYVILL."

This correspondence has been introduced as being peculiarly characteristic of these two political veterans; the one adhering to his purpose with a degree of ardour, which, as we have already had occasion to remark, might almost be denominated pertinacity, while the other, though declining with unaffected modesty the offer of his friend, shews no impatience at the urgency of a correspondent, whose motives he has no difficulty in appreciating.

If, however, such urgency were excusable in any man, it was in Major Cartwright: neither age, sickness, nor infirmity, neither considerations of personal inconvenience, apprehension of difficulty, nor even the certainty of obloquy and ridicule, ever turned him from his purpose; and if he were sometimes a little unreasonable in expecting the same sacrifices from others, we must allow that he never required more from them than he himself was willing to attempt.

An intimate friend once broke forth into the following exclamation, which, though uttered in a moment of jocularity, is so perfectly just that the writer may be excused for inserting it: "There is nothing in art or nature, nothing in the moral, intellectual, or physical world, that he does not try to mould to his purpose."

"TO T. NORTHMORE, ESQ.

"Enfield, December 10, 1808.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I write to request the aid of your name and

presence in the service of liberty, on *the last Monday in February*. On that day the friends to a reform in the representation of the people, will be desired to dine together at the Crown and Anchor in the Strand.

"To understand why, I must inform you that the freeholders of Middlesex intend to hold a county meeting in March; to which end requisitions are already in circulation, and have in their infancy received above 150 names. It is expected they will amount to more than 500 before the dinner-day, on which occasion a large increase may be expected.

"Now we think it important to have as many stewards as possible to the dinner, and that they be drawn from all parts of England. Country gentlemen, above all others, we prefer, and we mean to give, as additions, their country residences. I trust you will not only aid us with your name and presence on that day, but will gain us what additional stewards you can. If we could announce a hundred, it would be all the better.

"We know that not only all friends of corruption will say, 'This is not the time', but we shall hear the same croaking note from the dead-hearted apathist. But the corruptions and abuses of the state, and the feelings of all who have any feeling, proclaim aloud that *this is the time*. I can add, that this is the decided opinion of Cobbett. But I will leave him to speak for himself.

"With a correspondence on my hands to all

points of the compass, you will readily imagine I have not time to dilate.

"Let us have your name as a steward, and the sooner the better—when a nucleus is once formed we shall get on well—cast about for additional names, and apply without loss of time.

"We must not resemble the slow-paced Spaniards, who neglected to bar the door of the Pyrennees in good time.

"On the 21st of June, in a letter to a Spanish nobleman and patriot, I urged the object of getting into the Pyrennees the flower of the Spanish army, together with the English.

"Pray cheer the heart of our friend in Half-Moon-street* with the information I now communicate; and ask her if young Reynolds, or Lambert, or any of her old friends, can now be brought forward as stewards.

"I have had encouraging letters from Wyvill and Lofft.

"Yours truly,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

We believe that it has been made sufficiently apparent in the preceding pages, that Major Cartwright's great anxiety was to urge those whom he thought of more consequence than himself in the political world, to come forward upon the public stage, and that, ambitious only of taking the

* Mrs. Jebb, widow of Dr. John Jebb.

trouble, it was almost to him a matter of indifference who might reap the credit.

Except, therefore, some extracts from letters addressed to Mr. Northmore, nothing further will be given of his correspondence during the busy year of 1809, the papers relating to which amount to above four hundred.

Many persons will doubtless exclaim, "can it be wondered at, that the friends of liberty were occasionally wearied and disgusted by such incessant exhortation?" It is not intended to deny the assertion: he *did* weary and disgust those who had less zeal or more prudence than himself; but let them be consoled; the field is open before them; and they are at liberty to take their own better course. His earnest advice—his unceasing persuasions—are now for ever silenced, and when the subject shall again be agitated, their efforts may perhaps be better timed, and their success more certain.

His great object during the early part of this year (1809), was to obtain a number of respectable stewards for a dinner to be given in support of parliamentary reform.

In the progress of his exertions he met, of course, with many refusals; some feared to excite tumult; others complained of the public apathy; many waited to see if such or such persons would come forward; others, though perfectly agreed as to the necessity of the measure, yet could not

bring themselves to believe that this was the time to agitate the question.

"TO THOMAS NORTHMORE, ESQ.

"Enfield, January 26, 1809.

"I rejoice to hear that you are to be present at our dinner. As this proposition has not originated with one of our leading political parties, I get from party-men no direct answer. Some keep silence; others say, if I knew with whom I was to act, I would be a steward. This seems to be the meaning of * * * and Mr. * * *. Lord * * * is more explicit; very warm in favour of our object; thanks me for proposing him, but cannot engage to be a steward, without having first ascertained that some of his friends will be there. Now, who are his friends? In the first place Parliamentary Whigs, in the next Whigs in general.

"Mr. Lofft in Suffolk has given an unqualified assent, and I expect the same from Mr. Clarkson.

"The subject chosen for your poem is peculiarly rich, and peculiarly interesting to the best feelings of the human heart.

"Labour hard that your work shall appear this spring, and cherish the patriotism which I hope will once more begin to glow in English bosoms.

"I know a clergyman who told me he was in possession of a volume of sermons written by an American when Washington was a young man; in which the writer, from a contemplation of his character at that time, prophesied the great figure he

would make, and how much his country would be indebted to him.

"Unfortunately I was under the necessity of breaking off my acquaintance with him, but I think I know a channel through which it might be procured.

"Yours, &c.

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

"TO THE SAME.

"28th January, 1809.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"In the ordinary concerns of this lower world, you poets are exceedingly apt to fly wide of the mark. It is because you are a Devonshire gentleman—Northmore of Clive—that we want your name as a steward; not in Middlesex, but in the metropolis of this kingdom, to bear your testimony in the cause of liberty, and in an attempt to bring into discussion the question of Parliamentary Reform.

"The meeting is to be of the friends in general of such reform, and the very intention of having stewards from many different counties, is to shew that it is not a Middlesex, but a national feeling; or at least, to give the best expectation we can, so as to prepare all these counties for future co-operation."

"20th March.

"I have already told you how unqualified I am to give an opinion of a poem. All I can say is,

that I like yours much; but I should guess that its patriotism alone will go a great way in giving it a dull circulation. A certain Scotch poet now in vogue, takes care to guard against any suspicions of that kind.

"Were I capable of composing such a poem, I would publish in America in the first instance*.

"I fear the modern names are adverse to the purpose of sublimity, and I have some doubts of the possibility of giving the necessary poetical interest and grandeur to an epic of any extent on a subject so much within the reach of memory.

"But the popularity of the subject, and of the hero on the other side of the Atlantic, would probably make it well received there; and that circumstance might probably operate favourably here. I earnestly wish for the publication, as there is in it so much of excellent principle; but an intelligent bookseller would be your adviser."

"27th June, 1809.

"I was in the act of reading your preface to my wife and two other females, when your note of this morning put me in mind that I had not answered your former obliging letter. I hope you will accept as an apology, that I have been incessantly at hard work in the *great* cause.

"Most ardently do I wish that every labourer in that vineyard may improve the crop, and meet

* Mr. Northmore's "Washington" was republished in America by American booksellers.

with that reward of public approbation he deserves; and this because such a species of reward does great good to the cause itself.

"In some parts the infamous calumnies against Sir Francis Burdett have occasioned a strong prejudice which may possibly, for a time, retard the progress of the cause of Parliamentary Reform, of which he, from his late speech and motion in the House, is of course the leader; but as his speech on the 15th*, on the introduction of the question, has obtained him great praise for moderation and constitutional knowledge, and as the sketch of reform he proposed, is in itself so excellent, I trust the prejudice against him will now vanish as a foul exhalation on the appearance of the sun.

"If you do not regularly take Cobbett's Register, you must by all means carry with you, into Devonshire, that of last Saturday, where the Baronet's speech is given from the notes of a short-hand writer. It must, I think, silence all who suspected him of ill designs against the constitution, especially when they recollect how Bowles

* In this speech Sir Francis Burdett says, "Let others deal in whimsical speculations, in undefined mysterious notions of a constitution which eludes the grasp, and soars above the conceptions of ordinary minds, let them amuse themselves with intricate theories, and fine-spun metaphysics; I shall hold fast by that plain and substantial constitution adapted to the contemplations of common understandings, to be found in the statute-book, and recognized by the common law of the land."—Edinburgh Annual Register, for 1809, p. 282.

and his other calumniators have proved their loyalty.

"There are two features in the present aspect of our domestic state, from which I augur the happiest effects. Between eighty and ninety counties, and other communities, have voted thanks and addresses to Mr. Wardell, all of which are, of course, condemnations of the House of Commons; but yet in no one instance have they addressed the King to dissolve the Parliament, or to change his ministers.

"When you get into the country, beware of the lure of a triennial parliament. When reform begins to run as a popular object, our pretended friends, but worst enemies, will use all their art and all their sophistry to draw us off from parliaments of constitutional duration, to gain our suffrages in favour of triennial parliaments. The hollow Whigs will threaten, that if you go farther they will oppose. Laugh at their threats, and hold to the truth of the constitution. If we seek unanimity, we must honestly abide by truth and justice. If we quit these to follow the *ignis fatuus* of expediency, we shall seriously divide; and even if we could, by unanimity, carry half measures, it would only be to dupe the public into a deceitful security, while corruption would still have the means left of undermining and destroying us.

"Excuse haste, from yours, &c.

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

Notwithstanding all the discouragements he had met with in the course of his correspondence, the list of stewards was numerous and respectable. The dinner, which was held on the 1st of May, at the Crown and Anchor, was attended by above twelve hundred persons*; and its proceedings were in every respect gratifying to its zealous promoter. It was one of those few days of unclouded sunshine, which was permitted to illume the political hemisphere of this champion of reformation†.

One of the committee, Mr. Francis Place, thus acknowledges his services on this occasion:

"It is with great satisfaction I now congratulate you on the success of your labours, which I know to have been great, and to acknowledge the vast importance of those labours, without which it would have been impossible for such a list of stewards to have been obtained."

In the year 1809, Lord Selkirk published, with Major Cartwright's permission, a letter which he had addressed to that gentleman, in answer to a request that he would be one of the stewards of the dinner already mentioned. In this letter his

* For an account of this meeting, see Edinburgh Annual Register for 1809, p. 244.

† He used to relate with great glee, that one of the persons present was a man after his own heart; for that, after his shoulder had been dislocated in the crowd, in getting into the room, he went to a surgeon to have it set, and then returned to the dinner.

lordship speaks of the friendship which had subsisted between Major Cartwright and his father, as well as his brother, Lord Daer, and expresses the respect he entertained for his character and conduct; but though a friend to parliamentary reform, he argues against the general principles of Major Cartwright's constitutional system, chiefly from what he had witnessed of the effects of extensive representation in America.

Major Cartwright replied to this publication in the *Sunday Review* of the 9th of July, 1809, and it was answered more at length by his old and valued friend, John Pearson, Esq. (now Advocate-General in Calcutta), in a letter to Major Cartwright, entitled "A Review of Lord Selkirk's Objections", &c., and also by the able pen of J. C. Worthington, Esq., in a tract published by Ridgway.

On the 9th of August, a meeting was held at Hackney, on the success of which, and particularly on the favourable manner in which his personal exertions were received, he was warmly congratulated by his friend Mr. Wyvill; "but the pleasure I feel", says that gentleman, "cannot but be mixed with pain and concern at your being so unwell. You are overlaboured in the cause. I wish to hear that you can and will allow yourself rest."

The resolutions at this meeting were moved by Major Cartwright, and seconded by Mr. Hare Townshend, and at the conclusion of the proceedings, thanks were voted to the former for the per-

severance and ability he had shewn in the cause of Parliamentary Reform.

In the month of November he went down to Windsor, in the hope of being able to present to the King, who had just entered the fiftieth year of his reign, a congratulatory address and petition. He was, however, told that none but peers were allowed that privilege. On his pleading that he himself had once before been permitted in person to offer an address to the King, he was further informed, that in consequence of His Majesty's loss of sight, a rule had been laid down, which prevented such a permission from being granted to him.

In consequence of this information he returned to town, and placed the address and petition in the hands of Mr. Ryder, by whom he was assured it should be immediately laid before His Majesty.

The correspondence on this subject will be found in "The Comparison", p. 100 to 104. He published in this year his "Reasons for Reformation", in which he introduced a very remarkable epistle from Lord Stanhope, which he had that nobleman's permission to insert.

He also wrote several papers on reform, which appeared in "Cobbett's Register" for 1809.

At the close of the year he received a letter from a friend, congratulating him on his promotion in the navy: and upon inquiry into the fact, he discovered that his friend had not been misinformed.

On the celebration of the Jubilee, twenty of the senior lieutenants on the list received the rank of master and commander, and the name of John Cartwright being within that number, he was of course included in the promotion. He accordingly paid his respects at Court in the following year, and kissed hands on the occasion.

To this event Mr. Whitbread alludes in the following letter:

"TO JOHN CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

"Dover-street, March 21, 1810.

"DEAR SIR,

"I have received the favour of your letter of the 17th instant, for which I beg to return you my best thanks. Esteeming as I do most highly, the indefatigable and disinterested labours of your long life, I cannot but be flattered that you should think me so far worthy of approbation, as to make it worth your while to address me. You may be assured I attend to your suggestions, whether communicated privately or publicly with the utmost respect, and weigh them with the best of my judgment. You may also believe me when I say, that I have no secondary object in view. My motives are as pure as your own;—of that I am sure. I am not so confident that my conduct is always the wisest, but I am always open to conviction, and am at all times happy to be reasoned with by you. 'England's Ægis' I have read with satisfaction and improvement, and I will read it again. Its

intrinsic merit is heightened by the character of its author.

"I had occasion last night to mention the unlooked-for promotion which was bestowed upon you, and to express my sentiments of esteem for Captain Cartwright.

"I am, dear Sir, your faithful, obliged,

"SAMUEL WHITBREAD."

"TO S. WHITBREAD, ESQ.

"Enfield, 25th of March, 1810.

"DEAR SIR,

"Your obliging favour of the 21st afforded great satisfaction in finding that my plain speaking had been taken in good part. It being possible the Statesman newspaper may not fall in your way, I enclosed it for Friday last, as that paper contains a letter on the 'Foreign Mercenaries', written with more consideration than I had time for when I wrote to you a few days before. I have transmitted another letter to Lord King.

"I cannot, Sir, contemplate what relates to our time—that is, an original constitutional militia, as proving the importance of a just *principle* once known and acted upon—without admiration. Such a principle may be neglected for ages and centuries; and yet in the fulness of time be again recognized and confer its benefits on mankind.

"Although nine centuries have elapsed since frank-pledge was in force; although, through the ignorance and negligence of the Saxon successors

of Alfred, a savage Norman suddenly made himself master of the crown and country of England; although Norman policy and its feudal system long overlaid the Saxon institution; although it gradually sank almost into oblivion, and as soon as standing armies came into vogue, received all possible discountenance—yet, now, that danger is growing extreme, its intrinsic excellence seems likely to restore its credit, as not only the sole, but the cheap defence of the nation; a defence equally sure against the foreign invader of the land, or the domestic invader of our liberties.

"So inveterate are the prejudices against what it is the fashion to consider obsolete, and so prevalent the shallow sophistry touching the superiority of what are called regular armies over an armed population, that highly respected authorities are necessary for awakening the nation to a consciousness of its own energies independent of the protection of a standing army. Such authorities are wanting to give us a chance of salvation.

"To a Whitbread and a Burdett, I look for this influence on the public mind. Must I not, then, deplore that two men of spotless public integrity, and both ardently desirous of saving the state, should not be united in one common cause!

"I have prepared materials towards a recovery of the constitution in both its branches, which I wish particularly to submit to those two men. Those materials are draughts of Acts of Parliament

for at once reforming our elections, and organizing our militia on the Saxon principles.

"Do you think I can bring together the two men I have named for conferring on such a subject?

"Although I have thought it an imperious duty on all occasions to keep alive the distinct question of parliamentary reformation; yet, for some years past, I have more and more felt persuaded that it will not be practicable to restore our constitution by halves; but that our constitutional representation and our constitutional militia will and must be recovered together or not at all. When I say together, I do not mean by one individual measure; but that the necessary light and knowledge on both branches of the constitution must be working together, so that success in the one case shall necessarily lead to success in the other, at no considerable distance of time.

"Which of these recoveries shall have precedence, must depend upon circumstances, as well as whether both may not be together practicable.

"When, indeed, we see our situation in its true light, 'as a two-fold and admirable system of civil and military polity most happily combined, whereby these two characters, like the faculties of intellectual ability and bodily force in man, are inseparably interwoven, to constitute a complete state, or *free* government'; it is but natural to suppose that, as reformers, we cannot understand our busi-

ness unless we take a comprehensive view of our object, make ourselves masters of its nature, and note all the corruptions by which it is oppressed.

" It is by this knowledge alone we can take advantage of all circumstances as they arise, which shall favour a recovery of our liberties. And if those circumstances shall equally favour reformation in both its kinds, as in my judgment they now eminently do, and are more and more likely to do, it will be seen what great advantages are to be gained by embracing both parts of the system in one general arrangement or set of measures; that is, by making them the subjects of a connected set of statutes; merely separated like chapters in the same book for the sake of perspicuity; the whole together restoring the constitution.

" It is thus I have gone to work in what I wish to submit to yourself and Sir Francis Burdett.

" If we aim at a recovery of our liberties, we must kiss the rod of our national chastisement, we must deem the scourge of taxation, and the danger of our subjugation to a foreign conqueror, as the wholesome severities of divine Providence, as those laws of nature by which we may hope our deliverance is to be worked out; nor are we in this view to forget the corruption, the tyranny, and besotted infatuation of those rulers, who have brought themselves into universal contempt both at home and abroad.

" Motives and means are thus furnished for

arousing the nation; and rivetting the attention on the necessity and the simple modes of the two-fold reformation of our two-fold polity. This reformation ought to be the sole *text* on which we should preach. All abuses, all corruptions, all violations of our rights, are but so many arguments and illustrations for proving and enforcing the *necessity of the reformation.* They ought to be made use of as mere means to the grand end; the end itself never being for one moment lost sight of; but above all things it ought to be made manifest, that the contention is for the rights, property and liberty of the nation, and not for personal power and aggrandizement. With the greatest respect,

"I remain, dear Sir,

"Yours truly,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

"TO JOHN CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

"Dover Street, May 15, 1810.

"DEAR SIR,

"I have just received your letter, and shall be very glad to obey your commands in offering your petition a second time amended as you propose. The expressions objected to were 'that such things are past endurance', and 'upon the illegality of such proceedings, it is presumed, no man can doubt.' These expressions were the ground on which Mr. Perceval and Mr. Ryder objected to the petition. Mr. Bathurst said it was an expostulation and not a

petition, and therefore ought not to be received; but this was an after-thought, and not stated until after the gallery was cleared.

"I am, dear Sir, &c.

"S. WHITBREAD."

"TO S. WHITBREAD, ESQ.

"22d May, 1810.

"DEAR SIR,

"With many thanks for your obliging letter of the 15th, I now send you a new petition.

"So far as my own sentiments are concerned, I should have no objection to part with the words 'beyond endurance', if I could substitute for them 'that such treatment of the people can only produce reiterated petitions, and never-ceasing exertions, until that decision shall be reversed.'

"But as I incline to suppose that new objections would be started, it seems the best to justify my original language, and take the chance of consequences; as the petition in question extends the prior discussion on a material point.

"This consideration leads me to observe, that if the newspapers were faithful reporters, you supposed I might have for a motive to petition, an ambition to have my opinions recorded in the journals. How far I may be influenced by any such motive, I know not; I hope very little indeed; for it were a motive I could in any other person very little respect.

"My real motives I believe to be a sense of public duty, and a desire to promote discussion;

for discussion in every way, in every place, on every occasion, and in every mode that can be devised, appears to me of vital importance.

"I might say much of the advantages to the public cause, when even private individuals, by their appeals to a degenerate House of Parliament, can expose the weakness of its plea for resisting reformation, but neither you nor I have time to spare. With much regard and esteem,

"I remain, &c.

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

The correspondence between Mr. Whitbread, and the subject of these memoirs, a correspondence truly honorable to both, did not terminate till some years after this period; but the writer cannot help observing in this place, that when the mind of this upright statesman sank at length beneath the pressure of anxiety and indisposition, few lamented his untimely end more sincerely than Major Cartwright, who always considered him as actuated, in his public conduct, by purer motives than almost any other party politician of the day.

Mr. Clarkson has borne a strong testimony in favour of Mr. Whitbread, in his "History of the Slave Trade." Speaking of the persecutions of witnesses who came forward in the cause of the abolition of the slave-trade, he says—"The late Mr. Whitbread, to whom one day, in deep affliction on this account, I related accidentally a circumstance of this kind, generously undertook, in order

to make my mind easy on the subject, to make good all injuries which should in future arise to individuals from such persecution; and he repaired these at different times at a considerable expense. I feel it a duty to divulge this circumstance, out of respect to the memory of one of the best of men, and of one, whom if his life were written, it would appear to have been an extraordinary honour to the country to have produced." Vol. II. p. 471.

In the month of April, 1810, Major Cartwright presented, through Lord Moira, (now Marquis of Hastings,) an address and petition to the Prince Regent, similar to that which he had before offered to the King.

On the 26th of the same month, a numerous and respectable meeting was held at Hackney, where a vote of thanks was passed to Sir Francis Burdett,—" for his unanswered and unanswerable arguments in vindicating the rights of the subject; denying the power of the House to imprison the people of England; for his Letter to the Speaker, protesting against the power claimed by the House of Commons to imprison its members; and for his constitutional resistance to the Speaker's warrant."

It appears from Mr. Cobbett's " Register", that the Address voted to Sir Francis Burdett on this occasion, was written by Major Cartwright—" by a man", says that powerful writer, " having a mind which it is impossible to bewilder, and a heart of such integrity that nothing can shake."

In this year was written " The Comparison; in

which are considered Mock Reform, Half Reform, and Constitutional Reform": of which work Mr. Wyvill says—"It is written with your usual ability, but it appears to me that Lord Grey is handled with too much severity." In sending this work to the Honourable T. Brand, (now Lord Dacre,) Major Cartwright thus writes on the 15th of October:—

"DEAR SIR,

"In a few days you will receive a copy of 'The Comparison', which I hope you will do me the honor to accept. You will find me an antagonist, but I hope a fair one. Our object being the same, and the most important on this side the grave, our sole contention ought to be, how to ascertain the true principle, and the right line of conduct in which, and by which our object is to be obtained.

"I incline to hope that I have proved that there is a radical error in the notions of our moderate reformers, and that I have also placed the wickedness and treachery of our mock reformers in a true light. If in these particulars I have succeeded, it will have a natural tendency to promote unanimity among all real reformers.

"Should you detect any fallacy in my reasonings, or any error in my conclusions, the communication of your observations will greatly oblige,

"Dear Sir,

"Yours, with much respect,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

In August, 1810, he sold his house at Enfield, and removed to No. 17, James Street, Buckingham Gate, that he might, as he expressed it, "be nearer his work". He was, at the time of this removal, in his 71st year, and having, by care and temperance, almost overcome the feverish complaints to which he had been for many years subject *, and which originated, as has been already stated, in the fatigues he underwent during his naval services, he was enabled to pursue his political avocations with unabated energy.

He never rose later than six o'clock, either winter or summer, and frequently got up much sooner, and lighted his own fire. At eight a cup of coffee or of chocolate was brought him, and at twelve he breakfasted. The rest of the day, except during his occasional walk, which he took without any regard to weather, he was employed in writing or conversing with those who called upon him; and as he never denied himself to any person whatever, it may be easily believed that he had nume-

* Neither he nor his medical advisers ever anticipated his living to so advanced an age, and he was wont to relate with much humour, an anecdote of an apothecary, who, on feeling his pulse, told him with an ominous shake of the head, that "the vital principle was very feeble in his frame." He lived, however, long enough to prove the fallacy of this, and many other prognostics of a like nature; and when on his death bed, he more than once expressed his surprise, that "at eighty-four years of age he should still have so much strength left, and should find it so hard to die."

In a letter to Admiral Vandeput, in the year 1795, he says, "I am an old man at fifty-five, and can hardly bear the fatigue of riding round my farm."

rous visits, besides those of friendship, from persons requiring advice or assistance. "How you satisfy all the claims upon your time," says his worthy friend, Mr. Dickenson, in a letter dated 7th October, 1816, "I never could comprehend; for you seem to be as much at leisure in the midst of these embargoes, and as much at the service of your friends, either in the way of correspondence or colloquy, as if you had nothing else to do."

Of all men on earth he was the most accessible; no introduction or recommendation was necessary for those who wished to consult him either on public or private business; and though on some occasions this unguardedness was productive of inconvenience, it enabled him to be of essential service to many distressed and deserving individuals: nor were his exertions limited to any party; for where he could benefit or oblige a fellow-creature, no difference in opinion could even for a moment repel the impulse of his generous nature.

As, however, accident alone divulged to his family his frequent acts of benevolence, the same delicacy which prompted his reserve on these subjects, ought, of course, to actuate his biographer.

His punctuality in answering letters, and attending to the business entrusted to him by others, was, indeed, truly remarkable; and it is justly observed by Mr. Cobbett, in his Register, Vol. XXXIII. p. 100, "that he answered with the punctuality of a counting-house, a hundred letters in a week, by way of episode to his other labours."

The chief relaxation which he could be said to

allow himself, was an occasional game at backgammon before he retired for the night, which he sometimes found necessary to divert his mind from those deeper thoughts which would otherwise have interfered with his nightly repose. This practice, however, he latterly relinquished, and seemed to prefer the social conversation of his family, and of the little circle of friends which generally met every evening beneath his cheerful and hospitable roof.

Nothing gave him more pleasure than to witness the innocent sports and amusements of his young relations, who were frequent guests in his house; and he would sometimes leave his own serious avocations, to promote their gaiety by his own example; saying, that, like the Vicar of Wakefield, the greatest treat he could enjoy was the sight of happy human faces. These feelings towards youth were reciprocal; for even very young children seemed to feel towards him an instinctive partiality.

He was, however, indebted solely to the kindness of his manner for the affection he inspired; for he was, upon principle, very sparing of presents to young persons; and it was a maxim of his, that "it was a species of immorality, to employ *bribery* and *corruption* even to a child."

Though at the risk of disobeying the injunction of her uncle (already referred to), the writer cannot resist mentioning one instance among many which are present to her recollection, and of which she has been reminded by others. Mr. North-

more says, in his Education upon Principles, p. 1, that "Scipio gathered pebbles on the sea-shore, and Agesilaus rode on the hobby-horse of his children"; but Major Cartwright, in making himself the horse which was to be ridden, carried his condescension still farther. His first introduction to the mother of Sir Richard Strachan, was somewhat remarkable. Finding himself alone with the children of the family, he was asked if he could play at *bears;* and having signified his willingness to be instructed in the game, he was desired to go upon all-fours, that his young companions might ride upon his back. While traversing the room in this attitude, the lady of the house entered; and, it may be conjectured, that she could never after consider him in the light of a stranger. As the same willingness to oblige his numerous young friends, by a participation of their pleasures, never quitted him to the last period of his existence, to multiply such instances would be an endless task. A letter addressed to the writer when at school, is a convincing proof of the manner in which he mingled advice and encouragement.

"Brothertoft Farm, 1796.

"MY DEAR CHILD,

"I have been long in answering your letter; but nevertheless I had much satisfaction in receiving it, as we think you improve in your writing, and every fresh letter is written better than the former.

"You seem to pass your time very pleasantly, and we think Mrs. ———'s plan of granting

marks of distinction very judicious; it not only promotes good conduct, but must add much to the pleasure of doing right. I must observe to you, that too many persons, old as well as young, make a great mistake about that something called pleasure, and impose upon themselves, in supposing that whatever produces repentance deserves that name. They, too, are bad economists of happiness who take pleasure which is to be mixed with pain of any kind; for to be really satisfactory, it must at the same time be laudable, or at least perfectly blameless.

"Botanists have no way of explaining what is meant by a weed, but by saying that it is a plant in a wrong place; and the weeds of conduct and conversation are commonly no other than words done or spoken in a wrong place, or at a wrong time. On the contrary, to employ the time present with propriety, whether it be in study, or working, or playing, may be compared to the cultivation of right plants. It is both pleasant and profitable,

"When you are satisfied in your own mind that the way to enjoy pleasure is to do, at any time and in any place, that which is then and there most proper and becoming, you will be half a philosopher; and when you have practised such conduct till it becomes habitual, or, as some term it, a second nature, you will be as happy as an angel, although you should continue, at suitable times, to be as playful as a kitten.

"Poor Rascal*! we have been all in great affliction for him. If the remembrance of his gambols, of his high blood, his swiftness, sweet temper, faithful services, and agreeable qualities, should inspire you, you may take upon yourself the office of composing his epitaph. Perhaps you have not taken up the fashion of writing an account of every place you see in your travels, or I might expect to hear your description of Richmond-Hill, and whether you think it so picturesque as Brothertoft Farm. James the postilion is surprised that any one should think Well-Vale as beautiful as this place; nor can I imagine that he could allow Richmond-Hill to vie with it.

"On the subject of your visiting, your aunt and I are particularly happy that your father agrees with us in thinking it should be used with moderation. When my child is become quite a philosopher, and knows how to turn all she sees and hears to good account, it may not be without its uses; but as the great object of your present situation is to be under the care of a lady who has talent for instructing and for fixing in her pupils habits of application, great care should be taken not to defeat that object. At the same time, a moderate share of amusement will make you return to your studies with a fresh relish; and I leave it to Mrs.

* A favourite pony of Major Cartwright's, whose lively spirit formed a striking contrast with the composed demeanour of his rider, who, while the animal was frisking and curveting, sat as unmoved as when meditating in his arm-chair.

———'s judgment to proportion your amusements to your application.

"If you could see our present circle, you would think we all meant to be great students, particularly the younger part of the family. Your sister Mary you know is voracious of a book, and Eliza, though a merry girl, devours folios of history with much more appetite than her meals; except when we have Bantam eggs, then indeed she is like a conjuror swallowing his balls.

"Your little friend Bellisle has just given us a calf, and your aunt has now a set of beautiful cows, and plenty of them, with every convenience for butter and cheese, except a dairy-maid; I am therefore obliged to give the milk to my calves and lambs and young pigs. Fine times for them!

"While your father is here we are very busy in making machines of his invention, such as ploughs, reapers, straw-cutters, &c., and I have the agreeable Mr. Obbins building more cow-houses and barns; so that when all these things are accomplished, and we have got a dairy and a dairy-maid,——we shall then be busy contriving and executing something else.

"Our society of seven all join in love, &c., with

"Your affectionate uncle."

On the last day of 1810, he presented to the House a petition on the subject of the Regency, in which he recommends that the Prince should be associated with his father in the throne, in the

same manner as William and Mary. So that should the King recover from his unfortunate malady, he might be saved from future care and anxiety, by the assistance and co-operation of his son.

During this year ten thousand pounds were granted by Parliament to Dr. Cartwright, to indemnify him for the losses he had sustained in bringing to perfection those inventions by which the country had been so materially benefited.

Upon this occasion Dr. Cartwright's friends were of course anxious to obtain the attendance of members, and the reader may perhaps feel a curiosity to know what was the conduct of Major Cartwright in a case in which of course he must have been peculiarly interested, as it related to a brother to whom he was so much attached, whose talents he so admired, and for whom he had unrepiningly sacrificed a large part of his fortune. Being of opinion that Government is not bound to indemnify individuals for losses sustained in private speculations, he did not even apply to the members of Parliament with whom he was acquainted, for their attendance on the occasion*.

Many years afterwards, when consulted by a friend to whom he was much attached, who had hopes of an indemnification of the same kind, he

* The writer's brother when applied to for a confirmation of this remarkable fact, says, "Your statement agrees entirely with my recollection. Our good uncle's inflexibility on this subject vexed some of my father's friends more than it surprised *me*."

said with his usual frankness, "My good friend, I cannot wish you success: you began your enterprise to enrich yourself, and the public has nothing to do with your failure"; but thinking he perceived some uneasiness in the countenance of his friend, he continued, "I do not say this from any indifference to your welfare, for which I am sincerely interested, but as a general principle."

The same general principle induced him to think that the nation had no concern with the injuries which merchants and travellers sustained in foreign countries. "Whoever", said he, "for his pleasure or convenience ventures into the power of despotism, does it at his own peril, and must abide by the consequence. If the Government of his native country can by remonstrance interfere in his behalf, it is well; but a nation must not be involved in war or difficulty for the sake of one too venturous individual."

END OF VOLUME I.

G. Woodfall, Printer, Angel Court, Skinner Street, London.

LIFE

AND

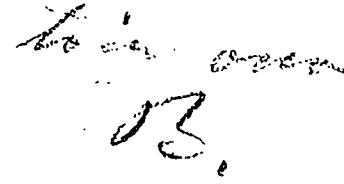
CORRESPONDENCE

OF

MAJOR CARTWRIGHT.

VOL. II.

G. WOODFALL, ANGEL COURT, SKINNER STREET, LONDON.



LIBRARY OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

Design Presented to the Committee
for
MAJOR CARTWRIGHT'S MONUMENT.

By P. MACDOWELL, *Sculptor.*

Drawn on Stone by T. Dighton. Printed by C. Hullmandel.

THE

LIFE

AND

CORRESPONDENCE

OF

MAJOR CARTWRIGHT.

EDITED BY HIS NIECE,

F. D. CARTWRIGHT.

"He was one whose enlightened mind and profound constitutional knowledge placed him in the highest rank of public character, and whose purity of principle and consistency of conduct through life commanded the most respectful attention to his opinions."

FOX, IN A SPEECH ON PRESENTING MAJOR CARTWRIGHT'S PETITION IN 1795.

"Nihil æquè ac Libertatem hausit: Civis, Senator, Maritus, Gener, Amicus, cunctis vitæ officiis æquabilis, opum contemptor, recti pervicax, constans adversùs metus."

TACIT. HIST.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

HENRY COLBURN, NEW BURLINGTON-STREET.

1826.

CONTENTS.

VOL. II.

		Page
1811.	Letter to Mr. Brand	1
	From Sir P. Francis	4
	To Mr. Wyvill	5
	Dinner Meeting for Reform of Parliament	10
	Major Cartwright appears at the Clerkenwell Sessions	11
	Letter to Sir S. Romilly	12
	To Señor Arguelles	15
	Life-Boat Experiment	16
	Letter to Lord Holland—Disturbances in Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, &c	17
	To Lord Fingal	22
1812.	Resolutions of Hampden Club	24
	Correspondence with Mr. Northmore	27—29
	Letter to Mr. Wyvill	30
	Resolutions at Westminster Meeting	33
	Letter to Mr. Knight	34
	Political Tour	37
	Extracts of letters to Mrs. Cartwright	38—43
	Letter from Earl Stanhope	43
	Loss of several hundred copies of the Ægis	44
1813.	Second Political Tour	45
	Arrest at Huddersfield	47
	Speech of Lord Byron on presenting Major Cartwright's petition	53
	Letter to Mr. Whitbread	56
	To Lord Stanley	59
	To Lord Stanley	62
	To Señor Arguelles	66
	To Mr. Northmore	69
1814.	To Mr. Walker	72
	To Mr. Northmore	74
	To Mr. Northmore	79

		Page
1814.	Letter to Mr. Whitbread	80
	His Answer	83
	To Mr. Clarkson, containing plan for making the Slave-Trade piracy, published 1814	84
	To Mr. Northmore	86
	Speech at Palace-Yard	88
1815.	Letters to Mr. Wyvill	96
	From Sir F. Burdett	97
	From Earl Stanhope on the property-tax	98
	Meeting at Hackney	100
	Letter to Mr. Northmore	104
	Six hundredth Anniversary of the signing Magna Charta	107
	Letter to Mr. Northmore	108
	Tour in Scotland	111
	Extracts from letters to Mrs. Cartwright	112
	Major Cartwright gives a lecture on the Constitution at Edinburgh	115
	Letter to a person employed to give lectures in Scotland	117
1816.	Printed Petitions	122
	Westminster Meeting	124
	Petitions for Reform	126
1817.	Alarm throughout the country—Report of the secret Committee	127
	Petition of the Secretary of the Hampden and Union Societies	128
	Letter to John Quincy Adams	132
	His reply	135
	Seven letters to Sir F. Burdett, published in the Statesman	136
	Letter to Mr. Northmore	137
	Major Cartwright visits Devonshire	141
	To F. Canning, Esq.	143
1818.	Meeting in Old Palace-Yard	145
	Westminster Election	145
	Letter to Mr. Walker	145
	Indisposition of Major Cartwright	149
	Dinner given in honour of Major Cartwright	149
	Letter to Sir C. Wolseley	154
1819.	To Mr. Northmore	155
	Westminster Election	156
	Illness and death of Captain Cartwright	158
	Address from Liverpool	160
	Misunderstanding between Major Cartwright and Mr. Hobhouse	161

		Page
1819.	Hampden Club dies a natural death	163
	Major Cartwright removes to Burton Crescent	163
	Visits Birmingham	165
	Meeting at that place to choose a legislatorial attorney	165
	Bill found at Warwick against Major Cartwright and others	167
	Substance of the Indictment	168
	Letter to Mr. Bentham	170
	To Mr. Payne	173
	Middlesex Meeting	174
	Sir W. Jones's Tract on suppressing riots re-published	175
1820.	Letter to the Duke of Roxburghe	175
	To Mr. Northmore	177
	His reply	178
	Major Cartwright protests against the selection of the jury	179
1825.	Mr. Peel's remarks in the House of Commons	180
1820.	Notice of trial and journey to Warwick	181
	Trial postponed in consequence of the judge's illness	182
	Letter to the Duke of Norfolk	184
	Second journey to Warwick—the trial takes place.	186
	Abstract of Major Cartwright's defence	188
	Verdict	194
	Exertions in favour of the Queen	197
	Letter from Dr. Parr	198
	Dinner in honour of the people of Spain, Portugal, and the Two Sicilies	201
	Inflammatory Placards	203
1821.	To Mr. Northmore	203
	Middlesex Meeting	207
	Sentence against Major Cartwright and others in the King's Bench	213
	Answer to a letter of congratulation	215
	To Mr. Northmore	217
	Hints to the Greeks published	219
1822.	Middlesex meeting	220
	Major Cartwright visits Southend	221
	Letter to Mr. Northmore	222
	Vote of thanks	224
	Opinion of "Voice from St. Helena."	224
	Letters to Lord John Russell	226
1823.	Middlesex Meeting	227
	Journey to Lincoln	234

		Page
1823.	Meeting at that place	235
	Letter to Colonel Johnson	237
	To Mr. Northmore	238
	Affairs of Greece	241
	Spanish Exiles	243
	Major Cartwright visits his nephew in Sussex	244
	Death of Dr. Cartwright	245
	Mexican affairs	246
	Execution of General Riego	249
	Design for a monument to that hero	249
	Letter to Dr. Birkbeck	251
	To Don Miguel del Riego	252
	Decline of Major Cartwright's health	256
1824.	Paper found after his decease on the necessity of anatomical knowledge	261
	Letter from President Jefferson	265
	To Mr. Bentham	276
	Removal to Hampstead for change of air—rapid decline	279
	Note for the Spanish translation of Political Dialogue	280
	Returns to town	281
	Major Cartwright takes leave of his friends	282
	Last illness and death	283
	Traits of character and religious opinions	284
	Extract from his will	288
	Funeral	289
1825.	A subscription set on foot for a public monument	290
	Meeting at the Crown and Anchor in June	291
	List of Major Cartwright's Works	299
APPENDIX		305
INDEX		411

LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

MAJOR CARTWRIGHT.

Of the transactions of the year 1811, as far as they related to the subject of this memoir, some extracts from his extensive correspondence will give the best account.

" TO THE HON. T. BRAND.

" 2d March, 1811.

" DEAR SIR,

" You would find by my card, that I had done myself the honour to call on you yesterday.

" My object was to inform you how far matters are in train towards a public dinner-meeting in the metropolis this spring, of the friends to a constitutional reform of parliament.

" In consequence of the part I took two years ago in promoting, under very discouraging circumstances, the last dinner-meeting of this kind, I was applied to by most respectable parties five or six months ago to assist again; but it was not till

lately I thought the season ripe for the thing being accomplished with great effect on public opinion.

"One mode of proceeding having for a short time engaged attention and been relinquished, it has been since judged that the best course will be, for a select meeting, at the invitation of two or three proper persons, to be in the first instance held; and in a mode which to all classes should on the face of it be unexceptional.

"It hereupon occurred to me, that for the advantage of the cause, no persons could more properly convene such select meeting than yourself, Mr. Coke, and Sir Francis Burdett in conjunction. In pursuance of this idea, and for the furtherance of the object, I made the draught of a form for such invitation, and a list to be subjoined of more than 150 persons to be invited: it was with a view of having your sentiments on these steps, and to know your mind as to making one of the conveners, I yesterday waited on you in the Albany.

"What I have suggested met with the readiest concurrence of Sir Francis Burdett, and by last night's post I wrote very fully to Mr. Coke.

"That no time might be lost, now that the public mind is thought to be in a very excellent tone, the draught above-mentioned, with a list of persons to be invited, has been put in the press, and I expect a proof for correction this afternoon.

"Should you approve of being one of the conveners, there will be time for considering any

amendment of the draught, or any addition to the list which you may suggest; and I doubt not that Mr. Coke, being in Norfolk, will think it quite sufficient that yourself and Sir Francis should adjust such matters.

" The draught is as follows:

' SIR,

' You are requested to attend a select meeting of friends to a constitutional reform in Parliament, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, London, on, &c. &c. to consider of arrangements for holding a public dinner-meeting in the metropolis, under the auspices of a numerous body of stewards from all parts of the United Kingdom; in order that at such dinner-meeting the best means of promoting a measure equally essential to the independence of the Crown and the liberties of the people, may be taken into consideration.'

" The undermentioned noblemen and gentlemen are invited to the select meeting; namely—

[Here follow the names of a dozen peers, above sixty members of the House of Commons, and other friends of reform, to the amount in all of about 160.]

" It is supposed that three weeks' notice will be expedient.

" I understood Sir Francis Burdett was not likely to be in the House last night, or, in case of meeting you, he would of course have mentioned

this matter to you himself; although he was not in possession of the draught or the list. Hoping to be early favoured with your sentiments and resolution in this case, I have the honour," &c.

To his application respecting this meeting, he received from Sir Philip Francis the following letter:—

"TO J. CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

"2d of April, 1811.

"DEAR SIR,

"My resolution on the subject of your kind letter received yesterday, was founded on experience, and taken with deliberation. I cannot alter it. You are the only person to whom it would be unbecoming in me to say, that I am not young enough to embark again in what I believe to be a hopeless enterprise. I doubt the actual existence of an English public for any great national purpose; and, if it exists, I am not its debtor. As far as I can judge, the mass of the English population is inert. The country has lost its passions, and is not fit for action. This general opinion is open to exceptions, and you are one of them.

"I have the honour to be, with sincere esteem,

"Dear Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"P. FRANCIS."

" TO THE REV. CHRISTOPHER WYVILL.

" 15th April, 1811.

" The annexed, I trust, will shew you, not only that the cause of reform is not dead, nor its friends asleep; but that they have no other idea of promoting it, than by endeavouring to call forth public opinion on the subject. The public opinion of which I speak must not be merely that of the metropolis, but of the nation at large.

" On the face of this paper you will see, that those with whom the movement originated could not wish otherwise than that the far more numerous body from whom they differ in opinion on the extent to which reform ought to be attempted, to make it either practicable or beneficial, should have as much credit as they should choose to claim or desire.—Every thing short of an *extinguisher* was in fact hereby offered to be put into their hands. Some of the most considerable whigs, and those most relied on for sincerity were resorted to, for being *conveners of this select meeting*. They seemed as shy as if asked to handle a serpent. The same disinclination has for some years, many indeed, been manifest; of which I have abundant proofs. By their good wills, they would neither stir themselves, nor have others do it. With a view to conciliation and union, particular pains had been taken to bring together Mr. Brand and Sir Francis Burdett, who, from their respective positions in Parliament, were to be considered as representing

the two divisions of reformers; and I was highly gratified when I found Mr. Brand had consented to such a meeting.

"We have now had two of those meetings; and a report of the proceedings I hope to send you by Monday's post. I have, however, here to say, that Sir Francis Burdett, whatever may be thought of him as disposed to counsels of violence, has uniformly shown the greatest anxiety for a union of all reformers—and that those who differ from him on the point of extent should take a lead, and try their own systems. He is ready and desirous to follow; all he desires is, that something rational shall be honestly attempted, and that experience shall show what is practically best. I speak from a knowledge of facts of which I have repeatedly been a witness. Considering a reform, however, of the House of Commons a *sine qua non*, he never will, I am persuaded, consent to abandon that course; as too many others seem, by their aversion to every thing thereto tending, to have made up their minds to do. By the way, we shall soon have in print—by the exertions of two persons who were in the gallery, and their importunities with the baronet, to correct their reports—the speech he delivered on Lord Folkstone's motion respecting *informations ex officio*, which I am told by one of the parties, was very masterly, and showed a profound knowledge. In the newspaper this speech was murdered.

"At our last meeting, I endeavoured to place our

situation in what I conceive to be its true light; and to this effect. A vast majority of the House of Commons is made up of a combination of factions great and small, and of adventurers who bought their way in at rotten boroughs. All these stand on interests completely hostile to the rights and liberties of the nation. From a conspicuous feature, this whole combination we style the BOROUGH FACTION, although made up of rival parties who have competition and hostility among themselves; yet whenever serious reform of the system is attempted, the whole combine, as one man, to resist innovation on that system.

"Here then, considering that those who have the purse of the nation at their command, and the efficient House of Parliament in their hands, are all-powerful, we behold a despotism, and a despotism of the very worst description. This view of our case is full of instruction. How is a despotism to be *reformed?* this is the point we have to consider. We are to remember that the despotism being legislative, it must be the very *agent in its own reformation.* Here I turned to Prussia or old Frederick, and to France under Napoleon. Would either have listened to patriots, desiring them to take a step in reformation, that is, in abridging their own power; *this year*, as a prelude to another step *next year*, and so on, till liberty should be restored? No; death or a dungeon would have instantly stopped the career of such patriots:

"Then, returning to England, I observed that our despotism, in consequence of the universal feeling of rights and liberties, and in short of *public opinion*, was obliged to do its work in a different way. Instead of striking off the head of a Brand or a Burdett, it simply outvoted them, which answered every purpose; but although these despotisms were of different descriptions, they were of the same *character:* I then appealed to all history for an instance in which an inveterate despotism had voluntarily reformed itself.

"What say the examples of our ancestors? It was a great national effort, headed by the barons, that first subdued the mind of the despot, John, and extorted, from his *fear*, MAGNA CHARTA.

"Again; it was a similar effort, inspiring the panic-stricken tyrant James with fear, which caused his flight, and gave us the BILL OF RIGHTS.

"And just so it is fear alone, that, from the *borough-faction*, can ever extort a PARLIAMENTARY REFORM; or, in other words, a RESTORATION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

"But those who have given into the notion of moderate reform, have been misled by a sort of instinctive feeling of the truth of the picture I have drawn, without sufficiently examining the grounds of that feeling. Aware that the putting down of a despotism by one effort must make the despot angry, hence, without due reflection, they have deprecated radical reform as tending to civil war, and to the hazard of losing every thing by

convulsion. No: here is radical error. Nothing can be done but by public opinion. When that shall be sufficiently powerful, the borough-faction, put in fear, will vote for radical reform with as much peaceable acquiescence as John signed Magna Charta.

"In respect of raising up a sufficient strength in PUBLIC OPINION, the radical reformers hold up to the nation *the constitution itself*, in all its simplicity of excellence. The moderate reformers hold up a something else of their own fabrication or fancy, complex, and, in their own shewing, very imperfect. The qualities of truth and justice, as emanations from the divine mind, as well as the constitution of human nature and reason, forbid, in my humble judgment, the possibility of ever calling forth any thing like national unanimity on the latter ground, or inspiring that animation and enthusiasm in the public necessary for a parliamentary reform; or, in other words, putting down the despotism of the borough-faction, and restoring the constitution.

"It is no departure from this conviction that induces me to cultivate union with the moderate reformers. Let us co-operate; let us reason with each other; let us promote discussion: in short, let us harmoniously yield each to the other, as far as possible, without a desertion of principle. If they, in public meetings of the people, cannot agree to the plans and measures we think must be finally adopted in Parliament, to restore our liber-

ties; nor we, in such meetings, can concur in plans and measures we disapprove; we still can agree in the great principle, that reform is necessary for salvation of the state: on this ground such of us as have met and conferred, have, in fact, united. Let time bring us and the nation, in all points, to one mind! That, to the Almighty Disposer of men and nations, is my fervent prayer."

To this letter Mr. Wyvill replied, by requesting the writer to accept his most cordial thanks for his exertions in promoting union among the different bodies of reformers, and by requesting that his name might be added to the list of stewards.

On the 10th of June the proposed dinner* took place at the Freemasons' Tavern, "for taking into consideration the best means of promoting a measure equally essential to the independence of the crown and the liberties of the people."

"We then found," says Major Cartwright, in his letters to the Marquis of Tavistock, p. 15, "that the seed of 1809 was not unprofitably sown. The number of stewards was 265; and might, if the whigs had heartily joined in the measure, as easily have been a thousand."

In the same month, at a meeting of the committee of friends of Parliamentary reform, Sir John Throgmorton in the chair, it was resolved, "that a society be formed of friends to Parliamentary

* For the names of the stewards, see Appendix, No. XIII.

reform." This society afterwards gave rise to "The Union"; and, as will be seen hereafter, became an object of deep interest to the venerable reformer.

On the 23d of September, 1811, he was called on to perform a painful duty at the sessions-house, Clerkenwell. It has been already mentioned, that Major Cartwright was very unguarded in receiving, without introduction or recommendation, any stranger who asked to be admitted to him. In consequence of this inadvertency, a person was suffered to introduce himself as the clergyman of Hertford; and in that character obtained two pounds from him, for the alleged purpose of assisting a distressed widow, who had been turned out of her house by her landlord*. Major Cartwright soon after discovered the imposture, and was induced to prosecute, in consequence of private intelligence, that in so doing, he might in the end essentially benefit the unfortunate offender, who was the eldest son of a respectable clergyman, and

* This gave rise, some years afterwards, to a humorous circumstance, which strongly evinces the attachment with which Major Cartwright inspired the members of his family. The eldest son of his nephew, the Rev. E. Cartwright, when eight or nine years of age, was a frequent visitor at his house; and one day, being missing, was sought for, and discovered walking backwards and forwards near the door of his uncle's study, shouldering an old blunderbuss, which, to avoid accident, had been deprived of its lock. On being asked the occasion of this military appearance, he replied, that an odd looking stranger was with his uncle, and fearing he might prove another swindler, he thought it advisable to be at hand, to assist him if attacked.

who had fallen into bad habits, and into company of the worst description, and who, while he remained in this country, had little chance of ever becoming a better member of society.

Major Cartwright accordingly appeared against him; and though the young man endeavoured, by every means in his power, to defend himself by calumniating his prosecutor, the case was considered so clear by the jury, that, without the smallest hesitation, a verdict of Guilty was returned, and he was sentenced to seven years' transportation*.

A few months before his death, Major Cartwright experienced a degree of satisfaction which will be easily appreciated by minds of equal benevolence, in receiving from the worthy father of this young man an assurance that his son had conducted himself respectably from the period of his transportation, and had, in the country to which he was exiled, redeemed the character he lost in his own.

In October he sent the following letter to Sir Samuel Romilly:

"James Street, 1st October, 1811.

"DEAR SIR,

"I have thought it due to you, to apprize you of a deputation which is appointed to wait on you, and the object of it.

"By the inclosed you will see that a beginning

* See Edinburgh Annual Register for 1811, Part II. p. 167.

has been made towards a Middlesex election, propitious to public freedom.

"The Middlesex Freeholders' Club have thought it due to the constitution, as well as to their own consistency, to make such an explicit declaration of their opinion touching Parliamentary reform, as comes within their conception of the people's rights; and they, of course, are anxious that the representatives of their county should be chosen from among men holding, in a matter so infinitely important, the same opinions with themselves.

"It made likewise a part of their consideration, that their declaration may have a good effect, in the way of example to other electors, besides promoting discussion, which is ever favourable to political liberty.

"To Sir Samuel Romilly, more, I believe, than to any other man of the present day, the parties would gladly have dispensed with asking a specific declaration of opinion, as a ground for entering into a positive resolution of proposing him; but considering that, in times like the present, to propose to their county the election of a particular man, involves in it a serious responsibility, and that they ought to be able to state, that they have not so done on mere presumption, but on full knowledge of his holding correct opinions on points essential to the constitution.

"And this line of conduct seems the more advisable, when the declaration is to manifest how the party making it is to be classed; that is, as a

real and rational reformist, or as one of those who style themselves moderate reformists; for under the respective leaders of these classes the mass of people seem ripe for arranging themselves.

"Nothing having been settled as to the mode of making the wished-for declaration, my own idea of the matter is, that the most eligible way would be, not to give an individual signature, but one in common among several; and I shall make it my business to collect some, of persons every way respectable, in readiness for such a purpose.

"In the desperate situation in which public liberty stands, my own judgment tells me, that, by making an honest and manly appeal to public reason and public spirit, we hazard nothing. It cannot make things worse. It may bring salvation.

"The power of truth, although proverbial, does not prevent its lying, sometimes for ages, dormant; while at critical periods, and issuing from the lips of men revered for their virtue and wisdom, its influence is rapid and resistless. We seem to be in a political crisis favourable to such an influence.

"After a thirty years' discussion in representation, sound argument must ever be at hand for putting down shallow sophistry or unprincipled cavil; and, as the public is not likely to prefer a shadow to a substance, or ignorance to knowledge, I am perfectly at ease on the part likely to be taken by the mass of the nation, between the classes of reformists I have already named.

"Although one of the deputation appointed to wait on you, I may very possibly be out of the way at the proper time, as I am now only detained in town by a life-boat experiment, and expect, in a week or less, to go into the North for two months or more. With the greatest respect and esteem,

"I remain, Dear Sir,

"Truly your's,

"J. CARTWRIGHT."

"SIR S ROMILLY."

"TO SEÑOR ARGUELLES.

"10 October, 1811.

"SIR,

"Apprehensive that a difference of sentiment between natives of Old Spain and Spaniards of the American Colonies may, possibly, at the present crisis, produce effects inconvenient to both, as well as adverse to the cause of that general liberty of mankind which ought to be the wish of virtuous men, and will be the wish of every man truly wise, I have the honour to present you a copy of my first political essay, 'American Independence,' of which I have only one other copy, this having returned into my hands by the death of a relation, to whom at its first appearance, in 1774, it had been presented.

"The principles therein laid down, may tend to promote peace and friendship, prosperity and happiness, between the Spaniards of the two hemispheres.

"Sincerely hoping that Spain in respect of the American Colonies, will prove more enlightened than was the case with my own country, and praying God for the desired issue,

"I have the honour to remain, &c.

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

The experiment alluded to in his letter to Sir Samuel Romilly, related to a contrivance suggested by Captain Cartwright of Nottingham, for making any boat answer the purpose of a life boat.

It consisted of a portable apparatus formed of bladders and corks, so arranged as to be easily attached to the sides of a ship's boat in case of emergency, and, by affording the greatest possible degree of buoyancy, enabled it to support an extraordinary weight.

During the business attendant upon this project, Captain Cartwright was at Major Cartwright's house in Westminster, and being at that time very infirm from the effects of severe rheumatism, he found in his more active brother a willing and useful coadjutor.

The experiment was tried on the 7th of October immediately below Blackfriars Bridge, and the apparatus was attached to a six-oared cutter belonging to the Cabalva East Indiaman, Captain Birch.

It appeared that with twenty-three men on board all standing on her thwarts, and eight hundred-weight of iron in the boat, which was also

crowded with sail, the thwarts were an inch above water, so that the weight actually sustained must have been equivalent to at least forty-five men properly stowed for preserving life in case of a wreck.

After this business was concluded, Major Cartwright accompanied his family on some visits into the counties of Nottingham, Derby, and Leicester, where his feeling mind was deeply wounded by the distress which prevailed throughout those districts, the apparent apathy with which that distress was, except in a few instances, contemplated, and the consequent excesses into which misery and starvation too frequently led the misguided manufacturers.

The following letter to Lord Holland will shew in what light he regarded these disturbances, and the means he was anxious to adopt for their suppression:

"TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD HOLLAND.

"Allestree, near Derby, 15th Dec. 1811.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"As Recorder of Nottingham, and not less as a decided friend of freedom and peace, I inclose you a Requisition which I yesterday morning drew up, and, as a burgess, signed.

"On entering the town on Friday, I learned that a very full meeting of the magistrates of the county were consulting in their hall, on the disturbed state of the vicinity; and on asking one of them, after the meeting broke up, what was the

result, he answered it was a secret. Another, however, informed me, that application was to be made for police officers, and for rewards for informations.

" Hitherto no measures indicating a feeling for the sufferings of men almost in a state of famine, or tending to give complaint a proper tone and right direction, or affording the slightest hope of relief, have I heard of.

" The town and neighbourhood are full of soldiers; and I was credibly informed that a general officer had given it as his opinion, that the county would not be kept quiet, until it should be put under MILITARY LAW. I did not want to hear of such a declaration from the lips of a general officer, to feel in the highest degree shocked whenever I see the law carried into execution by *the sword of a standing army*, as, on every such occasion, the constitution is stabbed to the vitals; and stabbed unnecessarily; for he must be shallow in constitutional knowledge, who does not know that there is an *English* mode of preserving public tranquillity infinitely superior in efficacy to this *Continental* practice; a mode in perfect unison with liberty, as this is the very essence of despotism.

" Where for executing the law, the ultimate resort is to the sword of a standing mercenary army, it is complete evidence that a military despotism actually exists; and if the nobility and gentry of once free England shall witness it with patience and apathy, it must ere long be as firmly rivetted,

and as much the established character of the English Government, as it is of that of Turkey.

" My stay at Nottingham yesterday only allowed of my seeing two gentlemen who wholly concur with me in principle, and are ready to do so in act, provided a reasonable number of respectable persons will do the same; but I lament to observe, that since the loss of that excellent man, George Walker, Nottingham seems with him to have lost somewhat of its decision of character, and that a leader, authoritative from wisdom, virtue and energy, is wanting.

" But, my Lord, should the Requisition I have left at Nottingham meet with your Lordship's approbation, and I were allowed to say so, I am fully persuaded it would remove all hesitation; for the best informed persons are convinced, that the enemies of liberty would not venture to show themselves at a public meeting, where, in their opinion, any thing truly constitutional would be carried with unanimity and acclamation.

" Besides the cause of hesitation at Nottingham which I have already explained, arising from personal diffidence in men unused to take a lead, there is another which they do not even attempt to conceal, in a tincture of despondency, from observing how few among the great are ready to support the people in efforts for restoring the constitution in any particular, or at any time.

" And notwithstanding it was remarked in a select company of the late and present mayor with

a few others, about three weeks ago, that it was an expressed general wish of your lordship with which they were acquainted, that the people when aggrieved would always come forward with their complaints and petitions, yet their diffidence, and this tincture of despondency, still seem to prevail; and but too probably will not be shaken off, unless they shall be encouraged by a specific declaration on the part of your lordship, on whose opinions they set a high value, that the present is a proper occasion for making an effort.

"I called yesterday twice with the Requisition on the town-clerk, Mr. Coldham, but not finding him at home, I left it at his house inclosed in a note.

"It was my endeavour so to make the Requisition speak for itself as to its objects; and so to inculcate what I hold to be a self-evident truth, namely, that secure peace must be bottomed on a restoration of the constitution, or it cannot be attained; as well as that if an insecure one be agreed to, it must, like the last, prove an empty bubble.

"It is only by exhibiting our country to the eye of Napoleon as absolutely impregnable, by unanimity and enthusiasm in its defence, that he will grant any other peace, than such a one as should accelerate our downfal. In peace he would rapidly become a naval power of the first magnitude; while, at the same time, England, by the degrading concessions she must make, *if not invulnerable*, and by reducing through necessity her martial es-

tablishment, and no less by her continuing a prey to internal corruptions, generating extreme disunion and disgust, amounting, in a great proportion of her physical strength, to a settled hatred of their rulers, must be well prepared for subjugation.

"A population who hate their rulers, for withholding from them their rights and liberties, by which they are exposed to the curse of *taxation without representation*, are but too well prepared for the purposes of an invader. With much respect,

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"J. CARTWRIGHT."

On the 19th of December, 1811, Major Cartwright addressed a letter to a respectable framework knitter, whom he supposed to have considerable influence over the working manufacturers, which was inserted in the Nottingham Review. In this letter he urged them in the most forcible manner to consider the wickedness, folly and impolicy of their conduct in wantonly destroying the property of others, showing them that by so doing instead of relieving they would aggravate their distresses, and do their worst enemies a singular pleasure. "This letter", to use his own words in another letter addressed to Lord Holland, "was written to a person of good character in a humble situation, with a hope of its contributing, perhaps as efficaciously as the sword, to bring back the deluded and the criminal into the path of duty."

He had the satisfaction of finding that this hope

was not disappointed; the letter was published and circulated gratis all over the disturbed districts, and had a salutary effect on the minds of the misguided population.

On the 24th February, 1812, Major Cartwright thus writes to Lord Fingal:

"In the recent decision at Carlton House, the Catholics of Ireland must anticipate the fate of their petition. That event will also, I trust, instruct them in a great truth, which bodies of the people, by a sort of fatality, appear, on all occasions of *grievance*, to overlook; namely, that there can be no sure redress of political WRONGS until the people shall have recovered their political RIGHTS. All else, even the best that can arise from superficial and partial exertions, will in the end fail; and the condition of the people, now and then ameliorated in trifles for a while, will, in the main, grow worse and worse; until they shall from Dingle to Dover, from Portland to the Orkneys, with one voice demand a real and duly proportioned representation, and Parliaments of a constitutional duration.

"Where are now the Irish Volunteers of 1788?*

* "It was impossible to contemplate and enjoy the cheering dawn of unsuspicious intercourse which then diffused its reviving light over this island, without abhorrence of that debasing policy which when the sword was sheathed and the statute-book slumbered, sullenly filled the place of both."

* * * * * * *

"The content, the satisfaction, that sat on every face, and I

Where Ireland's independent Parliament? Where her very name as a State?

"Your Lordship and your principal supporters may have acted on notions of expediency, in not mixing a superior question with your claim to an equal admissibility to command offices and emoluments with your protestant brethren; but you now see the consequence.

"The 'oligarchy', the borough-faction, usurping, as I conceive, more than nine-tenths of the seats in the House of Commons, is a despotism. A despotism is not to be talked out of its power, nor will it willingly admit new sharers of its wealth. For successfully resisting a despotism, and re-instating national liberty, there is but one mode; an appeal to that constitution, by which the nation has consented to be governed; and then with the unanimity which such appeal is likely to generate, to demand the rights essential to all freedom, whether religious or civil.

"A great national movement for any thing short of this, is unworthy of Ireland. Let her then, my Lord, act as political virtue and wisdom dictate. Let her patriots, availing themselves of the temper she is in, give a right direction to her energies, in petitions from every county, city and town for a Reform of Parliament.

"The example may touch with shame and excite the emulation of the degenerate traders of Eng-

may add the moral improvement that formed one of the purest sources of that satisfaction, cannot be effaced from the memory."
Hardy's Life of Lord Charlemont, Vol. I. p. 385.

land and Scotland; who are very slow to discover that their loss of trade is a consequence of their loss of liberty. If they can be set right by the sense and spirit of Ireland; petitions signed by millions, demanding a restoration of stolen rights, would soon put down the despotism of that borough-faction under which the United Kingdom groans."

His Lordship's reply to this letter, couched in terms of high respect for the writer, was a declaration that he considered it his duty to confine himself solely to the subject of the Catholic claims.

We have already noticed the establishment of a club called the Union for Parliamentary Reform according to the Constitution; it need hardly be said that the subject of these memoirs was a zealous member of that club, the proceedings of which proved highly satisfactory to him *.

Another club for the same object had also been some time in contemplation, of which Mr. Northmore was the founder, and the first printed proposal for its institution appeared 1st of May, 1811, with sixteen names annexed. Its first public meeting took place at the Thatched House Tavern, 20th April, 1812, Walter Fawkes, Esq. in the chair. It was then

"*Resolved*—That a society be now instituted, which shall have for its object the securing to the people the free election of their Representatives in the Commons House of Parliament.

* See Appendix, No. XIV.

"That such society be called the Hampden Club.

"That by the laws and statutes of this realm the subject has settled in him a fundamental right of property, and that he is not compelled to contribute any tax, or other charge, not set by common consent in Parliament.

"That according to Sir Edward Coke, the members of the House of Commons ought to be general inquisitors of the realm for the maintenance and execution of the laws, and for the redress of divers mischiefs and grievances.

"That according to the first statute of Westminster, anno 3 Edw. I. A. D. 1275, because electors ought to be free, no great man (haut homme), or other by force of arms, nor by malice, shall disturb any from making free election.

"That according to the celebrated declaration of King William for restoring the laws and liberties of England, article 18th, 'all elections of parliament men ought, to be free, to be made with an entire liberty, without any sort of force, or the requiring the electors to choose such persons as shall be named to them.'

"That according to the constitutional position of the late Lord Camden, 'Taxation and representation are inseparable.'

"And that Parliament should be of a continuance agreeable to the English constitution.

"*Resolved*—That it appears to the members of this club, that the present corrupt practice of the government of this country, &c. differs most widely

from the principles of its constitution. That this deviation from the fundamental laws of the land, and the want of identity which in this country ought to subsist between the representative and the represented, are in a great degree the cause of those evils under which this nation is suffering; and that, therefore, a reform of the representation in the Commons House of Parliament is alike necessary to the constitutional independence of the Crown, the liberties of the people, and the safety of the country.

"That the members of the Hampden Club pledge themselves to use every exertion in county meetings, and in all other meetings warranted by the constitution, in conjunction with their countrymen, to induce the House of Commons to take this important subject into their early and serious consideration, and to restore to the country her real constitution and ancient laws.

"That it is the determination of this Club to confine their resolutions and exertions strictly to the procuring a reform in the representation of the people." *

It was hinted to Major Cartwright that many persons of rank and influence who differed from him in political opinion, kept away from it because he was a member, and he instantly resolved for once on becoming a seceder.

* For the list of Members of the Hampden Club, see Appendix, No. XV.

This intention his friend Mr. Northmore combated in the following terms :'

" MY DEAR SIR,

" Your favour is just received and I will not permit you for one moment to entertain any thoughts of quitting us, now that our difficulties are over, and we are firm upon our legs. They who would not join us before, are glad of an ostensible reason to excuse their timidity. They are just not worth having, and our published sentiments are their real terror. 'Reform and Cartwright' are synonymous, and must not be separated, and your friends are numerous and warm; they feel a confidence in your opinions that will not easily be shaken.

" I heartily wish your other society may succeed, and I shall be happy to give you every assistance in my power.

" Yours, dear Sir, &c.

" T. NORTHMORE."

" P. S. Your Ægis I presume is not now to be had."

Major Cartwright, however, executed his intentions on the 19th of June, 1812.

" TO THOMAS NORTHMORE, ESQ.

" MY DEAR SIR,

" The union for parliamentary reform, according to the constitution, a corps in which I am enrolled, being now embodied and entering on active

service, I have this day erased my name from the books of the Hampden, with this entry—"Withdrawn, not as a deserter but as a friend; with a hope of adding to the strength of the club; as in two letters to Mr. Northmore (19th of May and 19th of June) has been explained.'

"As secession must ever cause among our enemies reports of disunion, nothing but a hope of extending in reality union and strength, could induce me to recede, after having once joined your standard.

"If my presence kept out one reformist, that cause is now removed, while my duty is elsewhere done.

"Should you, however, after twelve months' experience, find the hope with which I take myself out of the way to be without foundation, and that my secession brings you no accession, I shall be ready to join your standard; that no man may think me capable of drawing back my foot a single step, after it has been any where advanced in the service of the Constitution, except for the real advancement of the cause.

"But in that case, it would be more agreeable to me, were the rulers of the club more strict than they appear to be, since it should seem to require the majority of a meeting for a candidate's exclusion; whereas, in my own case, I had rather it required only a single negative, particularly when I reflect on the ground of my present secession.

"I remain, dear Sir, very truly yours,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

" TO J. CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

" 16 Orchard Street, June 20, 1812.

" MY DEAR SIR,

" I cannot forbear expressing my regret that you should have withdrawn your name from the Hampden, convinced as I am that if that institution fail of success, its failure will arise from causes over which your name can have no influence either direct or indirect. If ever there had been a time when any objection to your name had arisen in the breast of a few gentlemen, that time had passed by, and that objection had been removed; but it is not for me to dispute your superior judgment: I heartily wish you success in every undertaking, believing that such undertaking will always have for its object the freedom of man, and the welfare of the community.

" I remain, dear Sir, very sincerely yours,

" THOMAS NORTHMORE."

It does not appear that Major Cartwright's secession answered the purpose intended, or that his absence brought any increase of strength to the society.

He was therefore re-elected, at the desire of the club, on the 8th of May, in the following year, after twelve months' absence. This re-election was thus communicated to him by Mr. Montague Burgoyne:

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I am most happy to inform you that you are unanimously re-elected a member of the Hampden Club.

"Yours truly,

"MONTAGUE BURGOYNE."

On the back of this letter is written in Major Cartwright's hand-writing, "this prompt attention sensibly felt by J. C."

It will be seen in the following epistle, that in this year he published his Six Letters to the Marquis of Tavistock.

"TO THE REV. CHRISTOPHER WYVILL.

"May 21, 1812.

"DEAR SIR,

"I send you my series of letters to the Marquis of Tavistock. The debate on Mr. Brand's late motion was completely illustrative of the doctrine principally inculcated in them, as well as *in the comparison.* Indeed, considering the desperate condition of our country, the intermediate corruption of Parliament, and the extremely agitated and anxious state of the public mind, to propose any thing in the style of mere palliative, should now seem to be the dream of a sick man, whose energies were departed and intellects impaired.

"Every mere palliative must be complex; and therefore divested of that clearness and force, which can alone take firm possession of the public mind. In the three propositions which contain all

we want, 1st, Representation, co-extensive with direct taxation in the books of the collectors; 2dly, A fair distribution of that common right; and, 3dly, Parliaments of a constitutional duration, that is, not exceeding one year; we have a threefold object of extreme simplicity, containing, as I may say, the constitution, the whole constitution, and nothing but the constitution.

"We have recently seen, that any thing in the nature of a palliative expedient, excites, in the borough-faction, nothing but supreme contempt. And because *radical reform* would excite all their terrors, and all they dare do for beating it down, we must not, therefore, suppose, that it is imprudent. Were you ever in a storm at sea, and in the utmost peril of shipwreck on a lee-shore? If you have been, you would have learned that timidity was not the quality for saving a ship so circumstanced. I have had experience in this way: I have seen, that timidity, had it not been deterred by threats of rigorous punishment from acting on its own suggestions, would have produced destruction. The vessel of the State is now threatened with shipwreck. It is a courageous and inflexible adherence to the constitution, that can alone save it. This alone can call forth the energies of the nation in our support.

"I have recently had communication with persons connected with the disturbed districts, and who have influence there. For turning the discontents into a legal channel favourable to Parlia-

mentary Reform, they are anxious to have the advice and countenance of *our Society*.

"Is it not, therefore, extremely to be desired, that it may not fall back into non-existence, for want of its one hundred founders? Is it not to be desired, that it may be established, and enter on its course of utility as speedily as possible? Should it be instrumental in allaying the tempest of discontent, converting it into genuine patriotism, and giving irresistible strength to the cause of radical reform, how infinite the good it will produce!

"The formation of the Hampden Club will, doubtless, do much good; but its being a club, its nature, and its qualification (as for a seat in Parliament), forbid its being the real nucleus of a national union. It of a certainty is, and must continue to be, an exceptionable institution, in the eyes of a great part of the community; but when *our Society* shall be announced to the public, all friends of reform of every description will have a standard under which they can rally. Each institution will have an influence over the other, in favour, on one hand, of real constitutional liberty, and, on the other hand, in favour of temper and discretion.

"I understand that our secretary sent you, into the country, his *circular;* but as you may not have it to refer to, I send you a copy.

"With much esteem, I remain, dear Sir,

"Truly yours,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

"Mr. Perry, editor of the Morning Chronicle, has urged me much to publish the letters to Lord Tavistock in a pamphlet. This I considered as a symptom of a favourable change in the minds of the party of which his paper is the known organ."

On the 5th of August in this year at a meeting of the inhabitant householders of Westminster, the following were among the resolutions moved by Major Cartwright, and seconded by Mr. Harris:

"*Resolved*—That the Chancellor of the Exchequer having taught us to expect, in addition to all the grievous taxes on income, an early tax on capital, it is expedient to distinguish between these modes of taxation.

"That, to tax income, is to take a proportion of the rents or profits of an estate: to tax capital, is to take away part of the estate itself.

"That a tax on capital, annually repeated, must shortly take away the whole of the estate.

"That between the effect of taxing capital, and the effect of confiscation, this meeting is not able to distinguish.

"That although the whole of men's estates may be taken away by arbitrary taxation, yet, as neither the land, nor its produce, nor other personal property, is thereby annihilated, so the real effect of the system is, to transfer all property, real and personal, from the right owners to those who, pos-

sessing a power of arbitrary taxation, can take away that property at their pleasure.

"That the oligarchy, which, by usurping a great majority of the seats in the House of Commons, are become masters of all property, and can take it away at their pleasure, are, by the same means, become masters of the Crown and its Exchequer.

"That, as the House of Commons exercises the authority of a court of judicature, with exclusive jurisdiction over whatever relates to the elective and legislative rights of the people, so as no redress of any injury, touching the same, can be elsewhere obtained; this meeting, on behalf of themselves and the nation at large, will present to that House a 'Petition of Rights', claiming representation co-extensive with direct taxation, in annual Parliaments, according to the constitution; and demanding that 'justice be neither denied nor delayed', according to Magna Charta."

"TO MR. KNIGHT.

"August 8th, 1812.

"SIR,

"Understanding from a Lancashire gentleman, that your character is proof against the malicious insinuations of suspected persons, and considering you as suffering in a cause which, at this time, in this country, is the common cause of us all, and, of all earthly causes, that which most deserves the

exertions of good men, I take the liberty of writing to you.

"Presuming that no magistrate could be so rash as to commit you and your companions, thirty-seven in number, to a gaol, for merely meeting to consider of a petition to Parliament for a reform in our representation, unless some informer has made oath, that something criminal had been said or done at your meeting; I incline to imagine, that some evidence of that kind is to be brought against you and them. It has, I find, been reported, that the charge is, that of an unlawful oath having been administered among you.

"Considering the great improbability that parliamentary reformists should resort to any thing so unnecessary to their purpose, and which could only tend to defeat it, my present persuasion is, that if any such accusation were made, it was the act of a hired informer, who was ready to swear any thing most agreeable to those who employed him.

"If this were the case, there may possibly be some difficulty in establishing a complete demonstration of your innocence, even although your jury, not believing your accusers, should acquit you; but if those accusers happen to be persons of very bad character, and their story should not be well put together, your acquittal may be of a very triumphant nature.

"As I learn that, for the most part, your companions in suffering are persons in circumstances

not opulent, I have written to my friend Mr. Brougham, whose parliamentary exertions obtained a revocation of the orders in council so prejudicial to the manufacturing interest, and who is a barrister on your circuit, to interest him in your cause, and to request he will communicate with you in particular early on his arrival at Lancaster, notwithstanding you may perhaps have already retained counsel on your behalf.

"Suspecting very much that the apprehension of yourself and your companions has merely originated in a wish, by violence and terror, to crush the cause in which you were engaged, of promoting a parliamentary reform, nothing but my advanced age and some other causes I cannot controul, would, I believe, have prevented my visiting you in your present situation, with a wish to learn the truth of your case; and if it turned out as I incline to think of it, to render you every personal assistance and service in my power; because I am decidedly of opinion, that independent of the countenance and support due to the friends of Reform, that cause in the event of your innocence being made manifest, may, in consequence of the treatment you have received, be advanced and promoted in the highest degree; in which case, if I have received a right impression of your character, I am sure you would greatly rejoice in having suffered for it. With an earnest wish that your innocence may appear to your country what

I believe it to be, I beg leave to subscribe myself,

"Sir, yours very truly,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

In the same month in which this letter was written, Major Cartwright determined to overcome the obstacles therein alluded to, and set out on a political tour, the motives for which shall be given in his own words, as we find them in one of his letters to Mr. Wyvill. These letters were published some months afterwards, in consequence of an attack made upon him by that gentleman in his address to the Yorkshire freeholder on the 15th of October, 1813.

"You pointedly advert to the disturbed counties: I thank you for it, it calls on me to explain why I went thither.

"I had been informed that thirty-eight men peaceably assembled at the sign of the Prince Regent's Arms, in Manchester, on the 11th of June, for considering on a petition for Parliamentary Reform, had been apprehended by a constable, taking with him a strong guard of soldiers, and sent to Lancaster Gaol, fifty miles from their business and families, there to remain three months, and then be tried on the accusation of a hired informer, for having administered an unlawful oath, the punishment of which is transportation.

"From circumstances belonging to this case, I had the strongest suspicions that all was not well. The men were poor. A defence was likely to cost a considerable sum. Should they fail of a defence, their being transported for a crime partaking of the nature of treason, was inevitable.

"What a stab would here have been to the cause of parliamentary reform! How its enemies would have triumphed!

"Do you wonder I was anxious that these men, if innocent, should not suffer the shame, the ruin, of being banished to Botany Bay as traitors to their country? Do you wonder at my anxiety that the cause of Parliamentary Reform should not on this occasion be dishonoured, through the machinations of the vilest miscreants? By an impulse not to be resisted, I was drawn down to the scene of these transactions, to watch the event. It turned out as I had from the first believed it would, provided these poor men could have the benefit of a defence; and I earnestly recommend it to you to read the trial; having previously paid a close attention to the introduction."—Third letter to the Rev. C. Wyvill, 25th December, 1813.

The following are extracts from his letters to Mrs. Cartwright during this political tour:

"Loughborough, 26th August, 1812.

"Yesterday at Leicester, I found an old schoolfellow in Mr. Ruding. He lives a little way out of the town, where I dined with him. He, and

every thing about him, is in the true, plain, plentiful, and comfortable style of an old-fashioned country gentleman. My time was pleasantly spent. As the post goes out to-morrow about the time of the meeting, I can only inform you, that it is expected it will be well attended; especially by dissenters. If I may judge by the conversation I have had this morning with two dissenting ministers, I may entertain good hopes of persuading them to combine with their object of peace, that of reform.

"Manchester, 29th August, 1812.

"I had not been here last night above half an hour, when the agreeable news of the acquittal of the thirty-seven, after a trial of fourteen hours, arrived. Many particulars were not brought, but it is understood that the acquittal was with full credit*.

"What I advanced at Loughborough met with strong tokens of approbation from a meeting of about six hundred persons, but as the business of the day was not to adopt and sign a petition, but merely to recommend a petition for peace, and as a requisition from Nottingham embracing both objects of peace and reform is agreed upon, I thought it best not to urge my own opinion."

* In a letter from Mr. Brougham announcing this event to Major Cartwright, he speaks in terms of high admiration of Baron Wood's conduct on this occasion.

" Manchester, 1st September, 1812.

" We are going on in the best possible way. The honourable acquittal has produced a public dinner which will be held to-morrow. The next day *in the way of my calling* I must go to Liverpool, where I hope to do some service to the cause.

" The men of Sheffield have agreed to meet for reform and peace; and in compliance with their request, I have sent them a form of requisition adapted to the circumstances, which merit consideration. The corn in the country has wanted sun; it will of course shrink in measure and be deficient in weight. But our political harvest I trust will be a good one. You cannot picture to yourself the affectionate greetings I meet with. My appetite and sleep are not amiss. Had I two or three aides-de-camp, I should do better; I say aides-de-camp, because some blockhead, or wag, or wit, directed a letter for Major-General Cartwright, which I gave back unopened."

" Manchester, 3d September, 1812.

" We had yesterday a public dinner; the room full, and the whole went off with spirit and in all respects as it should be. The affectionate attentions I met with, have been most gratifying. I am going to Liverpool, return on Sunday, proceed the next day by way of Halifax to Sheffield, where I trust all things will go on completely to my satisfaction. From thence to Nottingham, and then home as expeditiously as I can."

"Warrington, 6th September.

"A meeting of 250 at Liverpool to compliment Mr. Brougham on account of his success in resisting the orders in council, as well as to introduce him as a candidate at the next election. Several good speeches, and parliamentary reform, after the immediate business of the day, came in for a good deal of attention. I keep well, though I have not had so much sleep as I could wish. It is at last fixed that a dinner should be held to-morrow, to which I am invited. A meeting for reform and peace is intended to follow, agreeably to what is proposed.

"I suspect that the timid at Nottingham have been at work, as I have not yet heard that a meeting is fixed. I have no doubt, however, of the thing being done, and shall endeavour to accelerate it."

"Wardsend, 15th September.

"This house is in one of the most beautiful situations in the kingdom, and my host* truly hospitable.

"At Sheffield it is reported that Mr. Brougham and I are carrying on in concert some grand plan, and so the wiseacres will amuse themselves.

"Hitherto I have had reason to be extremely satisfied with what I have seen, and with what I have done. May the end be as successful as the beginning!"

* Thomas Rawson, Esq.

" Chesterfield, 20th September.

" I incline to believe that because of an old woman's raising a mob, and making a little disturbance at Nottingham, there will be no meeting. I shall push it as much as I can, as in every view a right measure, and free from danger of every kind. But if the tide be very strong against me, perhaps I may compound, and agree to an arrangement for laying petitions at three or four houses for reform and peace. Mr. Rawson's kindness and hospitality were unbounded."

" Nottingham, 26th of September.

" My progress here has been slower than in any place I have previously visited. I trust, however, on my birth-day, when I shall complete my 72nd year, something decisive will take place. If a public meeting be agreed on, it will of course detain me till over; otherwise, I may depart sooner; that is, as soon as the forms of the petitions, and the mode of promoting signatures, are agreed on. As a dissolution of Parliament seems certain, I shall just reach town in time to partake a little in the operations in Westminster. My part however will be probably only to act as mere chamber council.

" On Thursday I was on the hawking party with my brother, and when tired of the sport I slipt off for Daybrooke, where I spent two pleasant hours with my friend Denison.

" My brother is in good health and spirits, and desires to be remembered," &c.

On his return to town, having written to solicit Lord Stanhope to give his name to the Hampden and Union Societies, he received from that nobleman, on the 3d of November, the following reply:—

"DEAR SIR,

"I have, as you well know, uniformly disclaimed the false and unprincipled proposition that the people's right to 'representation' was co-extensive with direct taxation. In order to prove its incorrectness, suppose that some Chancellor of the Exchequer were to contrive to raise the whole revenue at any time by means of indirect taxation, would that in any degree invalidate the sacred right of the people to be represented?

"It is taxation which is founded on representation, but not representation that is founded on taxation of any kind.

"I will not allow my name to be made use of*. I have correct principles which will never change. But as I have already told you, I have too indifferent an opinion of men, to consent to form an union with any men, for any purpose, good, bad or indifferent.

"I stand alone, and shall probably continue to do so: but if it shall please my God that I shall yet live but a short time longer, I trust that I shall leave to my fellow-men a rich legacy of utility.

"I am, dear Sir, &c.

"STANHOPE."

* That is, with a reference to the societies above-named.

During the year 1812 Major Cartwright experienced what was to him a very serious loss, that of eight hundred copies of his Ægis, and though, of all men, the least inclined by nature to suspicion, he could not divest himself of an idea that the loss of the work was to be attributed to the obnoxious opinions it contained.

The facts were briefly these:—On applying to his publisher, Mr. Johnson, of St. Paul's Church Yard, for some copies of the Ægis, that gentleman sent for them to the premises of the printers, Messrs. Mercier and Co., where, for convenience, they had been deposited. To his surprise, however, not a copy could be found or afterwards recovered, and no satisfactory reason was ever given for their disappearance.

Though avowedly the property of the author, who was not in the smallest degree indebted to Messrs. Mercier and Co., they had, as it appeared, been seized during their bankruptcy, nor could a single copy be afterwards recovered, though, with his usual indefatigable research, he endeavoured to trace the hands into which they had fallen.

It is but proper to remark, that he never imputed the slightest blame on this occasion either to the publisher or printers, but attributed his misfortune to some unknown and invisible agent, who took advantage of the bankruptcy, and whose mysterious proceedings baffled all his endeavours to make them the subject of legal investigation.

It was in vain that several of Major Cartwright's

friends endeavoured to discourage him from attempting another political tour early in the year 1813. Some thought the country in a state of too much excitation, others prophesied disappointment from the effects of apathy and indifference, while many urged that he would subject himself to ridicule and contempt; but equally unmoved by the different arguments with which he was assailed, he set forward on the 17th of January, and completed his journey on the 15th of February.

Speaking of his proposal that others should follow his example in this respect, "I do not", says he, "feel the force of Sir John's objection to travelling about. English gentlemen are perpetually travelling. In the thing itself, there is nothing extraordinary. Some go to see lakes and mountains. Were it not as allowable to travel for seeing the actual condition of a starving people? Some make journeys to examine the ruins of abbeys and castles, that they may publish drawings and dissertations. Would it not be as laudable to visit the ruins of the constitution, of national prosperity and happiness, that by the very act they may do much towards repairing that constitution, and recovering that prosperity and happiness?

"I should never have thought of suggesting to 'low men', to men of neither 'consideration' nor 'character', a tour of this kind. Is it wrong, then, that those who are alone calculated to do any good, should consent to it? What is the simple case? In a limited tour I discover in the mass of the

middle and working classes, a very general sense of wrong and misery, and a very general disposition to petition for a reform of that house, the corruption of which was generally supposed to be the cause; but diffident of their knowledge and of the best mode of applying for redress or the best form of a petition.

"The most zealous and active applied to me for advice and assistance; I mean among the higher classes of that description of persons.

"Are our 'persons of consideration' afraid of being sneered at, as '*itinerant apostles*'? * If they cannot stand such a sneer, if they shall not indignantly set such trash at defiance, what good can they ever do?

"Being myself, I trust, not without a due sense of the dignity becoming a gentleman, I am not aware how that dignity would be lessened by acting the part I suggest to others. I have already acted it, and if I am to judge from the deference and affection it everywhere obtained me, it may be inferred that, with respect to others, a like cause would produce a like effect, but augmented in proportion to higher rank and greater wealth. All that in my case, even the Editor of the Morning Post, as I understood, could find to say was, that a 'travelling reformist' was a new thing."

As in this letter Major Cartwright does justice

* An epithet applied to Major Cartwright himself.

to the much calumniated lower classes of the community, there is a heart-felt pleasure in adding a testimony in their favour, which many years' experience has enabled the writer to give. So far from presuming on her uncle's frankness of communication, or the kindness of his address, the greatest deference and respect were observable in whatever intercourse took place between them on the subject of politics. Whatever might be the feelings towards him of those in his own rank in life, the heart of the labourer and mechanic warmed towards the venerable champion of the people; in all his tours, they vied with each other in proofs of respectful attachment, and even now when his benevolent hand is cold in the grave, the contributions of many persons of very scanty means to the erection of a public monument to his memory, evince that they are not insensible to his merit, either as a public or a private character.

During a journey of only twenty-nine days, the 'travelling reformist' visited Lutterworth, Hinckley, Leicester, Loughborough, Chesterfield, Sheffield, Huddersfield, Wakefield, Leeds, Preston, Wigan, Liverpool, Bolton, Manchester, Lees, Stockport, Newcastle, Birmingham, Worcester, Tewkesbury, Gloucester, Stroud, Bath, Shepton-Mallet, Bridgewater, Taunton, Wellington, Bristol, Calne, Marlborough, Newbury, Hungerford, Abingdon, and Reading.

The only unpleasant occurrence which took place was, on the 21st of January, at Huddersfield,

when a small number of persons, most of them working mechanics, to whom he was an entire stranger, wishing to pay their respects to the 'father of reform', waited on him at his inn, and they remained with him till about nine o'clock in the evening. Just as they were about to withdraw, they were suddenly interrupted by the appearance of an officer belonging to the Scotch Grays (afterwards made a baronet), who entered, attended with several constables, in order to execute a warrant against Major Cartwright, and to examine his papers.

The business not being conducted in a very polite or gentlemanly manner, and above all conceiving the warrant to be illegal, the spirit of the old reformer was roused, and he sturdily refused to permit his papers to be searched, which occasioned a long and tedious discussion. One of the party, however, whose behaviour was a contrast to the rest, having requested him to acquiesce in the search, as a favour to himself, and as likely to prevent an unpleasant termination of the scene, he consented; and a constable being left for the purpose of accompanying this state criminal, the next morning, before a magistrate, he was allowed to retire to rest about half past three in the morning; a most unseasonable hour for one who seldom sat up later than ten at night.

The next morning, accompanied by constables, and escorted by a crowd of persons on foot, he went in his carriage to a magistrate who resided at some distance from the town, who, after examining

the papers found in his possession, which consisted only of various drafts of petitions to Parliament, with much politeness dismissed the complaint, and allowed him to pursue his journey.

Of this ebullition of ultra-loyalty he thus speaks, in a letter to Mrs. Cartwright, dated January 22:

"Last night I was annoyed by a very rude interference of civil and military professors of loyalty, and required to appear before a magistrate, and after admitting that petitions to the House of Commons were found in my possession, dismissed. Whether this circumstance is more likely to advance or to retard my progress, I cannot at present judge.—The northern air agrees with me remarkably well."

"Bradford, January 25.

"I have ordered a Wakefield paper to be sent you on Friday next, in which you will see the *true* account of the Huddersfield adventure of your Don Quixote. I got here last night, having been detained at Leeds, where I trust I have, in the mercantile phrase, done the needful. Apparently my tour will work much greater effects in the way of petitioning than I anticipated. If you and our Fanny have improved in health as much as I have done, you will be very blooming. God bless you all."

"Newcastle, February 2, 1813.

"I continue well—with regard to my adven-

ture, do not trouble yourself with any unpleasant fancies. I believe it is working silently but well, and that nothing but good can come of it. When in Lancashire, and the borders of Yorkshire, I had been promised forty petitions; sixty have been already signed, and forms for forty more sent for."

"TO MR. ———, MERCHANT AT GLASGOW.

"3d February. In my chaise near Stone.

"DEAR SIR.

"By a Leeds newspaper I have ordered you, you will see I have had the same treatment as my friends at Glasgow. It has served but as a stimulus to my exertions. The tour I am upon has been more successful by far than I had hoped. The petitions will be very numerous. I trust in God, and in the spirit of the men of Glasgow, they will send us twenty thousand signatures at least.

"Yours truly,

"J. CARTWRIGHT."

"TO MRS. CARTWRIGHT.

"Gloucester, February 7, 1813.

"In this city I received a plaster for the scratch given at Huddersfield. Arriving soon after seven, my arrival came to the ears of Sir William Guise, and of the chairman of a large company met to celebrate the triumph of the independence of their county, in the election of Sir William.—I had an invitation to join the party, and received as cordial a greeting as ever I experienced; my health was drunk with full honours, and so forth. An invita-

tion of this sort I should have declined, but found it was the wish of some of the Gloucester gentlemen with whom I was desirous of communicating. My ardent wishes attend the dear trio at home, where I hope to be on the 14th."

"Bristol, February 12.

"I find myself somewhat fatigued, as yesterday I was in the carriage at half past six, went from Taunton to Wellington and back, then proceeded hither, and having work to do at both places, did not arrive till twelve at night.

"This evening, at seven, I am to have a party of ten or a dozen, among whom I trust I shall accomplish what I came for.—I have visited Mr. Maurice, and had I been the nearest and dearest relation of the family, I could not have been received with more affectionate kindness by a circle of daughters, nieces, and two other young ladies, as well as by Mrs. Maurice."

After his return, he addressed a circular letter to all those gentlemen who had contributed to the expense of the tour, in which after rendering an account of disbursements, &c. he says—

"Prior to this tour, only two petitions, namely one from Manchester, and one from Halifax, had an existence; and through terror of persecution, a large proportion of the names to the former had

been torn off again; wherefore it is probable, that had not this tour taken place, both those petitions would have died still-born, and none else have appeared.

"The existing petitions may therefore be fairly attributed to the tour having been undertaken. Of these, four hundred and thirty have been consigned to the care of the writer.

"They are, unquestionably, a true expression of real feeling; for the tourist had no means of influence, except truth and reasoning; and these he could personally address only to a very few persons at each place he visited; for in twenty-nine days he travelled nine hundred miles."

On Major Cartwright's return to town, he used every possible endeavour to obtain a copy of the warrant which was served on him at Huddersfield, but without effect. On application being made to the office of the magistrate's clerk, of Huddersfield, he was informed, that this warrant had been sent, with other papers, to Government. By the Under Secretary of State, however, he was assured that no such paper was deposited in his office, but had been returned to Huddersfield; but on Major Cartwright's second application to that place through a friend, the person applied to declined to answer any farther questions.

These circumstances were stated in a petition relative to this and other transactions of the same

nature, which was presented to the House of Lords on the 1st of June, 1813, by the late Lord Byron, who, in speaking of the petitioner, said,

"He is a man, my Lords, whose long life has been spent in one unceasing struggle for the liberty of the subject, against that undue influence which has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished; and whatever difference of opinion may exist as to his political tenets, few will be found to question the integrity of his intentions.

"Even now, oppressed with years, and not exempt from the infirmities attendant on his age, but still unimpaired in talent, and unshaken in spirit, 'frangas, non flectes,' he has received many a wound in the combat against corruption; and the new grievance, the fresh insult, of which he complains, may inflict another scar, but no dishonour. The petition is signed by John Cartwright; and it was in behalf of the people and Parliament, in the lawful pursuit of that reform in the representation, which is the best service to be rendered both to Parliament and people, that he encountered the wanton outrage which forms the subject-matter of his petition to your Lordships. It is couched in firm, yet respectful, language—in the language of a man not regardless of what is due to himself; but, at the same time, I trust, equally mindful of the deference to be paid to this House. The petitioner states, among other matter of equal,

if not greater importance, to all who are British in their feelings, as well as blood and birth, that, on the 21st of January, 1813, at Huddersfield, himself and six other persons who, on hearing of his arrival, had waited on him merely as a testimony of respect, were seized by a military and civil force, and kept in close custody for several hours, subjected to gross and abusive insinuation from the commanding officer, relative to the character of the petitioner; that he (the petitioner) was finally carried before a magistrate, and not released till an examination of his papers proved that there was not only no just, but not even statutable, charge against him: and that, notwithstanding the promise and order from the presiding magistrates of a copy of the warrant against your petitioner, it was afterwards withheld, on divers pretexts, and has never until this hour been granted. The names and conditions of the parties will be found in the petition. To the other topics touched upon in the petition, I shall not now advert, from a wish not to encroach upon the time of the House; but I do most sincerely call the attention of your Lordships to its general contents. It is in the cause of the Parliament and people, that the rights of this venerable free man have been violated; and it is, in my opinion, the highest mark of respect that could be paid to the House, that, to your justice, rather than by appeal to any inferior court, he now commits himself."

The petition was ordered to lie on the table. The insult complained of by the petitioner in his own person, occupies but a very small part of its contents; it being intended chiefly as an exposition of various instances of obstruction to the right of petitioning, and of persecution towards those engaged in the exercise of that right.

It states that, at Bolton, a whole sheet of a petition was seized and never restored, while the person, at whose house it was found, was seized and put in prison; from whence he was liberated without trial: and it instances other occurrences of a like nature at Rochdale, at Manchester, at Salford, and at Glasgow.

The petition then details the circumstances attending the prosecution of the thirty-seven persons already alluded to, and concludes in this manner; "that when petitioning, although a right held justly sacred for its inestimable benefits, that, in particular, for giving stability to a state, in affording a peaceful vent to discontents, and tranquillizing the agitated mind of a suffering people by the soothing influence of hope, is treated by narrow-minded magistrates as a sort of treason—where petitioners, by such magistrates and their subordinates, are purposely stigmatized, and classed with the worst of criminals, pursued by violent strainings of the law, and even persecuted by courses wholly illegal—and when such a system, upheld by the employment of hired spies, notoriously active in tempting the ignorant into crimes,

has become manifest to the reproach of our nation, and to the terror of all who are faithful to the freedom and constitution of their country—your petitioner trusts he shall stand excused for having attempted to draw the attention of your honourable House to a system so portentous of the direst calamities that can befal a state."

"TO SAMUEL WHITBREAD, ESQ.

"20th May, 1813.

"DEAR SIR,

"Your hesitation on the subject of presenting to the House of Commons my Petition, seems to call upon me for a justification of its being presented.

"You expressed it as your opinion that the cause to which it attempts to call the attention of the house would make no impression on those to whom it is addressed; and if I rightly understood the extent of the application, your opinion of that assembly should seem to be more disadvantageous than my own, unfavourable as that may be supposed to be.

"With regard to a very great majority of the House, I must necessarily think them utterly insensible to the oppressions the petition notices; and indeed implicated in those oppressions; but still I was persuaded there were several who would have gladly embraced an opportunity of indicating their characters to the nation, by indignantly reprobating those tyrannical proceedings for their

inequity and insolence; and who also condemned them as a policy the reverse of wisdom.

"On this ground I was led to hope an animated debate might have been raised; a debate more useful than any on affairs in Germany, Spain or America; a debate on the eve of presenting some hundreds of petitions for restoring to us the Constitution of England, that would have at once furnished the public with a new argument of the greatest force in support of that restoration, and a debate which would have persuaded us that radical reform had friends within that House entitled to approbation and confidence.

"This view of things will I trust vindicate me, singular as may appear the line of conduct I have on this occasion adopted.

"In all other respects I have done, and continue doing, what my private means enable me to do, for advancing that political cause to which, in my humble judgment, all political efforts either of private or public men, ought pre-eminently to tend: in as far as this cause is on any occasion lost sight of or postponed, so far the politician appears to me to wander out of his right road, or to forget the true end and object of his journey; and of course to waste his time and employ his exertions unprofitably.

"Nor, Sir, do I conceive my conclusions to arise from a mode of thinking, into which I was originally led either by connection or party, by juvenile fancy or accident, and to which I have

been confined by mere mechanical habit; but to have originated in the force of self-evident truths, to have grown up with experience, and to have resulted from unbiassed enquiries into the principles of the science of civil government, as well as to have been rivetted in my mind by a sense of moral and religious obligation; for in my view of those conclusions, they are inseparable from my notions of the duty of an honest man towards God or his neighbour.

"Thus thinking, I hold it to be right to adhere to my Petition. Should it cause such a debate as undoubtedly might be built on it, it is my conviction, that at the present moment when political opinion is undergoing a change, the most extensive good would result; and that, even without the aid I wish, the petition itself will have a beneficial effect on the public mind.

"On the inferior matter of printing I trust my letter to the Speaker is unanswerable. It surely is unfit that the nation should experience any unnecessary shackle on its right of petitioning.

"Besides, if printing were disallowed, a large proportion of some hundreds of petitions now in my hands must be sent back for alteration.

"I have the honour to remain,

"Dear Sir,

"Very truly yours,

"J. CARTWRIGHT."

"TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD STANLEY.

"15th May, 1813.

"MY LORD,

"In consequence of communications from Preston, I had intended to have waited on your Lordship, but am prevented by indisposition.

"I understand that letters have passed between your Lordship and Mr. John Eamer of that place, touching the petitions from thence for an amendment in the representation of the people in Parliament.

"It has been the wish, I find, of those who have subscribed the petitions, that they should be presented to the House of Commons by your Lordship in preference; provided they would have the benefit of your support in the prayer of them; and those petitions having been confided to my care, I am instructed to consult your Lordship on that head.

"I having, my Lord, recently learned that you are ready to present the petitions, but at the same time very properly require to know their contents before you can say they will have your support, I have now the honour to address to you a circular, to which is subjoined a correct copy of the Preston petitions, which are ten in number, signed by 2503 persons.

"These petitions, embracing the most important of all earthly objects, human liberty, sole parent of national prosperity and happiness, your Lordship will perhaps pardon the anxiety which farther

induces me to submit to you another paper which also had been made circular, prior to the one I have already mentioned.

"These papers have been written with a hope, not only of exciting attention to the subject of them, but likewise of removing what have appeared to the writer great prejudices and fundamental errors touching the means of attaining the object in view. The reader of those papers will decide on the correctness or incorrectness of the reasoning they contain.

"It is, however, no slight satisfaction to the writer, to have learned that in respect of the three propositions in which the prayer of those subjects is couched, there has been hitherto among all who have petitioned a perfect unanimity, although they have been somewhat numerous.

"The writer has at this time in his house 292 petitions, signed by about 199,000 persons; and there are about twenty towns whose petitions are either not yet arrived, or have been committed to other hands; besides that from additional towns, petitions are expected. A beginning this, which argues, I trust, an early declaration of public opinion not to be resisted.

"In speaking of unanimity, the writer confines himself to the prayer of the petitions; since in some instances (not indeed many) there is a variance in the recitals, and in the statement of public grievances; a variance, however, not of importance, nor in the slightest degree discordant

from those which are given in the petitions from Preston.

" This unanimity in the prayer can alone, as it should seem, be attributed to the simplicity and to the unanswerableness of the three concise propositions in which that prayer is expressed. And herein the reasoning of the first of the accompanying circulars is remarkably confirmed; for it cannot escape your Lordship's observation, that this prayer, which has been adopted with such extraordinary unanimity, had not in its favour any of those auspices which so frequently influence public opinion.

" It went forth unpatronized by the great, the potent, or the wealthy. It had no other recommendation than its own intrinsic truth, and manifest sufficiency for political salvation. This appeal to the understandings and the hearts of Englishmen has been found irresistible.

" And besides this auspicious unanimity in the petitioners themselves, not a single counter-petitioning voice has been raised. Here again is seen the expediency, as well as the rectitude, of a strict adherence to constitutional truth; which none can gainsay without exposing their ignorance, or something still less creditable.

" Should I learn from your Lordship that in addition to presenting the Preston petition, the prayer of them will have your support, they shall be delivered over to you: but I shall then have to request, that in respect to the time of presenting,

you would have the goodness to co-operate with our other friends in the House, as circumstances which are of themselves slight, have, when judiciously combined, some effect on public opinion.

"In a few days I expect a petition will be presented to the House for drawing its attention to a species of persecution and illegality which, once truly understood, cannot fail to call forth the indignant reprobation of every English gentleman who respects the liberty and constitution of his country.

"As the county which your Lordship represents is implicated, I shall not fail, at the proper time, to furnish you with a copy of the said petition, in the hope that some serious notice may be taken of the evil it complains of.

"I have the honour to subscribe myself," &c.

"TO LORD STANLEY.

"21st June, 1813.

"MY LORD,

"By this post I have the honour to transmit you a copy of my petition to both houses of Parliament, which was mentioned to you in my letter of the 15th ultimo.

"By the Lords it was rejected on reasons wholly foreign to the nature of the application; and in the Commons it was in my judgment very improperly withdrawn, merely on the suggestion of the Speaker, that being printed it was not consistent with the practice of the House to receive it; which I hold to have been unfounded.

"Be such matters however in the view of the two Houses as they may, the statements I must still believe ought to attract the attention of both, as well as of every Englishman individually, particularly the noblemen and gentlemen of Lancashire, where I have by letter been very recently informed 'Orange Lodges have long existed,' although in the London newspapers 'the existence of such lodges' has been spoken of 'as a perfectly new and unheard-of atrocity.'

"In the letter with which your Lordship honoured me, on the 5th of this instant, you express surprise that mine of the 15th ultimo should have been written to you, after a correspondence with the town of Preston, from which you should imagine I must have learned that you 'had already declined to present the Preston petitions upon several grounds.'

"Your Lordship may be assured that I did not know of any such determination, or certainly the application I made to you would have been indecorous.

"The fact, my Lord, is, that finding the petitioners had no hope of support to their petition from the immediate members for their town, and having been induced to turn their eyes to one from whom they had no doubt of support, it was my own suggestion so early as the 29th of March, that they should put their petition into your Lordship's hands, provided you would support it.

"You will perceive, my Lord, by the advice I

had given, that when I found the members returned for their own town were not, in their opinion, likely to be representatives of their opinions and wishes on a question vital to their liberty, I had recommended them to turn their thoughts to a third person—to your Lordship—from whom they might entertain better hopes; and reflection does not apprise me that in so doing I acted improperly.

"The advice I gave stands on this foundation, that the office of a representative is, to do in the legislature for his constituents that which they, if present, and acting wisely, would do for themselves. Hence, my Lord, in the present decayed condition of our representative system, the least which, in common prudence, the aggrieved people, while attempting an amendment of that system according to the constitution, can do, is to put their petitions into the hands of those, and of those only, who agree with them in their ideas, and will support their exertions on points vital to their rights and liberties.

"Your Lordship confirms to me the opinion I had previously entertained, and which was the ground of the advice I gave, that you are a decided and hearty friend of parliamentary reform; but you call for 'a feasible and advantageous plan' before you give 'your support further than in the abstract.'

"With much submission, my Lord, the Preston petitioners requested no more than your support

of the constitutional principles of representation in the 'abstract', for they proposed no 'plan'. The three propositions containing their prayer are mere *principles* as concise and abstract as perhaps can be stated; and I imagine it does not belong to the people to load their petitions with the details of any 'plan' for giving those principles effect—that is the office of Parliament. The question of support, or the contrary, of *principles*, should seem to depend simply on the truth, or the contrary of the propositions on which those principles are stated. I am not aware that the truth of the three propositions in the prayer of the Preston petitions have as yet been or can be denied.

"On the declaration, my Lord, of your hearty friendliness to reform, I am encouraged to lay before your Lordship the enclosed; and as the subject is that which ought to be the nearest of any to an Englishman's heart, if your Lordship shall detect any error in the reasoning of it, I should consider myself as under a real obligation if you would have the goodness to point it out.

"I have the honor to be, my Lord,

"Your Lordship's obedient humble Servant,

"J. CARTWRIGHT."*

* "Lord Stanley refusing to receive J. Cartwright's letter, together with a copy of his petition to both Houses of Parliament against the persecutions of the reformers; they were returned by the two-penny post on the 23d."—Memorandum found among Major Cartwright's papers.

The same willingness to listen to the opinions of others is expressed in a letter addressed to Lord Holland, March 1, 1818, in which he says, "On my part, I am truly desirous of correcting any of my own errors which your Lordship, or any other person, will have the goodness distinctly to specify.

"Personal interest is not more than true patriotism will always sacrifice to the public good; but shocking indeed would it be were not pride, prejudice, and untenable opinions, most readily made a burnt-offering on its altar."

"TO SEÑOR ARGUELLES.

"July 23, 1813.

"SIR,

"I had the honour of receiving your obliging letter of the 16th May, 1812, for which I beg you to accept my sincere thanks.

"I am well aware of the extreme difficulties under which your nation has had to struggle in her noble effort for driving out of her territory the most wicked of invaders; and when I begged your acceptance of 'An Essay on the Policy of dissolving a Connection between a Mother Country and her Colonies', written many years ago, I merely thought it might suggest matter of useful reflection, at a period when it seemed probable that the sovereignty of Spain over her trans-atlantic possessions, could not, in the nature of things, long continue.

"With regard to Spain herself, I confess, Sir,

that for some time past my hopes of her recovering freedom have been at a very low ebb. But events seem now providentially to open a more cheering prospect. I allude to the destruction of the immense French army which invaded Russia, to the consequent inability of France to pour into Spain at her pleasure, and to any amount, new bodies of troops, and to the happy consequences of the battle of Vittoria.

" Looking now with a lively hope to a complete expulsion of your enemy, I anticipate at the same time the exquisite gratification of seeing the new Spanish Constitution every where completely understood and acted upon throughout your territory. I hope it will be read once in every three or six months in the churches, and copies of it left with proper persons in every parish for constant reference.

" By the tract I have the honour to send you, it will be seen in what a narrow compass lies the preservation of liberty when once in a nation's possession. The whole secret consists in the Laws being *made* and *administered* by the PEOPLE, and an armed organization, not dependent on either a chief magistrate or a legislature, but founded on the rights of nature declared in a sacred constitution.

" But Sir, you know these truths as well as I do. It is, however, always gratifying to the friends of human liberty, when those of other countries en-

tertain similar sentiments with themselves, and the more these subjects are discussed, the clearer becomes the light in which they are seen.

"To the first copy of the above-mentioned tracts, sent in haste to be forwarded to Mr. Fallon for you, I now beg leave to add two more*. If you can make use of them in any way beneficial to the cause of Spain it will afford me the greatest satisfaction.

"Our newspapers told of Spanish forces penetrating into France. I sincerely hope that none of the energies of your nation will be wasted on expeditions of that character, except of a momentary nature, and to effect some occasional service, as the destruction of a depôt or some such object.

"No: once freed from the curse of invaders, meditating your subjugation, exert your wisdom and all your strength in securing the Pyrennean passes; in teaching your people your constitution, and in organizing them as an armed nation, on the same principles as laid down in 'England's Ægis', which I think is in your possession.

"To these ends a very scanty revenue is sufficient. Implant in the hearts of all Spaniards a devotion to liberty, and arm them to defend it. No invaders can annoy such a nation.

"I am, &c.

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

* One of these was a tract by Sir W. Jones.

"TO T. NORTHMORE, ESQ.

"2nd of October, 1813.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I pray you to recollect that the Hampden meets on the first Saturday of the assembly of Parliament, when matters of first-rate importance will require the attendance of those who rightly understand and truly estimate what such a society, conducted with wisdom, may effect.

"As the meeting will be this day five weeks, 6th of November, I anxiously hope you will be present.

"You will see by the Morning Chronicle of Thursday that Philo-Selden is not idle. I hope that he may contribute to chase from the atmosphere of England the foul and despicable fiend, despondence. The deliverance of Spain would, I trust, awaken the patriot sluggards of England. And is not all Spanish America, the slaves of slaves, once more rising to freedom and the dignity of man! These then surely are days auspicious to reform!

"Bring us from the north, where you have had the air gently agitated with a political breeze, a good band of volunteers for the Hampden. What think you of the suggestion thrown out by Philo-Selden, of making your child a fashionable young gentleman?

"The society for employing the press creeps on. At our meeting I hope it will find encouragement. Without it, whether the club be numerous or other-

wise, we must creep with the tortoise; whereas with it, we may fly with the eagle.

"If in our society we drop the character of constitutional instructors for that of purblind men stickling for a plan full of imperfection, from that moment we forfeit our pretensions to public confidence, and must inevitably lose it. It is for the *people* to petition for the rights of their country—for the Parliament to adopt the detail, that is, the plan for securing these rights. Our three propositions are a foundation of adamant. Let us labour for a parliamentary vote declaratory of those three propositions. Any blockhead can then furnish the detail that is to constitute the plan.

"Here is a plain answer to those superficial men who are the dupes of the crafty, by calling for a plan by way of shewing what we mean; we mean that our country shall have representation, co-extensive with direct taxation—that this being a common right be fairly distributed; and that parliaments shall not have continuance beyond one year, which we demonstrate to be incompatible with freedom and our constitution.

"Can our reasoning be made clearer? No: but if we go into the detail of regulation, we split on a sunken rock. Our meaning stands on three unanswerable propositions; but no human sagacity can make every detail of complex regulations unanswerable. Here we, the reformists ourselves, will have different notions of what is best. The adversary then cries, until the reformists are agreed

themselves, let us postpone reform! It will be a fatal error to give this advantage against us. Excuse great haste. My respects and best wishes wait on Mrs. Northmore."

To bestow on his extensive private concerns the requisite attention, had long been, to Major Cartwright's mind, an almost insupportable burthen. He was, therefore, anxious to part with his estate in Lincolnshire; and having, in October, 1813, accomplished that object, he thus expresses his satisfaction in a letter to Mrs. Cartwright:

"MY DEAREST AND BEST FRIEND,

"The storm is at length over, and the haven reached; if not the haven of luxury, it will, I trust, be that of repose: there will be less for those I love than I reckoned on three months ago; but Heaven's will be done!

"With regard to the servant you mentioned, it is a satisfaction to me to be surrounded by those whose parents have been under our patronage, and amongst whom we have so good a chance of fidelity and attachment.

"To live to no end is a melancholy thing; and happiness, making some allowance for the constitutional frame of different minds, should seem to be in proportion to the end proposed. Unless we adopt the plan we talked of, I must give up my present situation, and abandon what constitutes the prime happiness of my life, that of promoting

what, in my view of it, is an object so truly important."

The anxiety which Major Cartwright felt, that the Hampden Club should distinguish itself by its patriotism, cannot be better shewn than by the following letters to its founder:

"20th April, 1814.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Having laid the fair copy of the proposed petition before me, for considering how much of it could be dispensed with for the sake of condensation, nearly twenty of its clauses were struck out; so that, for the kind of thing it is intended for, namely, a petition for placing the Hampden Club in the van of the hundred and forty thousand petitioners for radical reform, and in a style for shewing they are worthy of that station, and may in future be looked up to with that confidence in their knowledge and integrity which has been withdrawn from all other public men, it may not now, I trust, be thought too long.

"Did it become them to be followers instead of leaders, it might be very concise; but this surely would not be sound policy, either for their own reputation, or with a view to the success of the cause in which they have embarked; to which success, their reputation is of the utmost consequence.

"But without an efficient committee being established for constant vigilance and activity, it were

in vain—a mere idle dream—to hope for success; which can only, by any possibility, be brought about by an unceasing effort, like that of the slave-trade committee, for awakening public attention, and keeping it steadily fixed on its object.

"No sympathy, no animation, no enthusiasm in the cause can arise in the nation at large, unless they see at their head a body of honest and intelligent men, ever at their post, ever attentive to favourable circumstances, with whom they can sympathize, and on whom they can depend for promoting the like in all parts of the kingdom.

"In short the club must be a heart, and the committee a brain for giving life and conduct to that body which is to be benefited by reform; but which body without a heart and a brain, must continue a mere inanimate carcase; or at best a mere suffering mass, without the ability of obtaining relief.

"In my own judgment such a club, considering the principles laid down by themselves as the standards of right conduct, might safely depend on an annual committee in the intervals between general meetings, adhering inflexibly to those principles, and on their being very careful to attend in their own conduct, to the honour and reputation of the club.

"For doing therefore substantial good, I see no medium between a liberal confidence in their committee, and much more frequent meetings of the general body.

"If not engaged, perhaps Mrs. Northmore and yourself could take your tea in James-street on Friday: we could then talk these matters over.

"Yours, my dear Sir, very truly,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

"If the little prattlers could accompany you, it would be a great treat. Could they not be sent home at their proper bed-time? They could have here such supper as they are accustomed to; we have a dairy close at hand, and any thing should be provided which a dairy may not afford."

"TO THOMAS NORTHMORE, ESQ.

"MY DEAR SIR, "17th May, 1814.

"The draft of the petition came last night. I have desired a corrected proof to be sent you before working off, that when returned with your farther corrections, if you should detect any thing which has escaped my eye, two copies may be transmitted to you, and two to myself.

"I will see you on Thursday, and will then submit to you what occurs to me.

"Circumstanced as we find ourselves, with the innocence of the dove we must unite the wisdom of the serpent, or we shall become the dupes of magpies.

"We have a strait, a manly, and an honourable course to steer, and I am sure you and I shall never consent to steer any other.

"Yours truly,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

In this month (May) a meeting was held in Palace Yard, to congratulate the Prince Regent on the cessation of hostilities with foreign powers. The address was moved by Mr. P. Walker, and seconded by Major Cartwright.

It being expected that a vacancy would take place in the representation for Westminster, in consequence of the trial of Lord Cochrane, Mr. Peter Walker addressed a letter to his venerable friend on the 3d June, 1814, requesting to know whether in case of such vacancy he felt inclined to offer himself as a candidate, and whether his health would allow of his undertaking so laborious an office.

To this letter, he on the 10th of June returned an answer, from which the following passages are extracted:

"James-street, Westminster.

"The very unfortunate issue of a certain trial now enables me explicitly to answer the kind letter you wrote me from Sussex on the 3d of this instant.

"Should a vacancy for our city be a consequence of the said trial, and should in that case my fellow-citizens think fit to constitute me their parliamentary attorney, my services would certainly be at their command.

"It were a call which, according to my notions of public duty, ought not to be disobeyed by any

one, unless for reasons of the gravest nature and greatest weight. From me an excuse would come with an ill grace; seeing that for eight-and-thirty years I have taken a prominent part in the controversy on reform, as well as in the practical exertions for its accomplishment; that is, in the endeavour to recover the proper liberties of England; nor ever with more earnestness than during the last six years down to the present moment.

"In having manifestations before our eyes that exertions for liberty are not barren toils, there is a source of animation sufficient to make old men feel young, and to repay with the richest returns labours the most arduous. You ask me if the cause of reform would by my being in Parliament be materially assisted? On that point others are more properly judges than myself, but this perhaps without impropriety I may say, that if success were to depend on speeches made within the walls of the House of Commons, it were much to be doubted whether the sending there a Cicero or a Demosthenes would much avail.

"Being of opinion that in the present state of things there are different subscriptions or pledges which may be of use; I have a pledge to give which I request you to record. According to all I ever thought or wrote on the duration of representative power, it ought to be as short as possible. It cannot exceed one year without a gross violation of public liberty, without a stab in the vitals of the

constitution. Once brought back to this wholesome limitation, it were probable that neither provocation nor prudence would ever in any individual case suggest a desire of shortening that period.

"But thinking the power of an attorney ought on all cases to depend on the will of his employer, and to be revocable at his pleasure, I should, therefore, in the event of becoming a parliamentary attorney, hold myself bound not to avail myself of any statute against my constituents, but to surrender my power at any moment which might be agreeable to them.

"And further, should a decline of health disable me from performing my duty, I should solicit a general meeting for receiving back the honourable trust, that it might be placed in hands better able to answer the just expectations of the electors.

"To your query, as to 'my choosing to be a candidate', I would say, that with regard to myself, it is perhaps a constitutional enthusiasm more than a correct estimate of my own powers, that I am ready if called on to undertake a laborious office. This I hold to be a very distinct thing from being a soliciting candidate for the highest of all trusts. To whom that trust in Westminster shall be confided, the independent electors, regardless of all soliciting parties, will, I am sure, for themselves determine; and my sole wish is, that in so

doing they may be governed by a sincere desire of doing that which shall be most for the good of their country.

Lord Cochrane, however, again appeared as a candidate, and Major Cartwright heartily united with his other friends in supporting his election.

"Very different would be my feelings", says he*, "on this occasion, if, at the close of forty years' faithful service, and immediately after having stood in the gap against the treachery of an unprincipled intrigue, I were to be unceremoniously dropped and cast off as a worn-out garment to clear the way for some reformist whose patriotism, like some gay flower, expands only in the sunshine, and is shrivelled up at night, or in apprehension of a storm.

"Possibly I may be an enthusiast worthy of no sober regard, but being what I am, and identified as I am in the cause of reform, I cannot divest myself of a persuasion that the return of one so peculiarly circumstanced might have been useful to the spirit of the nation.

"My personal friends think that at 74 years of age, to encounter the consequences of a return, might be at the hazard of life; but those friends who may wish the span of my existence to be pro-

* These reflections were found in a private memorandum book, and are on that account peculiarly interesting.

longed in ease, may not make the same estimate with me of the value of my life."

When it is recollected that a few years after he was like "a worn-out garment", dropped off by the city of Westminster, these prophetic lines can hardly be read without emotion even by those of different opinions in politics.

In the August of this year he suffered much from indisposition, of which he thus speaks on the 24th of that month.

"TO T. NORTHMORE, ESQ.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"Since you left town I got so near a certain bourn from whence there is no return, that had it not been for the timely hand of Dr. Maton, turning me short round, I should probably have slipped in.

"While doubtful of returning ability for finishing my short series of letters to Clarkson, my anxiety on this point gave me as much regret as almost any thing of which at the time I was sensible. It was the *present* object.

"My grand hope was that these letters might strike some real patriotism from the hearts of our opposition politicians, so that the thoughts of a departure without accomplishing that object, and thereby bringing my labours to a beneficial finish, was a cause of serious grief.

"I may now however hope that God has pro-

longed my span to that end. If this can be effected, your child* may quickly grow to a political Hercules, capable of cleansing a stable more filthy than that which three thousand oxen have been fouling for many years."†

The letters here alluded to, and which were addressed to that excellent man Mr. Clarkson, were published during this year. It is hardly necessary to say, that between these two persevering friends of humanity, there ever subsisted a strong congeniality of feeling and opinion.

His motives for publishing these letters are best given in his own words, addressed

"TO SAMUEL WHITBREAD, ESQ.

"30th August, 1814.

"DEAR SIR,

"I beg leave to submit to you the first letters of a series of eight in number, which I have written to Clarkson, intending that you shall receive the

* The Hampden Club.

† In this letter Major Cartwright informs Mr. Northmore that, in case of his death, the writer of these memoirs was at liberty to make such use of his letters and papers as she might deem beneficial to the public, and he also expresses a hope that Mr. Northmore might be consulted in the selection. When the writer first perused this letter, the manuscript was in a state of forwardness, and the papers already collected; but on its completion, it was subjected to Mr. Northmore's inspection, and to her inexpressible satisfaction received the unqualified sanction of one in whom her venerable uncle had such well founded confidence.

other seven. My objects are two. The first is, to follow up the exertion so nobly commenced on the 17th of June, and so energetically supported by the people, for causing, if possible, to be expunged that shameful article in the treaty of Paris for a revival of the African Slave-trade.

"The second object is, to show the *too great affinity* between that horrid trade and another that is carried on in our own land, of which Englishmen and their most vital interests are the victims, as well as to promote the extinction of this abominable traffic.

"With regard to the former object, the line I have taken, and to which I am not aware of any objection, should seem likely to secure a happy result; provided what I suggest should so far meet with the avowed approbation of yourself and the other leading men in Parliament, as to create an expectation that, in the event of a failure at Vienna, such a measure would be resorted to, and strenuously supported both in and out of Parliament.

"The full persuasion of my own mind is, that if such an avowal be not very publicly and explicitly made, the cause will be betrayed abroad. Having said this, I leave the matter to your consideration.

"To the view taken of my second object, I most anxiously wish for your fullest attention. In reference to my first, you, and the others in my letters who are named, as well as all who joined

you, adopted the only rational line of action; a line of action which I also hold to be self-evident for succeeding in the other second, and still more important object. You and I, Sir, have formerly had on this point some difference of opinion. But in confirmation of my sentiments I am now able to refer you to your own unanswerable language, and perfectly right conduct.

"Considering the progress made, even in the countries of despotism, in the diffusion of political knowledge, England surely is called on to show that she alone, of all European nations, is not growing more ignorant and more slavish!

"Why, in the obviously proper means to be taken, the people of England should not stand forward with as much unanimity in defence of their own freedom as of that of the negroes, I must be slow to believe. It does not accord with my experience, and is contrary to reason.

"In reference to means, I would, Sir, observe to you, that the eloquence of a Wilberforce, a Fox, and the other parliamentary abolitionists would, in my humble judgment, have proved wholly abortive, had not a solid foundation been previously laid, by the labours of a committee of twelve unknown men, who privately met once a week, and who within little more than twelve months had stirred the public mind, and caused a public movement by petitions, having printed and circulated nearly eighty thousand publications great and small.

"Those twelve men, though little known, were

not unaffluent. Their collective income has been estimated at £18,000 per annum. There now exists a society for promoting the second object of my letters to Clarkson, who exceed one hundred in number, and whose collective income is computed at more than £250,000 per annum. With the fact before our eyes of what was done for African freedom by the original agency of the twelve, what may not be effected for English freedom by the agency of the far more numerous and far more wealthy body?

"Your experience will not, Sir, leave it necessary I should state, that although this latter society so far exceeds in strength and opulence the former body, their exertions have not yet been commensurate to their means. But an accession of men, capable of inspiring confidence and exciting to activity and energy, might soon supply all defects. Thus contemplating means, means as obvious as resistless, of complete success in relation to the object alluded to,

"I remain, dear Sir,

"Very truly yours,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

To this letter Mr. Whitbread replied in these terms, on the 4th November, 1814:

"DEAR SIR,

"On my arrival in London I received your letter, for which I am much obliged to you. Your

unabated zeal and persevering industry are worthy of perpetual imitation. You do me honour; and there is no extremity to which I would not have recourse, to abolish the abomination of the Slave-trade; but I much question whether you will find the country generally prepared for the consideration of the other great question. The country never has, and, I fear, never will, express a feeling so general as they have done about the Slave-trade; if they had, Parliament would long since have been reformed; and so I have frequently said. I am fearful of joining any association, lest I should do more harm than good. I apprehend, that a letter or parcel addressed to the Abbé Gregoire, at Paris, would certainly find him.

"I am, with great respect,

"Dear Sir, &c.

"S. WHITBREAD."

In the letters addressed to Mr. Clarkson was developed the plan proposed by Major Cartwright of making the Slave-trade piracy; which has since been adopted by the Government of this country, in a statute enacted the 5th year of George IV. chap. 113. sect. 9.

This plan he also recommended to his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, through Count Lieven, on the 4th of October, 1814.

Never can the writer forget the pleasure she experienced in pointing out to his observation, on the 26th of December, 1823, about nine months

before his lamented death, a passage in the speech of the President of the United States, in which the intention of that Government was announced, of classing the slave-trade under the denomination, and inflicting on its perpetrators the punishment, of piracy; nor the satisfaction which beamed in his benevolent eyes, when, on the 20th of March, 1824, he learned from Mr. Adams Smith, Secretary to the American Minister, that a treaty had been formed between this country and the United States for carrying the measure into effect.

It has been already remarked, that so long as any benefit was gained to the cause of philanthropy, he was indifferent by whose means it was accomplished; nor can his feelings on such subjects be better exemplified than by an expression which he once made use of in speaking of reform, and which was treasured in the memory of one* on whom, though a boy at the time, it made a deep and indelible impression. "He should", he said, "be content to deposit the acorn in the ground, provided posterity might live under the branches of the oak." Though many of his benevolent wishes for the good of mankind remain to be accomplished, yet it is remarkable, that since his decease, circumstances have arisen which would have afforded him sensible gratification, as symptomatic of that increasing liberality of sentiment which promises an increasing amelioration in the condi-

* Mr. G. Fordham, jun.

tion of the human race. One of these improvements, for which the public are indebted to Mr. Peel, will be hereafter noticed, in speaking of Major Cartwright's reiterated and then unregarded protests against the manner of selecting special juries.

"TO THOMAS NORTHMORE, ESQ.

"24th December, 1814.

"DEAR SIR,

"I did imagine you would be impatient for a report of the proceedings of the Hampden Club on the 15th; but as nothing was done, and I was hard at work for a relation, it was not in my power to write. As there were only three gathered together, we had nothing for it but to hope for better things another time, and agreed that the business should stand over to the general meeting in March*.

"As to the cure of corruption, you administer but ill comfort in quoting the fall of Carthage and Tyre, Spain, Italy and Portugal. None of these had such a constitution as England. As the premises are not alike, so, I trust, the consequence with us will not be the same. We have a clear and obvious principle of renovation, of which they were ignorant.

"In Westminster I am likely to have a hard

* Speaking, in another place, of the non-attendance of the Club, he says, "There were often not more than three members; and on 15th March, 1815, no one attended but myself."

battle on the property-tax. I cannot consent to crouch, as a slave, at the feet of usurpers, praying them to lighten my burthen, but without asserting my right to be free.

" You are very kind to remind me of your invitation to Cleve—at present it is not in my power; but I by no means lose sight of so agreeable a prospect.

" At my nephew's, in Kent, I have lately had much enjoyment in one of my favourite professions, that of a landscape gardener. Finding that he wished to make a new approach to his house, I reconnoitred the park and adjoining grounds, where I traced one which seemed to me to contain exquisite beauty, with extreme simplicity and dignity at every step. He fortunately has a large extent of fine woods, with great store of grand oaks, and a noble as well as rich variety of scenery.

" Finding, also, that my nephew had sometimes contemplated the building a new house at his leisure, I brushed up my architectural ideas, and amused myself in designing a house adapted to the situation and the delicious views it affords. Having planned an entire house, from the cellar to the roof, and drawn two elevations for the principal fronts—the style being that of a castle with battlements, and a tower commanding an extraordinary extent and variety of prospect inland and seaward, with the French coast in the horizon—I have had the good fortune to please my nephew,

and, indeed, rather more than myself, for my partialities are towards Grecian architecture.

"As Mrs. Northmore has the goodness to flatter me with her kind attention, I shall be in duty bound to render her every homage and service in the power of a veteran knight. My domestic guardian desires to be included in every sentiment of affection and regard to her and her good man.

"It is in vain to attempt to get speeches fairly given. Mine, on the 16th, was one of my best; but it was not in writing, nor had I afterwards the time to write it.

"I just learn, that we have hopes of things taking a right turn on the 29th. The original requisition, including 'the state of national taxation', I preserved, for guarding against evil. It is now, therefore, the first object of the meeting, as you will see by the Morning Chronicle of yesterday."

This meeting took place on the day expected at Palace Yard, when Major Cartwright, as appears by the newspaper report, expressed himself to the following effect.—

"He apprehended that the cessation of the American war would secure the discontinuance of the war-tax on property, at least at its present amount. It was not, however, the question, as to its amount, or whether the per centage should be increased or diminished, but it was the spirit and character of the imposition which ought chiefly to

attract their consideration. The lion's whelp might be a harmless plaything at first, but if suffered to grow, would finally prove himself to be a lion. The purpose for which they were then assembled was threefold; first, to consider of the general state of the national taxation; secondly, of the property-tax in particular; and, thirdly, with respect to the proceedings which it was incumbent on them to adopt on this occasion. They ought not to confine themselves to the mere condemnation of a tax which violated property, which oppressed industry, which invaded domestic privacy, and which was therefore obviously inconsistent with every principle of English liberty; but they ought to trace this evil to its true source; to show it in its connection with other public grievances, and to call upon the Legislature for that great and ultimate remedy, which could alone ensure them permanent independence and prosperity. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had, in his place in the House of Commons, not long since, broadly intimated his intention of proposing a renewal of this tax. It was not for them, therefore, to criticise any partial defects, or any apparent inequalities, in the principle or operation of such a measure; because the reply of the Chancellor of the Exchequer would certainly be, that he was much obliged to the persons who suggested these objections, he was anxious to supply defects, and to remedy inequalities; and therefore, by removing in some degree their objections, he trusted that he should receive

their unanimous approbation. It was their part to proclaim their hostility to the entire scheme, as subversive of their native and hereditary rights.—No doubt such a situation of things might arise, that burthens, otherwise intolerable, would be borne by a great and free country with patience and alacrity; but a tax which was utterly irreconcileable to the spirit of a free constitution, which was no less severe, and grinding, and oppressive in its administration, than it was inquisitorial in its principle, could be justified in no case, nor under any combination of circumstances. The Chancellor of the Exchequer might, if he pleased, with an insulting sneer, observe, that he feared the gentlemen assembled in the Palace Yard had not sufficiently taken into their deep consideration the whole state of public affairs, the foreign relations, the financial difficulties of the country. Miserable, in his opinion, was the fate of a nation, and cheerless its prospects, when a popular meeting should deem it expedient to penetrate the *arcana* of Government, or to busy itself with any other topic than such as belonged to its province —the assertion of its own unalienable and constitutional rights. These rights they were as capable of understanding and valuing as any lawyer at the bar, or any minister of the Crown. His worthy friend (Mr. Wishart) had truly told them, that two-thirds of every man's income were now absorbed by a variety of taxes, before the property-tax came into application; and that this tax, applying to the no-

minal whole, was, in practical effect, a tax not of ten but of thirty per cent. He certainly was not apprehensive that, after the fortunate conclusion of peace with America, the present tax could be any longer continued; but he had his fears that it might be produced in another shape, or in curtailed proportions. He should not be much surprised to see another property-tax, a young cub, which, as he had before observed, might be perfectly innocent in its infant state; but by the time that its claws and teeth should attain their full power, would have grown up into a formidable and ferocious monster, that might devour them and their children. It was their duty, then, to be vigilant at the outset, to crush the evil in its birth, and to set an example to other meetings, which might secure co-operation in the salutary work. In the year 1793, in a memorable petition, it was brought home to the House of Commons, that they did not represent the sense, nor express the voice of the people; purposes which they were instituted to accomplish, and rights to which the constitution had given every Englishman a claim. What had been the course of public events, and of national suffering, since the House thought proper to disregard this important demonstration?

"The Government of that day had plunged us, under the pretence of a short war, into a contest of twenty years' duration; and for the sake of interfering in the internal regulation of another kingdom, and of extinguishing opinions which

were not acceptable to their taste, had entailed on Great Britain that tremendous load of taxation under which she was now bending. When James II. adopted unconstitutional measures of taxation, the nation, almost with one voice, stood up against him; yet the country did not then owe a single million, and was now indebted in a thousand. He repeated it to them, the country now owed a thousand millions. The condition of France was comparatively happy; she had no such debt; plenty and cultivation reigned over her soil, and the consequence was, that thousands and tens of thousands were repairing to enjoy there what they could not obtain in their native land—an easy and comfortable subsistence. The rich were going to extend their comforts, the poor to acquire the means of living at all. This was the state to which the country was now reduced; and to restore it to a better condition, it was first necessary to restore purity to their representative system; without this, future wars and future taxes were in store. Was it possible for them to forget, that a British minister had once entertained the project of imposing a tax on capital, and that the petition of the Westminster electors against it had at least been serviceable, in saving the country from that infliction? In reference to the general system of taxation, what could be more obnoxious than the measure for redeeming the land-tax? That tax took away one-fifth of the landed property of the country, and had been sold. Four other such operations would

comprehend, and vest in the Crown, the whole landed property in the realm. He had intended to have offered to them several other observations, but the state of the weather, and of his own health, induced him to abstain. He had only to thank them for the patience with which they had already heard him."

In the course of the meeting, he proposed the following resolution:—" That our thanks are eminently due to our representative Sir Francis Burdett, for his dignified assertion, on all occasions, of the rights and liberties of his country; fully assured, that when that country shall generally listen to his patriotic voice, those rights and liberties will be speedily restored."

On the subject of Major Cartwright's public speaking, it may be here remarked, that he never was, nor aimed at being an orator, in the common acceptation of the term. He neither attempted to amuse nor to dazzle. His sole object was, if possible, to convince; and his speeches were consequently more remarkable for sound good sense, expressed, as in the foregoing speech, in clear and correct language, than for the usual characteristics of eloquence.

His style of public speaking was as uncompromising as the tenets he inculcated; full of the subject which engrossed his mind, he was too apt to give his hearers credit for an equal portion of zeal;

and it must be confessed, that he occasionally measured their patience by his own. This circumstance gave occasion to the hireling press, employed by the various political factions of the day, to treat his speeches with contempt, and to misrepresent the impression they made on the public; the fact, however, was, that though he never sought for applause, he generally obtained it; and though he was perhaps not listened to with as much pleasure as some other more brilliant, and more admired speakers, his observations were invariably received with that deference and respect to which his character, and his long study of the science of government, entitled him.

This subject naturally leads to that of his private conversation, which was remarkable for simplicity of diction, and a scrupulous regard to truth. His expressions were generally forcible and pithy, but never exaggerated: all high-flown affectation of sentiment, all extravagance either of mirth or of sorrow, and every unnecessary or insincere compliment, were not only strangers to his tongue, but discordant to his ear, so that he always, but with great gentleness, checked the appearance of unbecoming vehemence, in the manners and discourse of all the younger members of his family, who so frequently met beneath his patriarchal roof.

He was, however, as has been already remarked, a great promoter of cheerfulness, and would often in the company of ladies, indulge in a playful and lively conversation. He was not an habitual talker,

and though long experience, industry and attention had made him well acquainted with most of those subjects of importance which fall under the observation of a reflecting mind, he seldom volunteered his advice or opinion. When solicited, indeed, no man was more willing to assist others, by imparting with clearness and accuracy the knowledge he possessed.

Always looking on the bright side of human nature, and desirous of putting the most favourable construction on the actions of others, he was averse from all detraction, slander and personal abuse, nor did he ever encourage, by his example, that indiscriminate invective in which the generality of politicians, on both sides of a question, too frequently indulge.

Mr. Wyvill having on the 15th of October, 1813, published his address to the Yorkshire freeholders, in which Major Cartwright found himself alluded to in a manner not to be mistaken, he was under the painful necessity of expostulating with his old friend in a series of letters, to which he affixed the appropriate motto of "Strike, but hear."

"My old friend", says he in a letter to one of his family, dated 1st November, 1813, "has once more in an angry tone flown out in some pretty sharp though anonymous censures of my political conduct, in an address to the freeholders of Yorkshire, about an intended meeting for parliamentary reform, religious liberty, &c. The insinuations are

too pointed for any one having the least political knowledge to misapply, and which will no doubt be applied by at least 60,000 Yorkshiremen ; I am therefore engaged in a short series of letters, but not anonymous letters, in answer."

In these letters to Mr. Wyvill, he vindicates himself from the insinuations thrown out by that gentleman, as well as by others, of wishing to stimulate a lawless mob to acts of violence, of associating with "General Lud", and various other unfounded accusations ; appealing to Mr. Wyvill himself, who had known him for nearly forty years, to say whether he had not taken every opportunity of arguing and expostulating with the higher and highest classes, from the gentleman to the peer, and from the peer to him who occupies the throne. "This charge," says he, "in your public address, of having exclusively resorted to the lowest classes of society, was, to be sure, unfortunately applied." —Letter XII., 5th Oct. 1815.

He calls the attention of the public in these letters, to a very extraordinary omission in Wyvill's political papers, and asserts that he was imposed upon by those who supplied him with the materials.

On the day on which the united deputies met in 1780, the 25th of March, four resolutions were passed, the second of which was as follows : "That it is the opinion of this Committee that the members of the House of Commons should be *annually*

elected to serve in Parliament": which resolution is in Wyvill's political papers wholly omitted.

Major Cartwright being himself possessed of the necessary documents, also gives the proceedings of the 6th of April in the same year, which proceedings had been partly omitted by Mr. Wyvill, who was certainly misled in his enquiries by those to whom he trusted for information.

Notwithstanding this paper-war, it will be seen that friendly communications afterwards took place between these early political associates, who, though they occasionally followed different roads, had both in view the same great objects, namely, the welfare and liberty of mankind.

"TO J. CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

"2d June, 1815.

"MY DEAR MAJOR,

"Westminster has not only not been disgraced, but, according to my notion, acquired great honour by the last meeting *. The resolutions, the petition, the whole conduct is worthy, in my humble opinion, of the best times of the country, and cannot, I should think, fail to do us great good at this very important time. The friends of despotism will begin to suspect they have worse enemies in the world than Buonaparte, or even the French Republic was, and that the army of principles is still on its march. I was pleased to find my letter,

* That which took place in Palace-Yard on the 29th December, 1814, on the property-tax.

which I was obliged to write in a great hurry, and had hardly time to read over, was conceived exactly in the same sense you had on the subject, so that we could not have done better had we been a month concerting our plan. I shall probably be obliged to come to London for a day or two soon, we can then talk over our future arrangements; you in the mean time may be collecting any thing which you may judge good to bring forward as enforcing or elucidating the great subject. Pray remember me kindly to all yours, and make them the compliments of the season, which I hope you have spent pleasantly, and that you will spend many more so.

"Yours truly,

"F. BURDETT."

Major Cartwright wrote on the 11th of this month, January, to Sir F. Burdett urging his early attendance for presenting the Westminster petition, and being at the presentation of that from Middlesex, prior to the return of Lord Castlereagh with his report, and to Vansittart's finance project, as the most favourable interval for exciting public attention.

The opinion of that enlightened nobleman the late Lord Stanhope on the subject of the property-tax, ought not to be suppressed.

"Chevening, 25th Jan.

"DEAR SIR,

"I wrote yesterday to Mr. Harris to decline

being in the chair at the Mary-le-bone Meeting, and by that answer to him I shall abide. But at the end of my note to him, I gave him a very useful hint, and a valuable proverb says, 'a word to the wise'. My idea is distinctly and unalterably this, confirmed by many years of attentive and instructive observation, namely,—1st, That the various oppressions, of various kinds, under which the poor labour, and even the most useful among the middling classes, arise from not being duly and sufficiently represented in Parliament.

"2dly. My idea is also, that not the merely speculative grievances, however really correct, but the actual permanent pinching and evident grievances, should, as effects, be constantly connected with their real and true *cause*. Now, any question relative to the repeal or discontinuance of any particular tax, being a question, however proper, only for a time, has not that permanency which I consider as wanted.

"But the property-tax in one of its important relations is precisely of the complete description above specified. I mean that part of it which is technically called the tenant's property-tax, because it not only has, as applied to it, all such objections as may be urged against the property-tax generally, but it has moreover, and remarkably, an objection to it in *principle*, which may cause it to be felt by consumers, in common with other existing taxes; to which as actual and pinching, and also as in principle from the imperfection of our laws, are not

only evident but *permanent* causes of very just, intelligible complaint, and which I likewise consider as grievances most unconstitutional; for what is unconstitutional, if a grievance is not so which tends to deprive the poor of their health and perhaps even of their life, and of that of their starving families? Now it is evident that the tenant's property-tax tends to compel the farmer to raise his corn and grain on the consumer; and has in its *principle* the same kind of objection to it as exists against those most impolitic and more permanent taxes on candles, soap, leather, coarse sugar, beer, salt, &c. The price of meat is affected by the tenant's property-tax in like manner, as also the price of beer on account of the same, as well as on account of the taxes on the malt and on the hops.

"My reasoning is as follows:

"Taxes of the above descriptions on the necessaries of life, and most especially on the people's bread, are in every respect injurious, and tend also to injure this nation's export-trade.

"The tenant's property-tax is one of them, and tends to oppress the poor and the middling classes for the reasons aforesaid.

"The *cause* of all this is, that the householders &c. have not in the constitution, as deteriorated at present, the right which they ought to have."

Another numerous and respectable meeting on this subject was held at Hackney on the 16th of

February, at which Major Cartwright expressed himself as follows:

"We have this day three distinct subjects for our consideration; namely, 1st, The evil of unconstitutional taxation; 2dly, The exemplification of that evil in the property-tax; and 3dly, Our remedy.

"Touching unconstitutional taxation—I will not begin with a dry legal definition, but with an expressive picture:

"The two members of our county, now present, are both men of wealth: suppose them to have converted their wealth into merchandize, to have freighted a ship, and to have embarked in person on a trading voyage. In the next place, suppose these gentlemen with their treasure to fall into the hands of pirates and to be carried into Algiers. Here, then, under the supposition of these gentlemen having been reduced to slavery and by that circumstance exposed to pillage at the discretion of robbers, you have a true picture of *unconstitutional* taxation.

"The whole difference between taxes which are constitutional and the contrary, is this: constitutional taxes are the gifts and grants of a free people, after the once English fashion; unconstitutional taxes are the plunder of persons previously enslaved, after the fashion of Algiers.

"Happily for us, Gentlemen, there is one attri-

bute of that house in which taxes originate that hath escaped modern corruptions; namely, its title. To this day it is called "The Commons of the Realm in Parliament assembled", and this title may guide us to important truths.

"Who are the Commons? Exclusive of the King and the Lords, are not all the rest of the community the Commons?

"The assembling of the *people* not being visible to the vulgar eye, may require explanation; I have therefore to request an indulgent hearing. It is, Gentlemen, an eternal principle of truth, that there can be no liberty where a people do not *consent* to the laws under which they live.

"It is equally true that for the purpose of giving this consent the people of this widely-extended realm cannot assemble in one hall. Therefore by the nature of the case, this business of consenting to laws must be transacted through representation appointed to that end.

"Representatives, as the word imports, do not make laws and impose taxes by any original and independent power of their own, but in the name and on the behalf of the PEOPLE, by whose fiat and for whose profit they have been created, whose authority they exercise, and whose gifts and grants of money they vicariously, as mere deputies and attorneys, carry into effect.

"A different pretension has, I know, been set up; but in support of my argument that the con-

sent of the PEOPLE is essential to the validity of law, the authorities are endless; I shall, however, cite only a few."

After quoting Sir Thomas Smith's "Commonwealth of England", and "Blackstone's Commentaries", I. 171, Com. I. 185, Com. IV. 8, he proceeds to shew in what respect a tax may be unconstitutional; and in particularizing that tax, the repeal of which was one of the objects of the meeting, he gives an opinion which he has often been heard to express in conversation, viz. that in some respects it was less objectionable than many others, because it is not levied on the poor, and because it draws from the great landholder, even if he be an absentee, a fair contribution, and "compels the wealthy miser who lives like a beggar, to pay like a gentleman."

"But though", continues Major Cartwright, "we admire this single feature, yet as we would not submit to a tyrant, having in his face a handsome feature, so we would not wish for a like reason to submit to this tyrannical tax."

After some farther observations on taxation, in the course of which he remarks, that "no one ought to shrink from any burthen of which a house of commons really chosen by, and equally representing, the nation, shall declare the necessity," he proposes his resolutions.

These resolutions, which were seconded by Mr. Bentley, and opposed by Mr. Mellish, M.P. for

the county, were, as well as the petition, carried with only four hands held up against them.

" TO T. NORTHMORE, ESQ.

" 10th March.

" From causes which you may guess, the opposition to the Corn-Bill was put off to the last minute. At length I was asked what I thought, and what part I would take. While the petition was engrossing, I sent Brooks thirty-five blank sheets, with the printed form of petition that was circulated in Yorkshire, that they might be deposited for signatures with those against the Corn-Bill. They were soon filled, and I was applied to for more. I posted to the printer, ordered a hundred to be instantly struck off, and gave a list of the places of deposit, and where they would get signed.

" At such a moment, the freezing coldness of a certain party would drive me mad, if I had not ten times the patience of Job.

" I know nothing of the story alluded to: chiefly occupied in my arm-chair, I see and hear little of the news of the day.

" How unfortunate my loss of eight hundred copies of the Ægis! They should at this moment have flown in all directions—my purse is not equal to the task, or there should be a new edition printed immediately, to give away.

" * * * has expressed himself in favour of representation co-extensive with direct taxation: but

he can unsay as well as say—a mere feather of faction, blown this way or that as the wind changes."

It has been frequently said that the Hampden Club owed its final dissolution to the imprudent zeal of Major Cartwright, by which many of its members were disgusted. This may very possibly have been the case, but it should seem by the following letter from a learned gentleman now deceased, as well as by many other circumstances, that their gradual secession was quite as much to be attributed to inertness as to the superabundant zeal of Major Cartwright. In the letter to Mr. Northmore, 24th December 1814, already quoted, it appears that the non-attendance of the members frequently prevented any business being done. Had they distrusted his prudence, it is rational to suppose that they would have attended more regularly, to check his proceedings.

"TO JOHN CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

"April 15, 1815.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I have so long been firmly persuaded, as you well know, that the Hampden Club will never be instrumental in procuring that most important of all earthly acquisitions, a reform in Parliament, that I am not at all surprised at the contradictions and vexations you experience in endeavouring to impel it into some specific and decisive measure. Week

after week, month after month, year after year rolls on, and we still continue in the same torpid state in which we at first set out. Every effort to stimulate the club to the attainment of the sole object of its institution, is sure to be paralysed by evasion, apathy, and neglect; indeed I am at a loss to account for the motive that instituted the club at all, being certain that conviviality formed no part of its object. In point of fact, it is a 'vox et præterea nihil', and the sooner it is consigned to the tomb of the Capulets the better.

"Twice a-year the club dines together through the medium of an advertisement, but why they dine together, or for what purpose they are associated, is almost as unknown as was Buonaparte's intended flight from Elba. This will never do; either it must be made operative and continually so, or abandoned altogether."

France being at this time (April 1815) occupied in settling her constitution, after the convulsions to which her political existence had been so long subject, it appears by some notes in Major Cartwright's hand-writing, that he was occupied in considering by what means the freedom of that country might be best preserved; and the following observations may possibly interest those who turn their thoughts to the science of civil government:

"That a wide extent of territory is unfavourable

to liberty may be inferred from the circumstance, that the patriots of France (who were therein imitated by those of Spain) have thought it necessary to adopt the representation of a representation—according to the proverb, 'if you would have a thing done, commit it to your servant; if you would have it well done, do it yourself.' It is true that the work of legislature requires to be done by representation; but if the work be turned over to your servant's servant, who does not see that responsibility to the cause of fidelity vanishes like a shadow, and that evil deeds and ill-work must be the certain consequence?"

On the 15th June 1815, being the six hundredth anniversary of the day on which King John was compelled to sign Magna Charta, he, whose attention was always alive to every circumstance which he thought likely to promote the cause he had in view, set on foot a meeting in Palace-Yard, to celebrate that event.

On this occasion he proposed a petition to Parliament, complaining of the rejection of one which had been agreed upon in that place three months before, and declaring that the denial of justice was contrary to the law and the constitution as emphatically declared in Magna Charta.

At this meeting it was resolved, "That our representative Sir Francis Burdett, Bart. is, if possible, doubly endeared to us by the alacrity with which he consented to take the chair, when

difficulties and delays were thrown in the way of this our constitutional meeting, and for his dignified conduct therein.

"*Resolved*, That the petition in support of the sacred right of petitioning, and for promoting a radical reform in the Commons House of Parliament, which has been read, is adopted, and that the same be presented to the House of Commons by our representative.

"*Resolved*, That our cordial thanks are hereby given to our able and venerable advocate, Major Cartwright, for the constitutional petition he has this day proposed to us in support of our rights."

"TO T. NORTHMORE, ESQ.

"June, 1815.

"Touching what you say respecting this city, I have the greatest anxiety to be instrumental in case of a vacancy, in the introduction of a real, good radical reformer*.

"If not practicable to do that, I should be ready to stand in the gap, hoping that at a period so critical in respect of reform, a decision might be made favourable to that great object.

"Should you happen to have a fit of idleness,

* The writer often heard Major Cartwright at this time express a wish that Mr. Northmore should, in case of a vacancy, stand for Westminster; which shews, that notwithstanding the pleasure he would himself have experienced in being member for that city, his *chief* anxiety was for the election of a staunch radical reformer.

or a fit of impatience, you may call for an explanation of my seal. It is emblematic of liberty founded on law, defended by arms as well as by trial by jury, typified by twelve stars. The name and dates (Alfred and 1215) require no explanation. The winged lyre signifies the celebration of the English constitution to the whole world*. The swords and the spear are not, like the cap, mere emblems of liberty, but infinitely the nobler emblem, carrying with them a real cause for liberty, to which the cap has no pretension."

Major Cartwright having been induced to think that his presence in Scotland might assist the cause of parliamentary reform, left London in the Leith packet, and arrived at Edinburgh on the 21st of July. The day after his arrival he addressed a letter to a gentleman of rank in that country, in which he says:

"It is with extreme satisfaction that I now learn the good spirit, in respect of constitutional freedom, of this well-informed and reflecting people. I am also highly gratified in being given to understand that the reform we both seek, has, Sir, in you a zealous friend, that is, one who is willing to act as well as to argue in its favour.

"Your experience among our politicians in the higher classes, must have shewn you how much more within that circle, there is of talking plausibly than of acting consistently.

* Major Cartwright had a stamp made with this device, which was used as an ornament to the binding of his political books.

"Having myself, in the course of nearly forty years, had ample opportunities of observing among what orders in society the interests of reform can be pushed with the best prospects of final success, it is my conviction, founded on experience, that if we hope for good, we must, for a season at least, work for the most part by means of the middle classes. The higher then, in due time, will see the necessity, for their own reputation, of taking, in the matter of reform, their proper places.

"These are so much more at their ease in a pecuniary sense, as less and later to feel the inconveniences arising from ill government and oppressive taxation; besides which there are likewise other causes, which have operated in all ages and nations to excite in them a feebler stimulus in respect of state reformation, than among those of less opulence.

"Governed by my present information, I mean to proceed to-morrow by Glasgow, &c. where, as it has always been the rule of my conduct, I shall render my experience and knowledge of facts subservient to the exertions of the native patriots, who are the proper actors; and if, Sir, either in person or by letter, I can be of any use in the cause to which we both, by subscribing to the principles of the Hampden Club, stand strongly pledged, you may freely command me.

"Had every shire in the kingdom but one man of rank who had wisdom, virtue and spirit enough to assert the cause of reform, it would soon triumph.

"And should you, by a conduct different from that of our members in general, put them in mind of redeeming their several pledges to exert themselves in their several counties, I really believe you would render your country a more important service than has ever been rendered by any entire parliamentary opposition-party that has figured on the public stage since the period of the Revolution.

"Knowing the extent of the erroneous notion which has proved the greatest obstacle to reform, namely, that it is *impracticable*, and knowing also, that the petitions now in my house, upwards of 500 in number, are all effects of that notion having been removed by argument, I am induced to hope that my service in the same way may continue to be of use.

"Bristol lately sent us a petition signed by nearly 11,000 persons, and we have others with about 15,000 names."

Major Cartwright's arrival in Scotland appears to have occasioned a considerable sensation in that country, and it is evident, by a reference to some publications of this period, that great efforts were made by the opponents of reform to render his exertions nugatory. Among many others, the attacks made upon him in the 'Edinburgh Correspondent' were remarkable for their virulence, and afford an amusing specimen of the writer's ignorance of his opinions, for he is described as recommending

as a model for the imitation of this country, the system of representation as established in France.

From Edinburgh he proceeded by the canal to Glasgow, and while in that neighbourhood, visited the Falls of Clyde, of which he thus speaks in a letter to Mrs. Cartwright:—"The upper Fall is exquisitely beautiful, the whole scene in the highest style of the picturesque, being an almost unrivalled combination of grandeur and beauty, equally attractive to the painter, the poet, and the philosopher."

On the 1st of August, a dinner was given at Glasgow by the friends of constitutional liberty, as a mark of respect to the veteran reformer, and he informs Mr. Northmore that "he found there a spirit and intelligence beyond his most sanguine expectations"; and, indeed, such was the anxiety in various parts of Scotland to sign petitions for reform, that he calculated on obtaining five hundred petitions from that country alone.

From Glasgow he returned to Edinburgh, and from thence visited Stirling, Ulloa, Kilkardie, Cupar, Dundee, Arbroath, Montrose and Aberdeen.

On the 23d of August, writing from Dundee, he informs Mrs. Cartwright, "My success has hitherto been unabated*, and except a slight cold, I have been uncommonly well.

* "Major Cartwright visited Scotland during his missionary tour in behalf of reform already alluded to, and his zeal and example acting upon the already-excited minds of the Scotch, produced such effects as might be anticipated. There were several

"In the garden of Mr. Carnegie, of Louer, near Forfar, I this morning saw a true national thistle twelve feet high. As the Latin motto to this armorial ensign signifies in English 'No one injures me unpunished', I conclude this is the tree, and the Scotch bonnet the cap, of Liberty.

"At Brechine, I had a visit from Mr. Maule with Mr. Carnegie, who came here to meet me, and who afterwards met me at Forfar and took me to his house. His family put me in mind of old days at Marnham. Nine children in the house, and two sons in India. I have twice crossed the South Esk where my brother George once spent a year in the house of Sir James Carnegie, for his darling enjoyments of fishing and shooting.

"I wish I could persuade myself that your time was occupied as much to your gratification as mine is."

"TO THE SAME.

"Edinburgh, 18th of August.

"Here I am again, after having completed my intended tour to Aberdeen, throughout which I have experienced a kindness of reception truly gratifying. At Forfar a large party were on the road last Monday evening, intending to draw my little

meetings, particularly near Glasgow, Paisley, and the other manufacturing towns in the west of Scotland, for the purpose of petitioning Parliament, or adopting other measures in behalf of reform in the representation and retrenchment of expenditure."—New Annual Register, 1817, p. 306.

carriage into the town, but this exhibition I happily escaped by having gone that day to Renimuir, where I heard that one or two more petitions might be had. Yesterday again, a similar compliment was offered me.

* * * * * * *

"These are individual specimens of a very general feeling which will have no small influence in the production of petitions, because they are recommended by one in whom they have confidence.

"Thus rewarded for my labours, the abuse of the corrupt and tyrannical is rather gratifying than otherwise, because it only shews that they think I may, in some degree, contribute to the downfal of their wicked system.

"As for the opinion of the unthinking fashionables, it is not worth regarding. No rational being would desire to live in their esteem, until they shall learn to make a right estimate of character."

"Glasgow, 10th September.

"Still every where successful, to the full extent of my hopes. I have been at Paisley and Renfrew with Dr. Gilchrist, of Edinburgh, who is become a radical, and who, as a literary character, active, animated and zealous, will be a great acquisition to our cause."

"Edinburgh, 23d September.

"When, before the eve of my departure from

this city, I perceived that nothing would be done, unless I personally broke the ice, I determined to deliver a lecture on the constitution of England. A few days were necessary for procuring a room. I was yesterday well attended, and well heard. In the evening the necessary resolutions were gone into, and the work will go on well."

"TO THE SAME.

"I have just written to the Duke of Roxburghe, to say, that I will be with him on Tuesday. I have received a pressing invitation to Ireland, but have been obliged to decline going thither. Most sincerely do I condole with you on the loss of your niece. Short has been her career; but we are taught not to repine at the dispensations of Providence. We are all of us approaching the final goal: let us be prepared for the event; enjoying, as we can, the evening of life, with a pleasing anticipation of the morn that is to succeed."

"Fleurs, near Kelso, 27th September.

"I forget whether, in my last, I did or did not mention the lecture on the constitution, which I delivered at Edinburgh. One step more, and your prophecy will be completed, that I shall become a *field preacher*."

"Durham, 11th October, 1815.

"Such has been the extraordinary success of my proceedings, even where counteracting power and

influence have been at the highest, that I wish my pocket would enable me to take a wider range, and that I could have the same companions as at home. Our excellent friend Bowyer*, being in residence, I met at his house with an elegant entertainment and good company. I spent three days agreeably with my friend Losh, at Jesmond (that is, Jesus' Mount), at the side of which there is a holy well, which, in former days cured all diseases, and now affords wholesome water of great purity. I hope you will see him this winter, as I should like you to see the true gentleman of the democratic school."

"York.

"I had formed a plan of operations for this city, but your letter informing me of the illness of my dear child has determined me to proceed immediately to London with as much dispatch as possible."

The same tenderness of feeling towards the writer of this narrative (the mere recollection of which must ever be to her a rich inheritance of delight and satisfaction), also prevented his ac-

* Dr. Bowyer, Prebendary of Durham, Trustee of the Charities of Bamborough, &c. &c. deceased since this work has been in the press. This gentleman, whose long life was devoted to benevolent purposes, has been succeeded in his prebend by the Author of that interesting and delightful work, entitled "Narrative of an Excursion to the Mountains of Piedmont, and Researches among the Vaudois or Waldenses."

ceptance of an invitation from the Concentric Society at Liverpool, who had some months before, in the most flattering manner, elected him a member of their association, and who now wished him to take that place in his way from Scotland. "The attraction of this invitation", says he to the president of this society, "would have proved irresistible, had it reached me before I received the intelligence of the severe illness of one of my family who is very dear to me."

Major Cartwright always looked back upon his tour in Scotland with particular pleasure, and spoke with much gratitude of the hospitality and kindness he experienced. It appears, indeed, that he was greeted every where with the utmost affection; many persons even walking twenty and thirty miles to see him: and, to use the expression of the faithful servant who attended him, "He could not have met with more respect if he had been a prince."

To the person with whom it was left in charge to continue his lectures in Scotland on the constitution, he thus writes soon after his return; and nothing can shew more clearly than this letter, that, in all his undertakings, zeal was tempered by prudence and a nice sense of propriety:

"SIR,

"Apprehending that, in your delicate state of health, the business of your lecture might be as much as you could conveniently attend to, I was

in hopes I had been provided with another person, who, availing himself of the lecture, as drawing together those who take an interest in the constitution of their country, might have devoted his whole time to the important object of petitioning.

" Disappointed in that hope, I must now commit that object, if agreeable, to yourself.

" On account of the alteration in the plan, I now recommend that you select no more matter than will come within the compass of one reasonable lecture, and that you bestow on the other object as much attention as you can.

" It is fit that, while so many are paid with public money for doing public evil, you should have a remuneration for time spent in doing public good; but as this can only be from the funds of private persons, which funds, the necessity of the case requires, should be employed with the utmost economy, I trust you will not disapprove of the rules subjoined, for regulating the remuneration to the service performed, in some proportion to its extent.

" The best security against malevolence and misrepresentation is, to urge upon all who take the business of petitioning under their management and protection, to use their utmost vigilance for preventing all improprieties, such as boys or women, or ill-intentioned persons, inserting fictitious names, or signing the names of others or several others, &c.

" If doubts arise about the House receiving printed petitions, you may inform the parties, that

we hope we are provided against inconvenience on that account. Such petitions are received by the Crown and by the Lords; and the ground on which the Speaker has hitherto objected, is completely fallacious. He first pleaded *rule;* this was proved fallacious: he then pleaded practice, which is equally so. The people have a right to petition in printed form, and it is, for a variety of reasons, the best way. They must not be beat out of it, nor, I trust, shall they."

The person to whom this was addressed, died about two years afterwards, and his widow wrote to inform Major Cartwright that, having been offered a large sum of money to give up to Government the letters which had passed between her husband and himself, she feared that in justice to her family, she must unwillingly accede to the proposal. This intimation received from Major Cartwright the following laconic reply:—"That it gave him infinite satisfaction to find that any letters of his were considered so valuable; and he therefore begged her to make the best bargain she could of their contents."

It appears that he had been again threatened with secessions from the Hampden Club, for in a letter to one of its members, 14th of December, 1815, he thus expresses himself:—

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Let the enclosed copy of a letter to Sir S. Ro-

milly, which please to return, satisfy you, that, on the point of dispute between us, I am immoveable: nay, more, that it is a point on which, to humour no human being, shall I ever be silent, until truth and true liberty shall prevail. I have been told before of *secessions*. In this particular, I conceive you are mistaken; but if not, it can make no alteration in my conduct. If men, either through error or other cause, become bars to the utility of a patriot association, at a moment like this, the sooner they withdraw the better. If, indeed, there be among us persons such as you hint at, what, even according to their own notions, have they ever *done* or *attempted to do?*

"When our country is rapidly sinking into slavery, to do *nothing* for liberty, and to obstruct those who desire to do *something*, is, methinks, an odd kind of patriotism, and a very crooked species of political wisdom!"

Major Cartwright, in addressing himself to a variety of noblemen and gentlemen, in the beginning of the year 1816, fails not to urge on each those peculiar topics by which he hoped to influence their private feelings. In addressing the Duke of Devonshire, he remarks, "To your ancestor, the Earl of Devonshire, it was said, my Lord, at the Court of King William by an intelligent friend of liberty, 'We must have good laws in a *good reign* or never.' To your Grace, I beg leave to observe, that, in the patriot good families to whom we are

pre-eminently indebted for the Revolution, we must now seek allies for recovering the ground which since that memorable event liberty hath lost."

He then proceeds to notice the two important omissions which took place at the Revolution, and which were inconsistent with the declaration of the Prince of Orange, who reproached his predecessor with endeavouring to enslave the nation by means of a standing army. To these two omissions—which were, first, not restoring the national constitutional militia, nor, secondly, providing for constitutional parliaments—he begs to draw the attention of the Duke, and concludes by hoping, that "the great political reformation which had its commencement late in the seventeenth century, may, by the hereditary virtue in the descendants of its original architects, be perfected early in the nineteenth, and that the constitution of England, phœnix-like, may once again spring to life from its own ashes."

To the Marquis of Lansdown, he observes, "It stands, my Lord, on record, as the sentiment of your father, in a letter to the chairman of the Wiltshire committee of parliamentary reformists in 1780, 'That the people of England have, and always had an unalienable, indefeasible right to equal representation, and short parliaments in their fullest extent, upon a stronger ground than that of any Act or Acts of Parliament.' To this effect, that noble person assured me he was ready to

march side by side, and to keep pace with the Duke of Richmond, who it is well known stopped nothing short of annual parliaments and universal suffrage."

On the 23rd of February, a meeting was held in Covent-Garden, in which, as usual, Major Cartwright took a conspicuous part. It appears, also, that during this year, at various times, his attention was engrossed by the rejection in the House of Commons of the printed petitions; against the rejection of which he strenuously argued, as being both unprecedented and unconstitutional.

In a letter to Mr. John Smith, M.P. for Nottingham, who informed him that the House had for a long time refused to receive printed petitions, he says, "If you could obtain for me, from any one of the members you have consulted, or any other person, a reference to the journals, for a single proof of any such refusal prior to the rejection of the Nottingham petitions, you would greatly oblige me."

On the 2nd of March, 1816, a Westminster meeting took place for the removal of the property-tax, and of a standing army in time of peace; at which were present Lord Cochrane, Sir F. Burdett, Messrs. Brougham, Lambton, and Brand.

After Messrs. Wishart and M'Laurin had spoken, Major Cartwright addressed the meeting: "He was aware", he said, "that the measure of a standing army could not be properly discussed or decided on in Palace-Yard. It ought to be decided

on in a parliament duly elected, and by a cabinet under the controul, and watched by the vigilance of such a parliament.

"All freemen, however, had a right to deliver their sentiments on the measures of Government, and there were some things of which they were competent judges. A great Athenian had said, two thousand years before, that a standing army would soon command the state; and an Englishman, Mr. Arthur Young, had given it as his opinion, that an armed government was incompatible with the liberties of the people. A free parliament and a national militia were the real characteristics of our constitution and the safe-guards of our rights."

It is hardly possible, and if it were possible, the recital would be wearisome, to mention all the transactions of the various public meetings originating with Major Cartwright, or in which he took a part. It is therefore to be expected that there will be many omissions of this kind in the work, but enough will appear in its progress, to demonstrate that no opportunity ever escaped him of forwarding the great object of his life:—accordingly we find him at another public meeting at Palace-Yard in the April of this year, proposing a petition for economy and reform, from which the following passages are extracted.

"That Providence has granted to this nation an insular residence capable of defence, and thereby

difficult of invasion; a soil to sustain a numerous population; a climate favouring mental vigour; and an active industry that forms a prominent feature in the national character.

"That this security of situation, this productiveness of the soil, and energy in the people, have been an abundant cause of prosperity, extending our manufactures and increasing our enjoyments.

"That from our early ancestors we have inherited a three-fold legislative system, which, as expressed by Sir William Temple, is 'a government of all by all', and when contemplated in the abstract by a Tacitus, a Cicero, and a Plato, was deemed rather a divine speculation than to be hoped for among men—conspicuously superior to the best of the boasted states of antient Greece or Italy, by a principle to them unknown, that of the people debating and legislating by representation.

"That the grand counteracting mischief and evil principle perpetually operating as an overuling cause why the goodness of Providence, the wisdom of our ancestors, and the energies of the nation, have failed to produce their corresponding effects on its government, is that your honourable House has not a constitutional representation."

On the 21st of September, though prevented by indisposition from attending a meeting held at Palace-Yard, another petition of his composition was unanimously adopted, and a vote of thanks passed, expressive of the sense the meeting enter-

tained of his steady adherence to the cause of the people.

In this year was published a full report of the proceedings of the Hampden Club, drawn up, as is believed, by Major Cartwright. It gives an account of a meeting of the Club which was held on the 15th of June, when Sir Francis Burdett was by acclamation called to the chair.

Letters having been read from Mr. Leach, of Lee Place, Lord Rancliffe, Mr. Wharton, M.P. for Beverley, Mr. Fawkes, &c. &c. Major Cartwright addressed the meeting, and proposed the declaration which will be found in the published report. Sir Francis Burdett having put the declaration to the vote, it was carried unanimously.

At six o'clock the company sat down to dinner, and Major Cartwright in the chair, who gave the following toasts:

"The Constitution and the King."

"The people, and may a radical reform in the House of Commons restore the constitution."

It may not be improper in this place to remark, that in speaking of the constitution, he always meant to designate the *English* constitution, and that nothing was more grating to his ear than its being described as the *British* constitution. In his twenty-second printed letter to Mr. Wyvill, speaking of Dr. Paley, he says, "He calls it the 'British Constitution', that is, *not* the same constitution as that to which our ancestors of Runnimede and the Revolution referred; *not* that consti-

tution to which our Pyms, our Hampdens, our Sydneys, our Seldens and our Cokes, our Miltons and our Lockes made appeal, but a *new* system of government, taking its commencement from England's union with Scotland."

"Perhaps", he observes in his second letter to Sir Francis Burdett, published in the Statesman newspaper, 28th July, 1817, "we may ere long hear that this our English nation hath a choice variety of constitutions, as originally a *pagan* constitution, next a *Christian* constitution, then a papal constitution, a feudal constitution, &c. &c., and finally a Brunswick constitution, which Lord Grenville calls 'the present happy system', and 'the constitution as by law established', and which Lord Ellenborough on the trial of Watson, calls the *regal* constitution of the country."

The year 1816 closed under the most gratifying circumstances to him whom Sir Francis Burdett had just before designated by way of excellence, "*The* honest, true-hearted Englishman": the most flattering testimonies of respect were paid him at different meetings at Birmingham, in Lancashire, &c., but what was much more acceptable to his feelings, were the numerous petitions for reform consigned to his care; and never did any potentate behold with more complacency the procession that was to grace his coronation, than did this too-sanguine reformer survey the coaches employed to transport those vast rolls of parchment which tra-

velled from his house in Westminster to the chapel of St. Stephen's. One petition in particular which came from Manchester, and was signed by nearly forty thousand persons, gave him great satisfaction. In presenting which, Lord Cochrane, not without design, suffered it to unroll; and to drag its tedious length on the floor of the House.

But Major Cartwright's pleasure was of short duration; for an alarm began to spread amongst the supporters of Government, to whom petitions, public meetings, and associations for political purposes, must necessarily be obnoxious.

The report of the secret committee, and Lord Sidmouth's circular letter to the Lord Lieutenants of the disturbed counties, were calculated to throw the country into a state of the greatest dismay, though it was confidently asserted by the gentlemen in opposition, that the very disturbances complained of, had been fomented by the accredited spies of Government. One of the consequences of this general panic was a variety of loyal addresses, among others from the merchants and bankers of London. In one of these loyal addresses, it is said, in speaking of the clubs called after the patriotic Hampden, "That it is never to be forgotten, that whatever injuries real or supposed were experienced by this idol of the people, no extenuation of the crime of fighting against the King, and dying on the field as a traitor, can be found in the laws of God or man."

This alarm, like that in 1794, occasioned severe measures; the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, and several bills were passed, which were to place all public meetings under the greatest possible restrictions; while infinite pains were taken to connect the transactions of Palace-Yard with those of Spa-Fields, and the Reformers with the Spenceans*.

It having been already noticed that the Union Club was one in which the subject of these memoirs took a particular interest, it becomes necessary to remark, that insinuations having been thrown out that the society was associated with Spenceans, its secretary, Mr. Cleary, addressed a petition to the House of Lords, which was presented by Lord Grosvenor.

This petition stated, that the petitioner having read, in the report of the secret committee, that there had been instituted societies, entitled Union Societies, professing Parliamentary reform, but understanding universal suffrage and annual parliaments, projects which involve not a partial, but an entire, subversion of the British constitution, and that these societies were associated with Spenceans, &c., he presumed to mention, that when the Duke of Richmond brought into the honourable House his bill for annual parliaments and uni-

* The Spenceans were followers of a person of the name of Spence (now almost forgotten), who promulgated the wild system of an equal division of landed property.

versal suffrage, he was not accused of wishing to subvert the British constitution.

"The petitioner was ready to prove that the Union Society of which he was the secretary, whose object was only to obtain a representation according to the constitution, had no connection or co-operation with those societies, whose object was to obtain a common partnership in the land.

"The petitioner wished to draw the attention of the House to the attempt of the secret committee to impute to the Union Society that affiliation of which the London Corresponding Society was accused, with a probable view to measures similar to those of 1794; and the petitioner assured the House he could prove the falsehood of that insinuation.

"The London Union was founded in 1812, by Mr. Clive, Mr. Fawkes, the late Colonel Bosville, Mr. Montague Burgoyne, the present Lord Mayor [Alderman Wood], Mr. Aldermah Goodbehere, Mr. Francis Canning, Mr. Hallet, Mr. Slade, Sir Francis Burdett, Major Cartwright, &c.: and the petitioner concluded by hoping that the House would permit his bringing before it all the papers and documents connected with the Society."

It has been conjectured that this petition thus manfully meeting the false accusations of the enemies of the club, had some considerable influence in rescuing several political societies from farther

molestation, and that Major Cartwright and his friends might thus have been secured from again appearing in a conspicuous situation, as had formerly occurred in the trial of Mr. Horne Tooke.

Be this as it may, he was not exempted from much personal censure, both from frightened friends and angry enemies; but this, as usual, seemed to glance by him unheeded, as light missiles against the walls of a fortress*.

Thus strong in his own integrity, and in the purity of his motives, it will not be matter of surprise, that to ridicule, as to censure, he was perfectly indifferent. So far was he from feeling any annoyance from the squibs and caricatures of which he was sometimes the object, that he seemed rather amused and entertained with such as accidentally fell in his way. One song in particular, in which he was humorously described as an old jew selling quack nostrums, diverted him so much, that he bought it to read to his family, and seemed a little disappointed that they did not relish it so much as he expected†.

* An honourable member (Mr. Canning) in his place in the House, not unaptly (as many will be of opinion) designated Major Cartwright as "the old heart in London, from which the veins of sedition in the country were supplied."

† One of the verses was as follows:

"Vill nobody buy my nice annual pill,
Dats to purify every ting nasty avay?
Pless my heart, pless my heart, let me say vat I vill,
Not a Christian or jentleman minds vat I say."

Of the species of obloquy at one period so liberally heaped on Major Cartwright, and which had not even the merit of drollery, the following is a specimen. The cordial thanks of a meeting in Palace-Yard having been voted to Major Cartwright for his perseverance in the cause of reform, the Times newspaper remarked—"We recollect that Gibbon relates, on the authority of contemporary history, that a body of crusaders marched through Europe to the siege of the holy city, with a goose or some such contemptible animal at their head, in whom they believed that something of divine wisdom resided. Our modern crusaders for parliamentary reform seem to have adopted such another leader; but they will not find the chinks produced in the poor old man's body by age, serve to admit any of the intellectual light of that state to which he is approaching."

After the unfortunate issue of the Westminster elections, which seemed, by the apparent abandonment of his friends, to lay him open and defenceless to the attacks of cowardly enemies, this miserable species of attack was again resorted to; but as the writers, in executing the task allotted to them for the temporary purposes of faction, probably bore no ill-will to the distinguished individual who is now no more, and whose merit is no longer denied, it may be gratifying to them to be assured, that, however it might influence others whose minds were weaker and less absorbed in one

great object, on *him* it never inflicted even a moment of vexation.

If, indeed, a feeling of irrepressible indignation sometimes occasioned a cloud on the countenances of his near and dear connexions, it was instantly dispelled by observing the serenity of that placid brow, which never failed to reflect the sunshine of untroubled and conscious virtue.

Notwithstanding a severe indisposition, aggravated by the sudden death of a much loved sister, he published, in the beginning of this year, "Letters to the then Lord Mayor" (Alderman Wood), and pursuing his course with undiminished ardour, he endeavoured, by setting on foot petitions by twenties, to counteract and evade the newly passed acts of Parliament for the restriction of public assemblies.

It is hardly necessary to say that he, who took so early an interest in the cause of America, continued to watch with anxiety her advancement in happiness and freedom. That advancement was indeed a source of the highest gratification to his mind, and as such, constituted one of the great rewards of his political life. The following is addressed to his Excellency John Quincy Adams, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States of America:

"4th of June, 1817.

"SIR,

"Having recovered a copy of the second part

of 'England's Ægis', I have now the pleasure to offer for your acceptance that essay, as well as another, entitled, 'An Appeal to the Nation.'

"The former being an outline of a very antient and most admirable system of national defence, may possibly be of use to the statesman who contemplates the organization of such a system for the service of his own country. It should seem, however, that such a system can neither be complete, nor secure, if merely made the subject of *law*; and that it ought to be in form, as it must ever be in spirit, an essential, a vital and inseparable part of the constitution of a free people.

"It is not likely that the author of this essay should live to witness, in his own country, the adoption of a law to revive and to regulate its proper militia; but, Sir, if in yours, a comprehensive organization of its militia, should become an object of legislation, it is to be hoped that due attention will be bestowed on two objects; namely, 1st, to guard against natural decay, by a complete periodical *renovation*, once in five years, or other not distant period; and 2dly, by infusing into the law such a principle of self-inforcement, that nothing short of the dissolution of society, should occasion its discontinuance in time to come. It is to be observed, that the closing of all annual breaches, occasioned by death or otherwise, ought also to be provided for, by some simple and easy mode short of a general renovation, but which, within such a

period as five years, should sufficiently counteract the principle of *perpetual decay*.

"With regard to the last-mentioned essay, it may be of use to future legislators who shall have new governments to model. It may cause such legislator to avoid a great error, observable in several modern instances; namely, that of not sufficiently distinguishing between a *constitution* and a *code of laws;* whereby those two objects have been far too much confounded together. Hence it becomes frequently difficult to understand a constitution, as well as to amend defects, to which it must be liable, if confounded with law.

"A constitution, provided its visible body have the necessary organs of government, and its soul, all the principles of liberty and justice, cannot occupy too small a space. It will then be perfectly understood, and become what it ought to be, a sure criterion for deciding on the merit or demerit of proposed laws, in reference to that freedom which ought to be the end and scope of every constitution.

"Hence it is obvious that a constitution and a code of laws ought ever to be kept perfectly distinct.

"If the writer's memory do not fail him, there is, in some of the American Governments, the defect which has been noticed, but at the same time, a provision for periodical revisions having been also introduced, that imperfection, if such it have been experienced, may in time be removed.

"You have, Sir, my best wishes for your safe return to that happy land, where real freedom gives a reasonable assurance, that whatever measure shall be proposed by known wisdom and tried virtue for the people's welfare will be adopted.

"With much respect, I bid you farewell,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

From this gentleman, now President of the United States, he received an answer as follows:—

"TO JOHN CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

"Craven Street, 5th June, 1817.

"SIR,

"I have to return you my very cordial thanks for the favour of your letter of yesterday, as well as for the two valuable volumes with which it was accompanied, and the paper written in April, 1776, exhibiting the rare, I had almost said the only, example of an Englishman who understood and openly stated the real merits of that great question upon which the continued union, or the severance of Great Britain and her colonies depended, but from which all, or the infinitely greater part of the nation shrank, or averted their eyes. Had the principles of that paper been those of the British Government and people, they and the North Americans would yet have been one nation.

"The distinction between a constitution and a code of laws, is, perhaps more familiarly understood in the United States than elsewhere, because, in

the administration, both of the general and of every separate State Government, it is necessarily and daily an object of practice. The powers of all the legislatures are limited by the constitutions, and the exercise of those powers is continually marking the boundaries which they cannot transcend. There are only two exceptions of states which have formed no written constitutions, but whose governments are still organized, as they had been by their charters before the revolution. The application of the system developed in 'England's Ægis', I am persuaded may be highly useful to the United States, and I wish they may derive the benefit from it which will be in their power.

"I am, with great respect, Sir, &c.

"JOHN QUINCY ADAMS."

In July, 1817, Major Cartwright addressed seven letters to Sir Francis Burdett in the Statesman newspaper, and it may be observed, that nothing can more strongly exhibit the peculiar determination of his mind, than the style of these letters; his language always increasing in boldness, as the difficulty or danger of the times called forth the circumspection and timidity of others*.

* The determination of Major Cartwright's character was always shewn in the uncompromising style of his writings. Speaking of his series of letters to the Duke of Bedford in 1805, Mr. Horne Tooke in a letter beginning "My dear Cartwright, more dear to me than ever!" says, "I do not hesitate to give you my most deliberate thanks and praise for this production; I know not which most to commend, its skill or its courage; but for its

"TO T. NORTHMORE, ESQ.

"18th of August, 1817.

"I was glad, by yours of the 2d to find that my letters to Sir Francis, so far as you had seen them, were likely as you thought to do good; at present two only remain to be published. 'How long', you ask, 'will the gang stand against public opinion?' Not very long, I trust; especially as, in the Black Dwarf, we have got a giant in talent on our side. On Thursday last, at the meeting called by Owen, to propose his Utopian plan for 'The Prevention of Crimes and the Formation of Human Character', I, for the first time, heard the author of the Dwarf in the character of an orator. His speech was a fine specimen of genuine eloquence, without any thing affected, high-flying, or smelling of any shop, party, or faction. But I presume you have had his double trial for libel, in which you would find his defence most masterly. But what I prize in Wooler infinitely more than his genius, is his character. An intimate of his, a medical gentleman of very superior attainments, assures me that Wooler is a man of excellent moral character; and we have good reason to believe that

principle, I still am and always was ready in any useful manner to lay down my life. The gout, which at this time is furiously upon me, abates not one jot of my resolution; but the gout affects only my limbs: I fear you will find it in the heads and hearts of most of my countrymen. However, "I, bone, quo virtus tua te vocat. I pede fausto."

to probity and genius he has in addition a courage not to be appalled by any danger. You must not, my friend, allow yourself to imagine that Wooler's personal compliments to the old man, in his Black Dwarf of the 13th, have obtained him the above panegyric; for, prior to the appearance of that paper, I held him in the same estimation. I had visited him in prison, both before and after his trial; had invited him to my house, cultivated his acquaintance, and offered him the use of any books in my possession.

"Besides my seven letters, I have been preparing a circular letter from the Hampden Committee to the members, to accompany a report of the late audit, and calculated to draw into our association men of property and rank; but I have not yet been able to collect a committee to adopt it. I incline to augur well in favour of its effect, as, on reading the MS. a gentleman of very large property, and till lately a mere whig, immediately became a candidate for admission.

"The crisis, in my judgment, is very favourable for effecting an union with the radicals, of the better men among the whigs, and I am meditating on means to promote it. Besides the circular, I have had some discourse, and mean to have more, with individuals. The suspension brought up once more, as one risen from the dead, old Sir Philip. When the circular can appear in print, I mean to send a copy to the Duke of Bedford, and then to touch upon a measure to be adopted by a few per-

sons of rank, that would, as I feel assured, induce the Regent to a change of men and measures. At the same time I shall suggest that joining the Hampden Club will be the best declaration of public principle, and the best ground of confidence that can be adopted.

"Touching election-matters, I incline much to an opinion that Parliament will be dissolved this autumn, as Ministers cannot get on without a property-tax, which this Parliament will not give them. Believing that you must depend on the London voters, and that you are too wise to incur the expence, I do not expect to see you member for Exeter. Beggar as the Exchequer is, I have no doubt it will find paper in plenty, to meet reformists in every borough where there is the least chance of a popular election. The present men, being in desperate circumstances, are in all particulars playing a desperate game: and, bankrupt as the Treasury is, they would not scruple to squander two millions for securing a parliament wholly to their mind; having an eye, in particular, to the exclusion of every troublesome man of genius, knowledge and integrity.

"Do not lose sight, in Exeter, of petitions by twenties. That is the string now to be touched, for counteracting all that the corruptionists have done.

"If this string do but vibrate to my expectation, it will become a main-spring for the destruction of the machinery of the borough-faction. The idea

has made so lively an impression on the intelligent in Ireland, Scotland, and the populous parts of England, that the best hopes may be entertained. The Black Dwarf of the 13th, cannot fail to recommend its adoption. The very day that paper had appeared, Sir Robert Wilson told me he would draw up, sign, and promote such a petition, &c.

"As soon as I can see my way, I do really think of making you a visit of some weeks, of viewing Little Cleve, &c. To a removal from head-quarters at such a distance, there are objections. It remains to be considered, whether my services to the great cause can be performed without being at head-quarters. On private considerations I could be well content to reside at a distance; but private and personal are very different ideas. What is private is merely the opposite of public; but personal objects are those most near the heart of the person.

"The grand cause of removal being on account of the health of my adopted child, it is to be seriously considered, whether a Devon climate, even at the elevation of Cleve, would be decidedly favourable. And as, according to Old Benjamin, 'Three removes are as bad as a fire', they are not to be rashly determined on. I mean, however, to reconnoitre.

"The reasons of the Baronet for not moving his bill, I can only conjecture. There is, however, nothing in the case to prevent a publication of my bill, which would only differ from his in two or

three clauses. I should go the whole length of considering suffrage as a personal right, and I should introduce the ballot. But my printer's bill is already too terrific. I must therefore pause; although I believe the bill would most materially serve our cause.

"As my good wife is a better manufacturer than myself of congratulations, and the expressions of affection, I have left them to her, only assuring you and Mrs. Northmore, that she speaks the mind and feelings of

"Yours truly,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

On the 23d of March a meeting was held in Old Palace Yard, where the following resolution was unanimously adopted: "That the cordial and respectful thanks of this meeting be presented to Major Cartwright, the patriarch of parliamentary reform, who, by the exertions and perseverance of nearly half a century, has contributed so powerfully to disseminate clear ideas, and keep alive the interest of this great question; while the spotless purity and virtue of his own life have been such as would have done honour to the noblest cause."

In the month of November Major and Mrs. Cartwright executed their intention of visiting the friendly roof of Mr. Northmore. The arrival of this visitor at Cleve was announced in a most amusing manner, by one of the Devonshire ministerial papers. At the head of the paragraph which

gave the alarming intelligence, appeared, in large letters, the emphatic word "BEWARE!"

In the year 1817 was written "Universal Suffrage Vindicated, in a Letter to the Rev. R. Fellowes", and "A Bill of Rights and Liberties, or an Act for a Constitutional Reform of Parliament"; in which are given minute directions for the conduct of popular elections. In this work is given an engraving of the polling-table, for the purposes of the ballot; a model of which he caused to be constructed, and kept in his own house, for the inspection of his friends. On the subject of the ballot, in p. 382 of his "Constitution Produced and Illustrated", he says, "In the present extreme inequality of property, tenants, tradesmen and others are dependent on the wealthy for bread and for justice. Without the ballot, as the *means* of free election, they are liable to persecution, and exposed to ruin. Therefore, as *means* to the *end* of being represented, they have a right to the ballot."

Though in the Edinburgh Review for June, 1818, it is spoken of as a suggestion of Mr. Bentham, Major Cartwright had advocated the ballot from the earliest period of his political researches. A fact related to him, in conversation, by President Laurens, of South Carolina, about the year 1777, had probably confirmed him in the opinion of its utility. Mr. Laurens said, that forty years prior to their conversation, an alarm was taken at certain indications of a disposition, on the part of

some wealthy gentlemen of that State, to influence, by money and patronage, the elections of members to serve in the House of Assembly; which alarm produced a law for introducing the ballot: and Mr. Laurens assured him, that from the time of its introduction to the period of their conversation, the slightest suspicion had never once been breathed on the purity of the elections in South Carolina.

"TO F. CANNING, ESQ.

"11th May, 1818.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"You will early receive notice of an extraordinary meeting of the Hampden Club for the 26th, on business very important to the object of our institution.

"From what passed the other day, it is sufficiently plain that there is an intention to move for our *dissolution*. In one quarter, this inclination seems to proceed from disappointment respecting attendance and exertions; in other quarters it proceeds, as I conjecture, from hostility. Be these working as they may, when I know that the Hampden Club, lamentably defective, cold, and inefficient as it hath in reality been, has by its name, and the use that has been made of that name, been very instrumental in generating the petitions for reform of more than a million of men; who have recently shewn by a revival of their petitions after the infamous stretches of power to

silence them, that the cause of reform is sound at heart, and a knowledge of its principles daily increasing;—when I see all this, it would in my judgment be in the highest degree disgraceful, even to baseness, should our club commit a felo de se; deserting, in its associated capacity, the cause of liberty at such a crisis. Determined therefore am I, if but two others shall be of the same mind, to resist to the utmost any such desertion of duty.

"If there be among us any so overcome with spleen or despondence as to incline to such an act, they, I think, may be made to see its want of wisdom; and if there be others, so wedded to the nonsense of what is called moderate reform, as to desire our dissolution, let them, if they like it, withdraw themselves without extinguishing the very name of the Hampden Club, to the great triumph of a despotic faction.

"For counteracting the brewing mischief, I yesterday prepared two resolutions for moving at the next meeting.

"If you have not yet read 'Bentham on Parliamentary Reform', you have a great treat to come. With his consent, Wooler, of the Black Dwarf, is publishing the work in numbers, at a reduced price.

"In haste, yours truly,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

Parliament having been dissolved, a new elec-

tion took place in the month of June in this year, when Mr. Douglas Kinnaird being proposed by the friends of Sir Francis Burdett, for that gentleman's colleague in Westminster, it was thought by many that Major Cartwright's superior pretensions were thereby disregarded.

He was therefore again proposed for that city, and though his particular opinions prevented his offering himself as a candidate, he was not only willing, but extremely desirous to undertake the trust if confided to him.

The sanguine expectations of his friends, however, proved fallacious; the committee which usually conducted the affairs of Sir F. Burdett's election were unfavourable to his pretensions; some of the members of that committee objecting to his advanced age, and others, (as they themselves very frankly informed him,) being unwilling to lose the service of his pen, of which, as long as his powers remained, they well knew no circumstance would deprive them.

Though far from insensible to the slight he had experienced, Major Cartwright was very unwilling to foment disunion among the friends of reform; and apprehending that the cause might be injured by a division of interests, he, on the 19th of June, being the second day of the election, thus addressed his zealous and steady friend Peter Walker, Esq.:—

"DEAR SIR,

"In the present crisis of our country, when no

man of reflection can entertain a hope that public liberty can long survive, unless the cause of a constitutional reform in the representation of the people shall find fearless assertors of their rights, it was reasonably to have been expected, that nothing would have caused disunion among the electors of Westminster in the choice of representatives, in whom, on that fundamental point, a perfect confidence could, from experience, have been reposed. Events, however, have produced such a disunion.

"You well know the public grounds which forbad me to approve of, or to concur in, a measure that was adopted—a measure from which you, as well as myself and others, foresaw what has happened.

"From what you have just stated, I sincerely hope that the parties who erred are now sensible thereof; and, as I should consider the loss of Sir Francis Burdett's election as a serious misfortune to the public, I beg that so far as any pretensions on my behalf may be supposed to stand in the way of his success—if such opinion should be entertained—they may be withdrawn.

"Leaving this matter wholly subject to your discretion,

"I remain, dear Sir, &c.

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

Though not acceptable to the persons to whom the management of the Westminster elections is usually committed, and who spoke loudly of the

cruelty of exposing his health to the fatigues of a parliamentary session, it is probable that by the mass of the electors, his disinterested conduct on this and every other occasion was properly appreciated; for never was he received with greater marks of applause, than when on the 29th of June he appeared on the hustings to give his vote for Sir Francis Burdett. That gentleman's election had hitherto proceeded more languidly than on former occasions, but the appearance of his venerable friend was supposed to operate favourably on the minds of the electors; and when the poll closed on the 4th of July, the numbers were as follow:

Romilly, 5339.	Maxwell, 4808.
Burdett, 5238.	Hunt, 84.

As the subject of these elections, in which Major Cartwright was, to use his own emphatic words, "unceremoniously dropped, and cast off as a worn-out garment, to clear the way for younger and untried reformists", can afford no satisfaction to the friends of political integrity, they will be passed over with all possible brevity; not, however, without mentioning one circumstance very uncommon in an electioneering contest, and on which the mind rests with pleasure and satisfaction; namely, that on no occasion did either the friends of the tory or whig candidates, on the hustings or in their hand-bills, speak of the venerable patriot but with the respect he so well deserved.

Major Cartwright had, at this period, the satis-

faction of receiving petitions for reform from various quarters, accompanied by the most gratifying expressions of esteem and admiration towards himself.

In a letter to the President of the Concentric Society at Liverpool, written about this time, he says,

"My advanced age, Sir, and the habits of my mind, have, I trust, in some measure, fortified me against the misleadings of vanity, in the shape of even so high a compliment as that you have paid me; but it is gratifying in no small degree, inasmuch as it evidences the progress of truth in the cause of reform.

"I have the satisfaction, Sir, to report, for the information of the Concentric Society of Liverpool, that a petition for radical reform was the other day received from the city of Bristol, with nearly eleven thousand signatures; that there are good grounds for expecting like petitions from Scotland; that from North and South Wales great expectations are raised; and that in Ireland the most intelligent and animated friends of liberty are laying the foundations of reform-societies, with a rational hope that the Catholic body will soon see their error, in expecting to reap before they have sown, and so join with the reformists here in claiming the one thing needful, as the sole foundation of right in every other respect.

"Perhaps it may not be amiss to mention, also,

that we have in the metropolis a society for employing the press in favour of parliamentary reform."

The remarkably hot weather which prevailed during the July and August of this year will be remembered by many persons. Its effects, combined with unremitting exertion and anxiety, so greatly enfeebled the constitution of the venerable reformer, that his family entertained the most alarming apprehensions on his account; and unremitting attention was necessary to recruit his apparently exhausted frame. When, on the 18th of August, a large party of the friends of radical reform assembled at the Horns' Tavern, Kennington, for the purpose of doing honour to its oldest Champion, he was in a state of physical debility, which hardly gave any hopes that he would ever be able to resume his political labours. On this occasion four hundred persons sat down to dinner, and the Honourable Douglas Kinnaird, who had been one of the late candidates for Westminster, was in the chair.

That gentleman, in proposing the health of Major Cartwright, said, "If any thing could heighten the gratitude and affection which they must feel towards him, as their uniform, undeviating and persevering friend, it was the knowledge that he was now suffering on the bed of sickness (*loud applause*). He should, before he proceeded any further in addressing them from himself, read a

letter of apology which he had received from the Major, excusing himself for not attending the meeting; and, he was sorry to add, that, to that letter, the Major was only able to affix his signature." He concluded with expressing his gratitude for being called to the chair; regretting, at the same time, that it was not filled by talents more adequate than his own. He then proposed "the health of Major Cartwright, the venerable Father of reform, and may he live to give the death-blow to corruption." The toast was drunk with three times three, and accompanied with the loudest applause.

Mr. Cleary stated, "that he had seen Major Cartwright in the morning, who then mentioned his most anxious wish to attend the meeting; but as that was impossible, he had sent an address in manuscript, which he (Mr. Cleary) hoped the company would permit him to read. It insisted on the necessity of radical reform, and recommended the introduction of a bill for that object into Parliament by Sir Francis Burdett. Something tangible, on which the public mind could be fixed, was wanting. When Cæsar was killed, the speech of Mark Antony over his body had little effect till he spoke to the people of the will of Cæsar. In the like manner, if Sir Francis Burdett would bring forward a bill, an object would be distinctly presented to the consideration of the public; and there would soon be a general cry of 'the bill! the bill! Burdett's bill! We will have Burdett's

bill!" The address concluded with proposing the following sentiment, to be drunk by the company as a toast:—"Take your choice—a civil government, or a military despotism;—in other words, Burdett's bill, or Castlereagh's bayonet."—This being drunk, the next toast was, "Sir Francis Burdett, and the Reformers of England."

Sir Francis Burdett said, that, "after the very eloquent eulogium which they had heard from the chair, upon his friend Major Cartwright, in every word of which he agreed; and after the eloquent letter which was read by Mr. Cleary, little remained for him to say. At the same time, he felt that he should shew but slight respect to the gentlemen who had honoured him with such marked approbation, when his health was proposed, if he did not make some observation on the subject in which they were so deeply interested. With respect to the object of the meeting, it combined feelings both of a public and private nature, most gratifying to his mind. He had never attended any meeting with greater satisfaction (*loud applause*). Major Cartwright was so well known to them and to himself, that it would be unnecessary to dwell upon his merits, if he had not been selected for attack, with a view to deprive him of that weight which he ought to possess in the public mind, and which it was the interest of the country he should possess. Finding that his acknowledged worth, his high character, his undisputed integrity, would admit of no abatement, they

charged him with having grown old; they represented that his intellects had failed; but it would ill become a feeling public—it would never be countenanced by a British public, at any time—that an individual who had fallen into a state of superannuation, after a life of active service in their cause, should be designated by contemptuous epithets. In addition to this, the charge was not true. The paper read to them by Mr. Cleary was not the production of a mind that could be so described. They might call him unaccommodating, or obstinate, or bold, or mischievous; or, to crown all, jacobinical, or any other name they pleased, with more propriety than the contemptible epithets bestowed upon him—(*loud applause*). The principles he maintained were manly, and he had maintained them in the course of a long and honourable, and because honourable, he would say, a GLORIOUS existence"—(*loud applause*).

Major Cartwright having sufficiently recovered from his serious illness to leave London, made a round of visits among his relations in Kent; and having been much pleased in the course of his journey with the scenery of Tunbridge Wells, he resolved on spending there the months of November and December.

While at Tunbridge Wells, he addressed a series of letters to the Duke of Bedford, which have been admired as specimens of fine writing, as well as of close reasoning.

In these letters he particularly notices the attacks made upon him by a writer in the Edinburgh Review, and complains of the unfairness of holding him up personally to obloquy, as a man of wild and untenable opinions, without a single quotation from, or comment on, the work which was (professedly) the subject of criticism.

Major Cartwright having, in a letter to Lord Holland, mistranslated the title of Prynne's Brevia Parliamentaria Rediviva, the reviewer triumphantly asserts that "the great apostle", as he is pleased to designate Major Cartwright, could not possibly have read the work, or be supposed to possess any knowledge on constitutional subjects. It is however evident, notwithstanding this mistake, that Major Cartwright had read and studied its contents (probably through the medium of a translation), since he frequently referred to it in his works, and particularly in his letters to the Lord Mayor, in the year 1817, wherein he gives a quotation from it, under the title of "Prynne's Parliamentary Writs." Though it has been a general rule in this work to avoid the introduction of letters without the knowledge of their writers, yet the following short extract from one addressed by Lord Holland to Major Cartwright on this subject, is so creditable to his Lordship's candour, that no apology seems necessary for introducing it. "You will not", says he, "think me capable of taking any advantage of a mistake so candidly acknowledged, and so immediately rectified. You

justly consider liberty to be a more useful and more agreeable study than Latin, and neither its general principles, nor the practical enjoyment of it in modern times, are anywise connected with the Roman language; nay a total disregard of legal and monkish Latin, much less the casual mistake of a phrase in it, such as yours, is in my humble judgment, no great reproach on the learning or taste of a gentleman or an author."

Besides the letters to the Duke of Bedford, Major Cartwright published in this year letters to Sir Francis Burdett, as chairman of the committee for the sufferers under the Suspension Act.

In a letter to Sir Charles Wolseley from Tunbridge Wells, he writes:

"You say you have read my letter, speaking in the singular number, to the Duke. I presume, therefore, you have only read the first. The original publication is in the Black Dwarf; as it is not fair to expect a publisher to make room for such essays without some advantages, I take sixty papers whenever one of my letters appears. This, in addition to the regular number of the Dwarf sold by the editor, enables me to give an additional circulation to the letters, to the extent which my scanty purse will allow.

"Respecting the election, I did not suffer any thing personal to myself to warp me from the line which I at that time judged most proper for the public service. But I have no scruple in saying to

you, that the cause of radical reform was in the conduct pursued towards me personally, undermined and betrayed.

"If you take in Cobbett's Register, you will see what he says on the subject; if, however, he thinks I am under a deception, he is deceived: my forbearance arose from tenderness to the public cause. I leave the right interpretation to time: but whatever may be the conduct of others, let us steadily, to the best of our knowledge, perform our own duty."

During his residence at Tunbridge Wells, he experienced a severe shock in the melancholy death of Sir Samuel Romilly, for though he had never been in habits of intimacy with that distinguished lawyer, he held in the greatest estimation both his character and talents; and considered his death as a great national loss.

This event having occasioned a vacancy for Westminster, the friends of Major Cartwright again proposed his standing for that city, with what success will be seen hereafter.

The year 1819 was on many accounts, an eventful one to the subject of these Memoirs. "Perhaps you know," says he in a letter to Mr. Northmore early in this year, "that certain of the friends of liberty at Exeter wrote on the 16th of November last to Sir Francis Burdett, expressing a wish that your old friend should be put in nomination, to represent Westminster in the room

of the deceased Sir Samuel Romilly. At the same time they did me the honour of informing me by letter of their having done so.

"The persecution of Carlile for selling Paine's 'Age of Reason', is said to be at the suggestion of the Society for the Suppression of Vice. I never before read that work of Paine, because I conceived that he was handling a subject he did not understand, but that I may the better comprehend the views of our political saints, I shall immediately get it.

"I am now drawing near the conclusion of my letter to the electors; it unfolds all that I can say with self-respect on the late and pending election. With every good wish to Mrs. Northmore, and an old man's blessings to all my little friends,

"I am, &c.

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

The High Bailiff having informed Major Cartwright that he was on that day (13th of February) put in nomination, and desiring to know if such nomination were with his knowledge and consent, and whether he had any committee or agents authorized by himself, received from him the following answer:

"TO ARTHUR MORRIS, ESQ., HIGH-BAILIFF OF
"WESTMINSTER.

"DEAR SIR,

"I am greatly obliged to you for the favour of your note. Mr. Bowie, not long after retiring

from the hustings this day had called upon me, reporting that he had signed a paper presented to him by your deputy, to certify that he had seconded the nomination of me, which having been done in a hurry, he could not positively say might not have contained the word *candidate:* but he left me intending to inquire, and in case the word were in the paper, he would correct the mistake into which he had inadvertently fallen.

"Having thus explained, I have distinctly to say in answer to your obliging inquiry, that I am not a candidate to represent the city of Westminster. That I certainly did understand that there was an intention of nominating me, and that to such of my friends as have inquired of me, I have invariably signified that if my fellow-citizens should think fit to elect me, I was willing to serve them: but no one had the slightest authority to say or to intimate that I was a candidate; and I have farther to assure you, that I have not appointed or authorized any agent or other person to act on my behalf; leaving all such of the electors as might wish to give effect to any such nomination of me, to manage such matter as their own concern, according to their own discretion.

"I remain, dear Sir, &c.

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

In the midst of an election, in the result of which he could not but be greatly interested, since to his private friends he declared that he considered a seat for Westminster a higher distinction than a

patent of nobility, he received news of the dangerous illness of his elder brother at Mansfield. He accordingly hastened to his bed-side, and remained with him till the 26th of February.

" TO MRS. CARTWRIGHT.

" MY DEAREST AND BEST FRIEND,

" I have the pleasure to report that I think my brother much better; he makes very affectionate inquiries after all at No. 17; and though he gave me a little scolding in his way, for being at the trouble of so long a journey, I am glad to see that he is pleased with my coming.

" His voice is strong, and though not much inclined for conversation, can occasionally talk with much animation of Hudson's Bay and a North-west passage. The chief thing I observe a deficiency in, (for the medical attendant is a man of skill and experience,) is an inattention to have in readiness suitable articles of nourishment. I am not much skilled in such things, but have been of some use in this respect."

Major Cartwright's hopes in his brother's amendment were of short duration; soon after his return to town, Captain Cartwright was again attacked by severe illness, and on the 11th of March he expired in the 81st year of his age.

Captain Cartwright was possessed of uncommon vigour both of mind and body; his journal of " A Sixteen Years' Residence in Labrador", has been

long known to the public, and though from the nature of the subject, it contains much tedious detail, it cannot be perused without interest, as the work of a man of naturally strong, though uncultivated talents, of great observation, and unimpeached integrity. In early life, he served as aide-de-camp in the German war under the Marquis of Granby, to whom his activity and energy rendered him very useful; and it is probable he might have risen to considerable eminence in his profession had he not, as soon as peace left him at liberty to follow his inclination, preferred to military idleness, an adventurous life amidst the snows of Labrador.

In the latter part of his life he accepted the office of barrack-master at Nottingham, which he held for many years, till finding himself too infirm for a service of that nature, he retired to Mansfield in the year 1817.

His energy of mind continued to the last, and only a few months before his death, he was busied in proposing to the Hudson's Bay Company, various plans and contrivances for hunting, &c. and nothing but increasing infirmity prevented his offering his services to put them in execution.

His features were handsome, and his complexion blooming. His Herculean frame retained, even in age, a peculiar air of dignity, and although great part of his life had been spent in hardy exercises and rough pursuits, his manners in company were courtly, and his conversation agreeable. Though differing so materially in politics with his brother,

whose forbearance on these subjects he certainly did not fail sometimes to exercise, their mutual attachment continued through life, and Major Cartwright was not so much absorbed in political speculations as to be prevented from entering with apparent pleasure into those discussions on hawking, bear-hunting, wolf-catching and deer-tracking, in which he had once taken an almost equal interest.

The result of the election, which took place on the 6th of April, 1819, it need hardly be said was unfavourable to Major Cartwright; it occasioned many kind expressions of regret and surprise from his friends in the distant parts of the country. Among a variety of flattering addresses, numerously signed, from Paisley, Dundee, Manchester, Coventry, and other towns, was one from Boston, which, as coming from a place where the Major had been personally known to the inhabitants for many years, must have been very gratifying to him to whom it was addressed.

In an address from Liverpool, it is said, "We cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of presenting you some testimony of our esteem and gratitude; and we embrace this opportunity of apparent neglect on the part of the electors of Westminster, as the fittest in which your obliged countrymen may present, and that in which you may most satisfactorily receive, the tribute of their heart-felt thanks.

"That your wisdom will properly appreciate all the circumstances of the late contest for the vacant

seat in the representation for Westminster; that you will see in them nothing to abate your long-lived zeal for the cause you have so nobly and so unremittingly supported; that you will see nothing in these circumstances calculated to shake your confidence in the final success of your principles, we are well assured."

The address concluded thus, "To you, excellent Sir, and to a few virtuous individuals like you, it belongs to brave the threats and the frowns of power, and to despise the allurements of corruption. You will have your reward in the gratulation of your own heart, in the fervent regard of some at least of your cotemporaries, and in the grateful recollections of posterity.

"We are, with profound respect and attachment," &c.

It was during this election that a misunderstanding took place between Major Cartwright and Mr. Hobhouse; and the former conceiving that he was treated with unmerited disrespect, expressed himself in terms which shewed that the honour of the veteran was not to be attacked with impunity.

An explanation, however, took place, highly creditable to the good feeling and candour of the younger candidate, and a friendly acquaintance afterwards subsisted between them. Mr. Hobhouse himself mentioned the circumstance at a meeting which was held at the Crown and Anchor on the 20th of June, 1825, for taking into consideration

the best means of promoting a subscription for erecting a public monument to the memory of Major Cartwright, and in the handsomest manner bore testimony to his noble conduct in the matter alluded to. Indeed the singularity of two rival candidates at the close of an election, converting a subject of mutual displeasure into an intercourse of kindness, is worthy of notice; and on the part of Major Cartwright, marks the entire absence of those feelings which many in his situation would have felt towards a young and (till then) untried competitor.

When, some years afterwards, Mr. Hobhouse was voted into Newgate for what was entitled a breach of privilege, the Major, as he had often done before in the case of political offenders*, visited that gentleman in prison, not to condole with, but to congratulate him, and the following anecdote, as characteristic of his never-failing zeal and energy, must not be omitted.

It happened accidentally to come to his knowledge that a friend of that gentleman's family had represented, or intended to represent, very forcibly to his father and himself, the danger to which his health was exposed by confinement and want of

* Among many others, Mr. Cobbett, when imprisoned for his remarks on the flogging of militia soldiers; Sir Charles Wolseley, whom he twice visited at Abingdon; and finally Sir Francis Burdett, when sent to the King's Bench, for a letter to Mr. Brooks on the outrage at Manchester; a letter which Major Cartwright in addressing Mr. Bentham on the 27th of August, 1819, designates "as above all praise."

exercise, and that it would be very desirable, as well as easy, to shorten the period by some sort of recantation or acknowledgment. Scarcely was Major Cartwright informed of this, than he set off for Newgate, determined if he saw any probability that such advice should prevail, to urge strongly the propriety of submitting to any inconvenience rather than purchase his liberation at so dear a rate. On his return home, however, he remarked with a smile, "I soon saw that my errand was unnecessary; the young man is firm."

The Hampden Club may in this year be considered as having died a natural death, occasioned by gradual decay. "Not a single member," says Major Cartwright to Mr. Northmore, "your perverse and obstinate friend excepted, having attended the May meeting of the club."

On the 30th of June he left his house in James Street, and removed to No. 37, Burton Crescent, the situation of which he considered better suited to the health of the writer of these memoirs, a change which she had afterwards the gratification of hearing him remark proved also beneficial to himself.

An occurrence in the life of our reformer is now approaching, which will of course be very differently regarded by different persons. By some it will be considered as a violent attack on established customs and laws, as emanating in a wish to excite anarchy and disaffection, and infringing on our "present happy constitution"; by others

it will be ridiculed as an attempt without end or aim, sure of defeat, and deserving only of derision. To the first may be opposed the general character and principles of one who had no motive or interest to excite confusion and anarchy in the state: to the last it may be remarked, that every attempt at reformation becomes idle and unprofitable in the eyes of those in whose opinion wisdom and success must inevitably be synonymous.

Had Hampden's resistance to the unpopular measure of ship-money ended as it began, with his single effort, it would have doubtless appeared too absurd and visionary to have been noticed in history; and yet it may be reasonably supposed that the conduct of that zealous patriot was not entirely the result of previous calculation and arrangement*.

Having said thus much, the plan which has been hitherto pursued, throughout the work, will be still adhered to; of inserting each circumstance in chronological order, and of leaving every reader to form, from those circumstances, the conclusions which best coincide with his own peculiar habits of thinking.

Major Cartwright finding that it was the intention of some persons at Birmingham, to urge in a manner never before attempted, the claim of that town to be represented, took the opportunity of a

* A friend has suggested, that Mr. Wilkes's resistance to the practice of issuing general warrants may be also considered as a case in point.

long-promised visit to Sir Charles Wolseley, to visit Birmingham on his way. His object in so doing was to induce them to change, in some degree, their mode of proceeding; that is, to substitute the word legislatorial-attorney for that of member, and to choose one such legislatorial-attorney in lieu of four; and instead of claiming a seat, to empower the person so chosen to present a letter to the Speaker, and thus, as he expressed it, "to attempt a new mode of application, by sending a petition in form of a living man, instead of one on parchment or paper."

With those concerned (excepting Mr. Wooler), the writer believes he was not even personally acquainted; a circumstance which seems to show how improbable was the charge subsequently made of a conspiracy between the parties. He left London on the 8th of July, and arriving at Birmingham, he thus writes to Mrs. Cartwright:—"I am very glad I came down, as I think I have been of material use.—I have declined the chair, or even appearing at the hustings. To-morrow I shall write after the meeting is over, which I have no doubt will be conducted with perfect unanimity and quietness."

The meeting accordingly took place in the manner he expected, but by a circumstance which will be mentioned hereafter, he was obliged to take his seat on the hustings, where, however, he had no other part in the business of the day, than ac-

knowledging in few words the vote of thanks to himself, which was carried with acclamation.

From Wolseley Hall, on the 17th of July, he writes —"Sir Charles and I returned hither from Knutsford the evening of yesterday. I have had earnest invitations from Nottingham and Manchester, but have excused myself from visiting those places, for I was not aware that my appearance would do any good, whereas at Birmingham, I thought I might be of some use.

"I shall visit my friend Mr. Canning for a couple of days, in my way to town. Pray send a line to Lord Semphill, to request he will assist me in procuring a halfpenny, coined early in the present reign, which, if I mistake not, bore a cap of liberty on the wand of Britannia, before she was armed with a trident. Consult also another friend of ours how to come at an accurate description of the king's state-coach at the beginning of this or any other reign since the Revolution, so as to ascertain whether the cap of liberty made one of its ornaments. As what passed about the cap of liberty at Stockport is likely to be brought against Sir Charles, it may be of importance to shew that in former times, and those still so modern, such had been the practice of royalty. As the Cheshire Sessions commence on the first of September, there is no time to be lost in these inquiries. I went with Sir Charles when he gave bail, but mine, as I live in another county, was of no avail.

"Wolseley is exquisitely beautiful. The river Trent bounds the garden. From my infantine associations, I could not help feeling a sort of filial attachment to that old friend of my youth."

From Wolseley Hall Major Cartwright proceeded to Leamington, where, after spending a few days there with his wife and niece, he returned to London—great therefore was their surprise, when on the 9th of August, only a few days after his departure, he suddenly returned to Leamington. Having received intelligence that a bill of indictment was preparing to be preferred at Warwick on that day, against him and his late political associates at Birmingham, he determined to meet the charge, and by this promptitude prevented the execution of the warrant which it was intended should have been served upon him in London*.

Leaving Burton Crescent at four o'clock in the morning, he arrived early the same day at Leamington, a distance of ninety miles, which, to a man in his eightieth year, must be considered a very extraordinary exertion. He did not, however, appear fatigued, but exhibited the same calm cheerfulness of manner which was his usual characteristic.

A note which he had prepared to send to Mrs. Cartwright, in case his journey had been delayed, will probably interest the reader.—

* Some of the Government papers went so far as absolutely to assert that he had been arrested in London, and taken in custody to Warwick.

"MY DEAREST AND BEST FRIEND,

"Understanding that I am threatened by the borough-mongers with an accusation at Warwick to-morrow, I send you Wooler's Gazette of this morning, to prevent your being alarmed, as at the worst nought but a little trouble and expence can ensue; but I trust all will end in smoke.

"If I am to be called into court, I shall be prepared with respectable bail.

"Sinner as I am against despotism, I am not sure that my noble Warwickshire cousin would like to appear in that character.

"Believing that I have of late done more good to the great cause, than for forty years before, I shall think very lightly of what can be done against me; and I entreat that you and our Fanny will not allow this matter to disturb your repose. My good sister takes the affair very heroically.

"I am going to leave at Carlton House my letter to the Prince; which, if it do nothing else, ought to make the borough-mongers a little ashamed of themselves, and give fresh spirit and energy to the reformers.

"Your affectionate

"J. CARTWRIGHT."

The substance of the indictment was as follows:—The first count charges the defendants "George Edmonds, Charles Madocks, John Cartwright, Thomas Jonathan Wooler, and William Greathead Lewis, with being malicious, seditious, evil-minded

persons, and with unlawfully and maliciously intending and designing to raise disaffection and discontent in the minds of his Majesty's subjects, and intending to move them to hatred and contempt of the government and constitution as by law established," &c. &c.

"To wit, on the 12th of July, 1819, and on divers other days before and after, with force of arms, at Birmingham, did contrive, conspire, and confederate together with divers other disaffected persons, and unlawfully, to elect, nominate, and appoint a person to be the representative of the inhabitants of Birmingham," &c. "That in pursuance of the said conspiracy with divers other persons, to the number of twenty thousand, for the purpose of hearing divers scandalous and seditious speeches, resolutions," &c.

The second count charges the conspirators with "devising and intending as aforesaid, to traduce and vilify the government and constitution as by law established, and to move the people to hatred and contempt of the government and constitution as aforesaid."

On the 12th of August Major Cartwright tendered his bail, in the persons of Francis Canning and Peter Payne, Esquires, and on the 14th he and his family returned to London.

The remainder of the year was spent as usual, in active exertions in his favourite cause, nor did the prosecution hanging over his head appear for a moment to occupy his attention. Deeply inte-

rested for the sufferers at Manchester, he took an active share in the meetings which were held, first at the Crown and Anchor on the 21st of August, and afterwards at Old Palace Yard on the 2d of September, when he was appointed treasurer for the subscription then set on foot, an office which he afterwards declined.

"TO JEREMY BENTHAM, ESQ.

"27th Aug. 1819.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"The letter of Sir Francis Burdett is above all praise. I rejoice that Westminster is so prompt in meeting on this great occasion. She, I trust, will set an example worthy of the whole kingdom. But the occasion demands that even the bloody atrocity at Manchester, while written in words of fire that shall cause the hearts of Englishmen to burn within them, ought still to be treated as a mere illustration of the necessity of restoring the constitution, civil and military; for hath not that already been a direct consequence of the actual subversion of that constitution?

"If this moment be rightly improved, a great light shall burst forth, and our country shall be saved. The Baronet's letter, in unison with the general feeling, will have prepared the public mind for a welcome reception of constitutional truth. But the crisis requires the pen not only of patriot virtue, but of enlightened statesmanship and of profound philosophy. Let England and mankind have the benefit of yours!

"Most sincerely do I now wish that the task of preparing two bills for restoring the constitution in both its branches, had been undertaken by some one more competent to the work than the volunteer whose zeal in the cause prompted him to the attempt.

"It would, at this crisis, have been an incalculable advantage, had the undertaking of the work stood on the loftier height of reputation for talent and learning, that so the nation might willingly have followed the banner of such a leader in their salvation.

"But as Providence sometimes works by inferior agents, and as, on the present occasion, when not invention, but restoration,—when not original planning of a legislative architect, but the repairing of a pupil (provided fidelity to the original plan was secured)—was all that was immediately indispensable, nothing more, as to the work itself, was perhaps wanting; although a great name might have commanded the aid that is necessary for a full accomplishment of the ultimate design and object in view.

"But if great names shall now sanction the work, such as it is,—if those whose approbation can stamp on it the necessary value for currency, shall confer that value, all may yet be well. The late Lord Liverpool remarked, that 'Our Saxon ancestors, as much as they are ridiculed for their ignorance and barbarity, were possessed of one piece of knowledge, superior in real use to many

modern refinements, I mean that of wisely constituting civil societies; their military establishments were, however, the distinguishing parts of their government.'*

"The two bills alluded to would, as I presume, completely restore the plain Saxon fabric of our freedom; which done, taught by our experience the fatal consequences of wanting a written delineation of our constitution, with a correspondent code of ascertained and unpervertible *law*, these might, and I presume would be, early supplied.

"I send for your perusal a letter to C. B. Wilbraham, Esq. towards the end of which you will see what is said of one of the two bills above spoken of, as a rallying standard to the reformers. As such it has been expressly pointed out at Birmingham. I would to God it had been, as it mighth ave been, the bill of him for whom it was originally formed; or I would it had been that of one of even still higher authority in the science of legislation, who has in fact given its principles a foundation of adamant.

"But what might have been most desirable, is not the question, but what, with the materials in our hands, is practicable. If the existing bill for restoring the civil branch of the constitution be

* "Though very briefly, you have learnedly stated and distinguished the landmark of our constitution, and the encroachments made on it, by justly referring the principles of liberty to the Saxon system, and by imputing the corruptions of it to the Norman."—Lord Orford to Governor Pownall. See Correspondence, Vol. IV. p. 347.

but competent to the end in view, is it not the best policy of the crisis to hold it as a rallying standard?

"I am well aware of the narrow views too often taken of extraordinary events, and of cobbling expedients usually adopted by incomprehensive minds, but I hope that the work of master-spirits only will be visible on this occasion in Westminster.

"Yours truly,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

"TO P. PAYNE, ESQ.

"Burton Crescent, 8th Nov. 1819.

"DEAR SIR,

"When on Saturday I reached my house from Westminster Hall, it was too late for reporting to you by the post, that the recognizance into which, in a manner I shall never cease to recollect with much gratitude, you entered into for my appearing the first day of Term in the Court of King's Bench, was now at an end, by my having so appeared and pleaded to the indictment of me, which had been found a true bill by the grand jury of Warwickshire.

"I have therefore now the honour of communicating that information, and at the same time of requesting your acceptance of a recently published introduction to a bill of free and sure defence; or an act for a constitutional revival of the county power, which I trust would be found at the least as good a security for our lives and liberties, as yeomanry cavalry on the present system.

"My friends in general are very anxious that the trial of the others and myself who are included in the same indictment, should, if possible, be removed from the county of Warwick to Westminster-Hall, on account of the prejudices which, in the country, might be expected to operate against an impartial decision.

"So far as the other parties are concerned, I should be well pleased with any thing that should produce such an effect; but so far as respects myself, I feel to prefer a trial in the country; as the question is of a nature, if well managed, to disarm prejudice, and to diffuse truth and right principles where a knowledge of them is most wanting; and I incline to think that to these ends, a trial in the country, rather than in London, may be more likely to do good.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

On the 12th of November, twelve resolutions drawn up by Major Cartwright, were adopted at a meeting of the Middlesex freeholders, assembled to take into consideration the transactions of St. Peter's Field, at Manchester.

As the organ of that meeting, he addressed a circular-letter to the several noblemen, who were requested to present to the Prince Regent the declaration of the freeholders, respecting the conduct of the magistrates and yeomanry of Manchester.

The office of presenting this declaration was politely declined on the various pleas of illness, prior engagement, and disinclination, by the peers to whom the circular was addressed.

In the September of this year, Major Cartwright re-published Sir William Jones's tract on suppressing riots*, his speech to the assembled inhabitants of Middlesex and Surrey, and his Dialogue between a Gentleman and a Farmer, for publishing which in the year 1784, the Dean of St. Asaph had been prosecuted.

Though there was every reason to suppose the prosecution for the alleged conspiracy at Birmingham thus seriously begun, would not lightly be relinquished, Major Cartwright had great difficulty in believing that it could be persisted in. Finding, however, he was mistaken in his calculations, he began early in March to prepare for the trial, by sending subpœnas to those persons whose evidence he thought might be serviceable to him, or—what was in his eyes of much more importance—to the cause he advocated.

"TO THE DUKE OF ROXBURGHE.

"4th March, 1820.

"MY DEAR LORD DUKE,

"You have probably heard of my having been indicted for conspiring against the constitution. For some time I considered the matter as a mere

* For Mr. Granville Sharp's opinion on the same subject, see, in the Appendix, No. XI., his letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons.

insult, and a contemptible endeavour to degrade me in public opinion; and so thought some of my acquaintance; but I have lately had notice of trial, and likewise good private intelligence, that every effort will be made to convict me.

"The business is called a conspiracy against the 'constitution as by law established', and against 'the House of Commons as by law established'; and the accusation includes sundry days and times before, as well as after, the 12th of July last. The same device was played off against Horne Tooke; and I well remember giving evidence in his favour, of facts as far back as fourteen or fifteen years. Not knowing how far my prosecutors may choose to rake into my past life and actions, and what passages in my writings they may choose to quote or to pervert, it is necessary, and I am advised, to show what has been from first to last my political career.

"To this end, I should show in what associations I have acted, and in what company—one of the first was, as a deputy, together with Mr. Wyvill, your Grace, and many other men of rank and character. Afterwards, in the Society for Constitutional Information, with the Duke of Richmond, Sir William Jones, Sir Samuel Romilly, &c. &c. Then again, in the Society of the Friends of the People, with the Duke of Bedford, Earl Grey, Mr. Tierney, &c. Then in the Hampden Club, with the Duke of Norfolk, Sir John Throckmorton, &c.,

and in the Union for Parliamentary Reform according to the Constitution, with Sir John Throckmorton, Mr. Clive, Mr. Francis Canning, &c.

"In consequence of this line of defence, your Grace will have a subpœna, and trusting to your heart-of-oak constitution, I earnestly hope you will be able to attend at Warwick. As you may be detained a few days, I recommend you to take up your quarters at the New Hotel at Leamington, kept by Williams, where the accommodations are spacious and elegant."

To Mr. Northmore he also writes on the 6th of March, that in consequence of certain words used in the indictment, his defence would be to shew that instead of conspiring against the constitution, he had for more than forty years laboured to defend it against those who really conspired its overthrow.

"The work of hell", says he, "is already begun in a gross and flagrant packing of the jury. On Friday, we are to meet to reduce it from forty-eight to twenty-four; when we shall have a third battle on the point. We fought it first before the coroner, and the next morning Justice Holroyd, who refused to set aside the panel. On Friday I mean to speak out, and to insist that the packed panel shall be dissolved, and the business begin again de novo; and if it fail, we are determined to have another fight at the assizes. I am in great

hopes* that the trial may serve the cause of reform."

To this letter, Mr. Northmore replied as follows:—

"I have been under much tribulation on three accounts: 1st, on account of Mrs. Northmore, who, thank God! is at last safe with a fine little girl, and I hope doing well; 2dly, by reason of the requisition from Exeter, which I was obliged to answer at full length, which brought on violent head-aches and a slight inflammation on my chest; 3dly, on account of you, and the great cause. I foretold you of the danger arising from the manner of selecting the jury; but never mind, the cause will gain whatever may be the result.

"The very idea of guilt in attending a meeting not in itself against any human law, is preposterous. You do right to subpœna the grandees. I can swear that the Hampden Club had no other object than the freedom of election, (and I must know its object, if any man can,) and that there was a resolution to confine themselves to a reform of the Honourable House.

"I hope nothing will prevent my being at Warwick, and my son also. My intention was to come to London, and take you down, but perhaps you

* Had Major Cartwright only lived to see the amended jury-bill, it would have amply repaid him for all the trouble and expense of this prosecution.

have made some other arrangement, if not, let me know.

" ' Conspiring against the Constitution!' I hope you will force them to define the constitution. For how is it possible to conspire against any thing unless we know what the thing is? No ten men at Warwick will be found to agree in their definition.

" I wish much to take you with me to Warwick, and hope that Mrs. Cartwright will not accompany you, as it would be too much for her, and you will be in safe hands with

" Yours truly,

" T. NORTHMORE."

On the 10th of March, Major Cartwright attended the striking-off of the jury, when he strongly remonstrated against the injustice of selecting only esquires for the purpose of jurymen, as by so doing, the number of the panel was inconveniently limited. Such was the ability with which he argued this point, that the writer was informed by a gentleman present, it drew from the master of the crown-office, an expression of mingled surprise and admiration, at witnessing in a person of his advanced age, so much spirit and energy.

His arguments were, however, of little avail, and he could only declare that he considered the manner in which the jury was composed*, as a legal

* Major Cartwright used to say in the year 1824, when he found himself fast declining, that if it had pleased God to prolong his existence, he would have written a history of juries, but that

assassination of the defendants, and that he could not sink into the graye with a quiet conscience, if he did not openly protest against it.

It may be considered as a singular coincidence, that five years afterwards, on the very same day of the month in which he made this protest (10th of March), and about five months after his decease, the following passage was extracted from the Morning Herald. Mr. Secretary Peel said, "Now, with respect to special juries, he would propose to extend the number of persons at present qualified to serve on special juries. At present, it was well known that the lists of special jurors were universally made up of persons entitled esquires. This often led to great inconvenience. It happened, for instance, in the county of Warwick, that in the list of the special jury, which as every body knew, was to consist of forty-eight, the number summoned was only fifty-four. He did not scruple to state, that it was in the case of Major Cartwright."

as he felt it too late for him to attempt it, he trusted some abler hand would be found for the purpose, seeming to allude in particular to Mr. Jeremy Bentham. Among his papers were found a list of tracts and many memoranda relative to this subject. In his "Constitution Produced and Illustrated", see also, pages 137, 144, 145, 258, 266, 269, 280, 285, and 309.

In page 281, he mentions an admirable petition of Mr. Wooler, on the practice of packing juries, presented to Parliament by Sir Francis Burdett, praying for a committee on the subject. "It is therefore to be hoped," says he, "that early next session such committee will be appointed, when, together with that master-grievance in the administration of law, other abuses and '*defaults*' may be at the same time remedied."

For the further discussion of this subject, the reader is referred to the daily papers for the 21st of May, 1825. It is sufficient for the purpose of this work to state, that the particular grievance so strenuously resisted by Major Cartwright*, will, under the auspices of Mr. Peel, be in future removed.

It may be easily conceived that the interval between the notice of trial and the assizes, was passed in considerable anxiety on the part of Major Cartwright's family and friends, whose minds were continually harassed by contradictory reports, and sometimes by well-meant, though perplexing advice. By the object of this anxiety, however, reports, advice, or insinuation, seemed equally disregarded, while his cheerfulness and equanimity kept up the spirits of those around him.

By some persons he was recommended to obtain, if possible, the removal of the trial to London, where it was supposed the jury would be more favourable; but from this, as arguing a want of confidence in the justice of the cause, he was entirely averse.

Neither would he listen to the plea, that as the matter might be considered as belonging in some

* In a letter addressed to Sir Francis Burdett, 2d of February, 1821, Major Cartwright says, "Our counsel (Messrs. Denman and Hill) on Wednesday made a powerful impression even in the Court of King's Bench, on the inveterate and infamous practice of packing juries. It would be a parliamentary question worthy of you. Will you undertake it?"

sort, to parliamentary privilege, it ought to be referred to the House of Commons. "I cannot", said he, "look on that House as a court of judicature, and will never give my sanction to such an acknowledgment."

A few days previous to his departure for Warwick, he received from his old friend Mr. Wyvill, a kind and affectionate letter, regretting his inability from age and infirmity, to attend the trial, but offering his testimony through the medium of an affidavit.

Accompanied by his wife and niece, Major Cartwright arrived at Warwick on the 22d of March. He received on his journey, as well as on his arrival at that place, many pleasing attentions, and had the satisfaction of being joined in a few days by several friends and relations, who were anxious to shew their personal regard on the occasion.

Their attendance however proved unnecessary; for after many days of suspense, on the very morning on which the trial was expected to take place, the defendants received a message from the judge (Mr. Justice Best), signifying that, from severe indisposition, he was unequal to the task of presiding at the trial, but hoping he should be able to do so on some future day. On the ensuing Tuesday, however, he still continued so ill that, though he offered to accede to the urgent request of the defendants, that the trial might come on, his medical attendants gave it as their opinion that the effort would be attended with injurious results. Under

these circumstances, the defendants could not but express their regret that such an opinion on the part of the judge's friends obliged them to give up their own wishes on the subject; and after an ineffectual request that another judge might be sent for, to which no answer was returned, the jury was discharged.

This postponement occasioned Major Cartwright a sensible mortification; nor could he listen with complacency to the consolatory assurances of many of his friends, who felt convinced that the prosecutors would allow the business to die away, rather than incur the odium of suffering so respectable a man, at his advanced age, to undergo a second time so much fatigue and inconvenience.

On the following day he paid a friendly visit to the venerable Dr. Parr, who had, with his characteristic warmth of heart, been deeply interested in the result of the trial. He afterwards spent some time in examining the beauties of Warwick Castle; among which the proportions of Guy's Tower excited his particular admiration. On Friday, the 7th of April, after a fortnight of unavailing anxiety, expense and trouble, he and his family arrived in London.

Scarcely had he reposed from the fatigues of his journey, when he began strenuously to exert himself in favour of her whom he considered, as well as himself, an object of unjust persecution; and on the 17th of May he took the chair at a meeting to celebrate the birth-day of Queen Caroline: nor

was he less devoted, notwithstanding his own impending trial, to subjects in which, by possibility, the cause of liberty might be involved.

"The day on which the Cortes assembled", says he to Mr. Northmore, "I had to dine with me a Spanish patriot, Mr. Hobhouse, Captain Williams, R. N., and George Dyer. We did not fail to drink to the Cortes, and the healths of Quiroga and Riego, in sound Spanish wine."

On the 6th of July a petition from Major Cartwright was presented to the House of Commons, for reform of Parliament, in which, in the most uncompromising language, was set forth the corruption in the representation, and especially the flagrant usurpation of the seats in the House of Commons by the peers.

On the 11th of the same month he thus addresses the Duke of Norfolk:

"MY LORD,

"When, under pretence of prosecuting individuals, the Treasury, through their solicitor, is in fact prosecuting, to extermination, the constitution, and attempting to subvert the last remnant of English freedom, I have found it expedient to subpœna your Grace, as having been, together with myself, for some years a member of the Hampden Club; the object of which club was, a constitutional reform of Parliament: I can have no doubt that your answer to a question which, at my defence, I shall have to put to your Grace,

will be equally beneficial to the two defendants— John Cartwright and the Constitution.

"And after the step which, through an imperious sense of duty, I have recently taken, for having placed on the journals of the Commons a certain list of peers, I nevertheless feel not the less confident of your Grace's readiness to stand forward in support of public liberty; for I persuade myself your Grace is actuated by the same patriotic principles as your predecessor, the late Duke, who, in the presence of General Long and others, assured me, that although he desired to keep possession of his borough-influence so long as the system should hold together, he would, nevertheless, at all times exert that influence in favour of parliamentary reform, whenever an opportunity for so doing should present itself*.

"With great respect, &c.

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

* The following note appears in Major Cartwright's memorandum-book, and though without date, the circumstance must have taken place on or about the 8th of August, 1807, when on a visit to the Rev. E. Cartwright, in Sussex.

"Returned this day with my nephew from Arundel Castle. The Duke of Norfolk introduced the subject of reform, and said he had sent for my book. I said he would be angry when he read it, as I had spoken harshly of the whig aristocracy. He replied, 'that if he were not attacked by name, he should be satisfied.' Having introduced a conversation on his attempt to secure the borough of Horsham, in which he thought he might yet succeed, and having detailed the mode of managing an election, he asked me if I consented to his holding such a borough? My answer was, that I did, on condition that he used his influence for promoting the general reform of Parliament; he replied, that he agreed to the condition; that he had ever been a friend to reform, and should

On the 20th of July, Major Cartwright and his family again set out for Warwick, where they had the pleasure of again meeting several kind friends*; and the expected trial took place on the 3d of August.

His friends being well aware that the defence he was likely to frame for himself would not be constructed on those principles of *expediency* best calculated to promote his acquittal, many of them strongly urged his employing, on this occasion, either Mr. Denman, of whose skill and integrity he entertained a high opinion, or his friend, Mr. John Pearson (now occupying a high legal situation in India), who had lately conducted the cause of Sir Charles Wolseley, at Stockport.

To these entreaties he always replied, that though the legal knowledge and eloquence of those gentlemen could not be disputed, and were far superior to his own, he yet feared to place his defence in their hands. "I know", said he, "that from

so continue, only wishing to retain his borough-influence as long as it should hold together. On taking my leave, he thanked me, in strong terms, for the honour I had done him, as he termed it, and said he should have a particular satisfaction in seeing me at Arundel Castle or elsewhere."—The visit, however, was never repeated; in fact, Major Cartwright never found time for visits, except from motives of friendship, or in the hope of doing either public or private good.

* Among these were Mr. Northmore and his sons, Mr. William Williams, M.P., Mr. Fyshe Palmer, M.P., Mr. Mason, Mr. H. E. Strickland, Mr. Peter Walker, Mr. Thelwall, &c.

Admiral Sir William Young, Admiral Peere Williams, Mr. Favell, and many others who had attended on the former occasion, were prevented on this by a variety of circumstances.

a sense of duty to their client, their object would be to *get me off* at any rate, and to secure me from personal risk; but *my* object is, to advocate that cause which is in greater jeopardy than myself."

Accordingly, in examining the rough draft of his defence, the following memorandum appears:

"My defence not to be fashioned for a mere personal acquittal: must not be lowered in tone and sense to the level of a Warwickshire jury, but intended as an appeal to the great jury of the English Nation.—Not framed only for the trial of the defendant, but for that of the constitution and liberties of the country."

The trial took place on Thursday, the 3d of August. The proceedings began by an affidavit on the part of the defendants, respecting an irregularity in serving the usual summons to Mr. Peach, one of the gentlemen on the jury, whereby he was prevented from attending, and also respecting the manner in which the jury had been originally selected by the Master of the Crown Office.

These points were argued with great ability by Mr. Hill, who was followed on the same side by Mr. Wooler, but their objections being over-ruled by Chief Baron Richards, the trial proceeded, and occupied the whole of the day.

On the part of Major Cartwright, Mr. Hill made an able and concise speech, but was not permitted to read that gentleman's written defence. Mr. Wooler was then called on, but on account of

the lateness of the hour, the trial was postponed, and between ten and eleven o'clock Major Cartwright returned to his inn, attended by a concourse of persons, whose friendly acclamations were interpreted by his anxious family into an announcement of acquittal. These few moments of joyful expectation, however, only served to render more painful the result of the ensuing day.

On the 4th of August, the Court assembled at ten in the morning, and the trial recommenced.

After a brilliant and eloquent speech from Mr. Wooler, Major Cartwright addressed a few words to the Court, expressive of the desire that, as Mr. Hill was interdicted from reading the defence which had been prepared, he might offer to the Court some letters and testimonials. Baron Richards not only complied with this request, but permitted Major Cartwright's solicitor to read his defence, in which, to use the words of a gentleman present, "he was obviously more actuated with the desire of inculcating his own opinions, than of warding off the penalties by which he was menaced."

This defence began as follows :—

"Gentlemen of the Jury :—It being one of the characteristics of the English trial by jury, that the jurors appointed to try a man who is accused of a crime, being, as is presumed, of the same vicinage, shall be well acquainted with the character of him they are about to try; you who are here on the present occasion, cannot be supposed to feel the

surprise I felt on learning that I had been indicted for conspiring against the government and constitution of our common country, because, gentlemen, it may not have come within your knowledge that to render that government an object of the warmest affection, and to preserve that constitution from violation and overthrow, has, for upwards of forty years past, been so great an object of my vigilance and repeated exertion, as to have become the most conspicuous feature of my life."

He then informs the jury that the very day before a grand jury of that county had put him on his present trial, he had presented to his Majesty, then Regent, a document evincing his attachment and ardent devotion to the genuine constitution of his country,—and that in all his addresses to the Throne, and to the heir of the Throne, his best endeavours had been exerted to apprise the King and the Prince of the shackles imposed on royalty when a House of Commons, ceasing to represent the people, became, in his opinion, a mere engine in the hands of a faction of insatiable individuals. He then adverts to the wish he had entertained of promoting the glory as well as the liberty of his country, by a design he had formed for a temple of naval celebration, which had not only met with the approbation of the head of the navy, his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, but also of Lord Nelson, who declared that it ought to be placed where every English seaman, either departing from or returning to his native land, might have it in

his view. "This particular I mention, gentlemen of the jury," said he, "because it has been a convenient fashion among the usurping monopolists of parliamentary seats, and their hireling scribes, to paint parliamentary reformers as coarse-minded savages, insensible to national fame."

The defendant then proceeds to shew, that a parliament elected by the influence of the treasury, the peers, and borough-holders, cannot be considered the constitution as by law established; and in support of his argument he quotes Mr. Pitt, who, in the year 1780, declared "that he so much admired the beauties of the English constitution, that he wished to remove its defects, as he clearly perceived they were defects which altered the RADICAL principles of the constitution, and it would not be innovation, but a recovery of the constitution to remove them."

After commenting on parliamentary reform, and the propriety of using every justifiable means for obtaining it, he proceeds to the indictment.—"It is intended", says he, "to make you believe that what passed at Birmingham on the 12th of July last year, was unlawful.—What! gentlemen, do the 190 giants of corruption and their agent, talk of unlawful, in merely *recommending* to a seat in the House of Commons a gentleman approved for his integrity, while, as you have seen, they, the giants themselves, unlawfully usurp 353 of its seats?

"But let us proceed with this curious indictment, by which it appears that the steps taken in

respect of authorizing Sir Charles Wolseley to accept a seat in the House of Commons, provided the House consented, had given the 190 giants of corruption serious alarm. After having for forty years turned a deaf ear to writers and reasoners, as well as petitioners by thousands, whether their petitions were on paper or parchment, written or printed, this new thought, of sending a living, speaking petition, in the person of a worthy baronet, struck them with terror." As a proof of this alarm, he notices various insinuations which had gone abroad, and in particular what he found repeated in the Times Newspaper, 16th of August, 1819; viz. that Sir William Garrow, in his charge to the grand jury of Surrey, three days after the bill of indictment had been found against the defendants, mentions the objects of the Birmingham meeting as amounting almost to treason.

After much legal argument on the nature of conspiracy, and on the untenability of the indictment, which he declares to be written so as to excite unjust prejudice in the minds of the jury, he thus continues:

"I think but little of the mere fact, that no breach of the law can, upon the present occasion, be proved against me. From the first I despised the accusation, and my whole anxiety has been, that not only a jury of twelve Englishmen, but that my country at large, should believe that I am incapable of conspiring against that constitu-

tion which it has been the labour of my life to uphold.

"Indeed I may truly say, that to every member of my own affectionate family, and to every friend, who were for a long time persuaded that the charge would be abandoned, and who expressed an anxious desire that such persuasion would be verified, I invariably expressed a contrary hope, that my prosecutors would persist in their accusation, not only that my own honour might be vindicated, but that the sacred cause of reform might gain strength, as I am sure it will by investigation."

The next subject which falls under the observation of the defendant, is that selection of the jury which has been already noticed, and then in justification of his own honour and character thus vilified in the indictment, he gives a brief outline of his opinions, and of some of the principal circumstances of his life, all which he offers to prove by legal documents. In the course of these remarks, while speaking of his Ægis, he indignantly exclaims, "Who then, I ask, are most guilty of attempting to bring the constitution into hatred, those who in time of peace keep up a standing army of above 90,000 mercenaries, at an immense expense to the impoverished nation, or he who has given demonstration that our islands may be infinitely better defended by the unbought arms of the constitution itself?"

"Old as this defendant is, and charged as he is with an odious crime, yet when the cry of blood came up from the graves of his countrymen murdered in St. Peter's Field at Manchester, filling the land with terror and dismay at the apprehension of a military despotism, he could not bestow a thought on defending himself, until by perfecting the system outlined in the Ægis, he had shown the complete means of defending his country against the domestic, as well as the foreign sword of its enemies. He therefore postponed whatever was personally interesting to himself, until he had framed his 'Bill of Free and Sure Defence' to protect that constitution, for a pretended violation of which, you are now trying him, and he has to thank his God that his life has been spared for this service; while he is utterly regardless, so far as he is concerned, of the machinations of men, who, as Milton expresses it, 'have betaken themselves to state affairs, with souls unprincipled in virtue and true generous breeding.'"

Major Cartwright thus concludes a defence which probably from its peculiar character, stands alone in the annals of legal history:

"Is there not in all this, evidence to make it incredible that I should quit the grand path of reason, for the madness and stupidity of conspiring, and that too in the society of men, whose faces I

had never before seen, and of most of whom I had never before heard?

"That this defendant's reliance has been on reasoning, and on reasoning alone, may be credited when he adds, that since the publication of the 'Appeal Civil and Military', not a year has passed in which he has not, through the medium of the press, diligently laboured in that vocation.

"Here, then, he closes what he has thought it but justice to himself and to the cause of parliamentary reform to say to his jury, in perfect confidence that a vile calumniating indictment cannot touch his honour."

It will be thought rather extraordinary that Major Cartwright, after having been at so much trouble and expense in bringing witnesses to Warwick, should not have produced them on the trial; but such was the line of conduct recommended to him by several persons, who, judging from the apparent feeling of the court on the first day of the trial, and from some information conveyed in a circuitous manner, that no conviction would take place, thought it better that he should depend solely upon the honour and unimpeached respectability of his character. To this advice, though against his own judgment, he acceded; and on the 4th of August, late in the evening, a verdict of Guilty was brought in against all the defendants.

Major Cartwright, being fatigued with sitting

so long in a hot and crowded court, returned to his family at the Warwick Arms some hours before the trial had concluded. A gentleman who had come from Birmingham, entirely from motives of kindness, to give what he conceived to be some very important evidence in his favour, followed him to the inn, and entreated for permission to appear as a witness. Major Cartwright, after expressing his sense of so much disinterested kindness, informed him that he had, in compliance with the advice of his friends, declined to produce any witness; and the gentleman, after a few more earnest entreaties, withdrew in haste, having some business of great consequence which waited his return to Birmingham.

While occupied in cheerful conversation with his family, who now felt, for the first time, almost secure of his acquittal, the arrival of his friends from the court, with melancholy and dejected countenances, at once announced the unpleasant intelligence of a contrary result. Major Cartwright was the first to break the silence which ensued; and when informed that a verdict of guilty had been pronounced against all the defendants, there was a momentary expression of surprise on his countenance. He, however, instantly resumed his natural serenity, and that peculiar tenderness which distinguished his manner towards those he loved, and who felt the disappointment much more keenly than himself.

On the following morning, when endeavouring

to reconcile one of his family to the verdict, he used this remarkable expression: "Be assured, that if I had been separated from the other defendants, on account of any lenity shewn merely to my age or situation in life, I should have left Warwick with feelings of humiliation which I cannot describe."

This assurance had its desired effect; the tranquillity of those around him was, from that moment, almost equal to his own; for what more did they, or could they desire, than to see *him* happy who was the object of all their anxieties? *

* The following lines appeared in the Morning Chronicle a few days after the result of the trial of Major Cartwright, and drew from him the observation that they were only too complimentary.

"TO THE MODERN ARISTIDES.

"Thou good old man! no selfish smart
E'er rankled in that generous heart;
Else would this unexpected stroke,
A keener sense of wrong provoke;
Nor should we see, as now, combin'd,
The gentlest with the firmest mind,
Intent on others' cares alone,
Regardless wholly of thine own.
Yet I must weep—must weep, to see
Thy country so unworthy thee!
Long labouring to avert the fate
Which threatens a corrupted state;
Still would'st thou every danger brave,
That country to support and save.
But why the useless strain prolong?
This cruel hour of bitter wrong
Proves thou hast been 'the just' too long."

On his return to town, Major Cartwright continued his usual exertions with undiminished ardour. He was anxious to promote a public dinner in the metropolis, for the celebration of the revolutions of Spain, Portugal and Naples; but this object he did not obtain till the following October. In the mean time he was actively engaged in attending and promoting public meetings in support of the Queen, and in presenting to her Majesty the various addresses which were sent to him for that purpose: and it is worthy of remark, that, with a recorded verdict, and the sentence of the law hanging over his head, he ventured publicly to address a letter to the Queen, in which he distinctly denied that Parliament had a right to pass the bill of pains and penalties, or in any other respect to violate the constitution.

"If it be possible", said he to a friend, "to pass that infamous bill, I must lay my account with either having to abide the vengeance of Parliament, or to undergo a prosecution at law by the Attorney-General; but I trust the public voice, in condemnation of that bill, will not only save me, but, in the end, the constitution itself."

In pursuance of the object of obtaining a public dinner in honour of the reforming nations of the two Peninsulas, he writes thus to Lord Holland, on the 4th of September:

"I have the honour to inclose the circular invitation for providing stewards, among whom the

Spanish people will doubtless rejoice to see an English nobleman who has so eminently contributed to spread the fame of their nation.

"Patriotic songs, in Spanish, and translations of them, are in hand for the occasion.

"I avail myself of this opportunity of bringing to your recollection the Middlesex resolutions of the 12th of November last, on the subject of which your Lordship honoured me with your sentiments in your obliging letter from Maidenhead, on the 19th of that month.

"That the authority of Parliament is strictly limited within the scope of the constitution, is clearly deducible from the writings of Locke, as well as from the still higher authority of reason.

"If it ever before could have been doubted, it must now, I conceive, in consequence of the present outrageous proceedings against majesty itself, in the person of the Queen, impress itself on the public mind, with irresistible force."

The following letter, received at this period, cannot but interest the reader. It is well known that the excellent and learned individual by whom it was written survived his correspondent only a few months.

"TO JOHN CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

"Hatton, 15th September, 1820.

"DEAR AND EXCELLENT MR. CARTWRIGHT,

"I am busy night and day in preparing such a

catalogue of my numerous books, as may guide my executors when I am no more. Scarcely any consideration could draw me away from the laborious but important task. If my presence had been necessary for the cause of the Queen, I am pretty sure that I should have been summoned; and the Queen knows I should have been ready to obey the summons. But all her interests and all her rights are in the hands of able, and, we may now say, faithful auxiliaries. I hold with you, that the honour of the Queen is closely connected with the constitutional rights of the people; and at all events we are gaining ground against a venal and oppressive crew in the palace, in the council-chamber, and in both houses of Parliament.

"My mind, like your own, is anxious for the success of the Spaniards, Portuguese and Neapolitans, in their resistance to tyranny.

"I believe that the governors of this country will not dare to interfere.—I cannot with any convenience attend your dinner; and I must fairly acknowledge to you, that my own sense of decorum always leads me to keep at a distance from convivial meetings upon political subjects. But I shall not yield the palm of consistency and intrepidity to any Englishman now living, when, by open profession or by personal exertion, I can promote the cause of genuine freedom. I set at defiance the invectives of party scribblers, and the taunts of courtiers, and the frowns of nobles and princes. I really, and I avowedly think you a

most injured man; and I lament the servility, and the corruption, and intolerance, and the cruelty of which so many vestiges are to be found among the dignitaries of my own order, and, I am sorry to add, among the ministers of public justice. Our infatuated rulers are blindly rushing into every outrage which has a tendency to accelerate revolution. Mrs. Parr unites with me in best compliments and best wishes to your well-bred and intelligent lady, and to Miss Cartwright.

"I have the honour to be,

"Dear Sir, &c.

"SAMUEL PARR."

From another worthy and patriotic gentleman, who since Major Cartwright's death has also paid the debt of nature, he received an answer respecting the proposed dinner, to the following effect:—

"Scarborough—Sunday.

"MY DEAR MAJOR,

"I received yours this morning. I should at all times feel happy to co-operate with you, but on the present occasion I must decline giving my name; and for the reasons I assigned before, I never will again have any thing to do with any public meeting which has not for its avowed and express object, the only thing worth going across the floor for, parliamentary reform; and yet, here again, my dear Major, I fear we should not find ourselves yoked to the same car; but you have long known the extent to which I am disposed to

go, and from that I have never yet, and never will swerve.

"I must own I am rather glad to excuse myself on this occasion on another account. For I should feel somewhat queer at this ensuing dinner, to find my old friend, the author of the invaluable 'Ægis', united with the whigs, who have been bawling for the last hundred years against *standing armies*, in lauding the mischievous system, because three of the worst armies in Europe have overturned their respective Governments. For myself, I hold the opinion I always did. I hate janissaries and prætorian guards, whether they uphold tyranny or extinguish it. They are independent and *irresponsible* agents, and therefore not to be trusted. There are Cromwells in all lands, and in all ages. I know you always allow me to speak my mind to you. My judgment may be erroneous, but it is, believe me, always disinterested; and my regard for you always unabated.

"With great truth, my dear Major,

"Most cordially yours,

"W. FAWKES."

To Don Florez Estrado, then at Madrid, Major Cartwright gives an account of the dinner which took place in honour of the continental revolutions, at which the chair had been taken by Sir Robert Wilson:—

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"On Monday, the 2d of October, after many

difficulties encountered, we had a public dinner in honour of the people of Spain, the Two Sicilies, and Portugal.

"The idea having originated with a few radical reformers, a certain faction strove to get it into their own hands, and turn it to their own party-purposes. This being resisted, they endeavoured to quash it altogether. Meanwhile I wrote circular letters all over the United Kingdom, and soon obtained so many respectable names as stewards that they found themselves defeated and let the matter take its course.

"I employed an artist to make two busts of Riego and Quiroga, which being mounted on flat pedestals fixed on staves, and ornamented with sprigs of olive and laurel, were carried at the head of the stewards, led by the chairman.

"Through my friend Señor Llanos Gutierez, I obtained the assistance of one of his countrymen, an admired singer at the opera, who electrified the company by a Spanish song, which was received with enthusiastic plaudits. A young English friend of mine also produced a song, which was set to music by a native of Scotland.—Until you have organized the militia of Spain, systematically and completely, I shall not feel secure of Spanish liberty."*

* In a former letter, dated 9th of March, 1820, addressed to this gentleman on his departure for Spain, Major Cartwright says, "Go, my friend, and consolidate the freedom of your country!—but ever keep in mind the saying of our sagacious Fletcher,

Major Cartwright having received, at this time, information which he considered of the greatest importance, respecting some inflammatory hand-bills*, circulated in such a manner as to implicate himself, and other friends of the Queen, in expressions and proceedings highly injurious to the cause, and foreign to their purpose, he took infinite pains to have the matter properly investigated. To these transactions he alludes in the following letter to Mr. Northmore:

"16th October, 1820.

"I have put in circulation six counterparts of a requisition for a Middlesex meeting, 'for taking into consideration the propriety of petitioning the House of Commons for a constitutional reform in the representation of the people in parliament, as well as to consider whether it may, or may not, be expedient to adopt any other legal means to that salutary end.' It is somewhat remarkable, that the old reformer of fourscore should have been a principal in the blowing-up of the late conspiracy against the Queen and reform, in which the spy Franklin, alias Forbes, alias Fletcher, a wretch of the most infamous character, was the agent. The printer had spoken of the information he possessed to three or four members of parliament, with whom it seems to have gone in at one ear and out at the other—but I had not heard the

that the militia is the chief part of any free government. Adieu! and may God's providence go with you."

* For a specimen of these placards, see Appendix, No. XVII.

tale ten minutes, before I was in a coach to hunt Pearson, whom I at last found, and appointed him to be in Burton Crescent the next morning; there I had two printers possessed of the facts, and the first examinations were taken. In consequence of which a discovery was instantly set on foot, and ended in capturing the villain, to whom a magistrate afterwards gave means of escape, and a third person, high in office, refused to aid in his apprehension*.

"From another quarter, as I conceive, I have obtained authentic information, that some farther attack is intended against the Queen. The names I cannot give, but the facts will serve to put her Majesty on her guard.

"I was yesterday with the Queen for the fourth time, and go again on Wednesday with another address."

* "Mr. Pearson left with Mr. Clive (of the Secretary of State's office) two of the seditious handbills, and was appointed to call again at a quarter past four, at which time that gentleman and his friends returned; and Mr. Clive, addressing them, said, that Lord Sidmouth did not see anything in the handbills to justify his interference. In one of these handbills, among many other inflammatory expressions, was the following—'Strike not at all, or strike home; think of our personal insupportable servitude; and always remember, that the alternative is liberty or a glorious grave.' Addersfield, the boy who circulated these bills was fined five pounds, and sentenced to hard labour in the House of Correction for three months. It will be recollected that Addersfield could not read, and was therefore ignorant of the contents of the handbill he was circulating; meanwhile the author of the bill has been suffered to escape without remark." Times Newspaper.

Though this person escaped from the hands of justice, by taking refuge in a foreign country, (where he is reported to be now residing in affluent circumstances), there could be no doubt of his guilt; and it appeared from the examination taken down at the time, a copy of which is preserved among Major Cartwright's papers, that there was reason to suppose him also the author of a threatening letter to the jury, on the trial of Sir Francis Burdett, at Leicester. The motive for sending such a letter, at that time, is sufficiently obvious. At the subsequent trial of Mr. Dennis O'Bryen, that gentleman was acquitted of participation in the iniquities of Fletcher; but those who are interested in investigating matters of this nature, will find in that trial some curious particulars, which made at the time a considerable impression on the public mind.

The following passage in a letter from Dr. Borthwick Gilchrist, printed and circulated at this time, will also explain what otherwise might appear almost unintelligible to some of our readers.

"Arlington Street, November 13, 1820.

"You are doubtless aware of the circumstances connected with the detection and exposure of the conduct of Fletcher, alias Franklin, alias Forbes, together with the protection afforded to him by the ministers and officers of Government.

"Mr. Pearson, who undertook the investigation of this affair from the commencement, has, assisted

by a few frends, been unwearied in his exertions to bring the delinquents to justice; and although he has, by misconduct of a magistrate*, for the present escaped from the arm of the law, Mr. Pearson has succeeded in obtaining unimpeachable evidence, proving that all the seditious and treasonable placards which have been published during the last three years in the metropolis, and addressed to persons attending popular meetings, during the agitated state of the public feeling, were the productions of this man," &c.

During the latter end of this year, Major Cartwright having set on foot a requisition for a Middlesex county meeting, was somewhat surprised to find an opposition where he had least reason to expect it, as the known liberality of the Sheriff seemed to promise a different line of conduct. After experiencing much trouble and difficulty in the pursuance of this object, the indefatigable veteran applied to the Duke of Portand, who, though adverse to the opinions of the reformers, in a manner highly creditable to his impartiality as a Lord Lieutenant, gave his sanction to the meeting, which accordingly took place on the 16th of January in the ensuing year.

In this year Major Cartwright published, besides many single letters in newspapers, his "Letter to Mr. Lambton", "The Birmingham Complaint and

* See Edinburgh Annual Register, 7th of October, 1820.

Remonstrance", to which was subjoined a Table of Peers, and his "Bill of Free and Sure Defence."

Of the intended Middlesex meeting he thus speaks to Mr. Northmore, 6th January, 1821.

"I sincerely thank you for consenting to my request. The requisition is now in the hands of the Duke of Portland, and I expect by Monday's post, his determination to convene our meeting.

"The Resolutions and Petition which I have prepared for Middlesex, I expect will be well supported; should I depart before they are proposed, I trust they will lay a sound foundation for completely effecting our reform in future. Possibly the previous death of their mover might promote their adoption; for what is well intended, is frequently not estimated until their author is no more; for death in general extinguishes jealousy; and pride, that would not join a living man, will sometimes take counsel of a dead one."

The Middlesex meeting took place on the 16th of January, the resolutions above alluded to were agreed upon, and nine persons were requested to form a council of guardians of parliamentary reform; viz. Mr. Bentham, Sir Francis Burdett, bart. Major Cartwright, the Rev. William Draper, G. Ensor, esq. the Rev. R. Hays, Alderman Wood, M. P., Sir Charles Wolseley, bart., and Captain Williams, R. N.

A petition to the House of Commons was also agreed to, which Mr. Whitbread, in the handsomest manner, consented to present, and to support by every means in his power.

At a public meeting of the inhabitants of St. Pancras, on the 30th of January, after voting a loyal and affectionate address to the Queen, and a petition for parliamentary reform, and protection to her majesty, eight resolutions were unanimously passed; in the first of these it was declared, that the English constitution may be divided into five parts; first, the abstract principles on which liberty and property depend; sesondly, its militia or county power; thirdly, its legislature, consisting of king, lords, and commons, fairly chosen by the people; fourthly, its magistracy; and fifthly, its juries.

On the 18th of April in this year, a most respectable meeting of the friends of civil and religious liberty was held at the Freemasons' Tavern, for the purpose of considering those clauses in the Catholic Bill, which are adverse to freedom of conscience and the rights of the people; Major Cartwright in the chair.

The following resolutions, among many others, were unanimously passed: "That the clauses of the rejected Catholic Bill, which, under the penalties of a misdemeanour, required from the Catholic bishops and deans the approbation of the Crown, and for Catholic correspondence the in-

spection and indorsement of the Secretary of State, would have been unconstitutional, destructive of freedom of conscience, and a renewal of persecution.

"That the state power exercised under this Government, whereby one denomination of Christians is called the Church of England as by law established; a second is called the Church of Scotland, as by law established; and a third is called the Church of Canada, as by law established; instead of the entire body of the people, without invidious distinctions of religion, having every where in this kingdom as in the United States of America, perfect equality and freedom, exposes to scorn and derision, the absurd and factious notion of an alliance of church and state."

After several attendances in the Court of King's Bench, Major Cartwright was at length called up for judgment on the 29th of May 1821.

The affidavit which he offered, began by impeaching the justice of the existing special jury practice, but the Court refused to listen to any arguments of this kind,—the affidavit was accordingly altered, and its purport was as follows:—

"That the visits he received previously to the meeting at Birmingham, were of such a nature, and from persons so little known to him, as to preclude all possibility of a conspiracy to overturn any Government. That he had used his best endeavours to restore and renovate the constitu-

tion, in proof of which he recapitulated the various addresses and petitions he had at different times presented, and mentioned both his anxious designs to defend the country from invasion during war, and to adorn and embellish it in prosperity and peace. That he could declare on oath that he was incapable of conceiving that he had transgressed against any known law or statute, but that if any penal visitation were awarded, he trusted that it would be altogether personal and in the shape of imprisonment, and not in the shape of fine.

"That his property had suffered by various unavoidable calamities in which he had been involved in conjunction with others, so that his present income arose almost wholly from a moderate annuity, and that a severe sentence by fine must operate, by disinheriting a beloved and adopted child of that which he had been able to reserve for her future use."

This affidavit was followed by others, to prove that he had not intended to have appeared on the hustings, but would have remained in his carriage as a mere spectator, if the immense crowd pressing on the carriage which stood upon the side of a declivity, had not alarmed the coachman, and obliged him to take advantage of an arm-chair which was offered him on the hustings.

Mr. Denman's speech on the 1st of June, in mitigation of judgment, was considered as one of

the happiest efforts of that eloquent and distinguished pleader.

After noticing the small share which Major Cartwright took in the proceedings at Birmingham, and the accidental circumstance which had occasioned his appearing on the hustings, he begged to say that his venerable defendant expressly disclaimed any invidious distinction between his own case and that of the other defendants; being ready to bear equally with them the consequences of the verdict which the jury had pronounced.—Mr. Denman then observed, "That he was at a loss to conceive how the proceedings at Birmingham of the 12th of July could be considered as a crime. If indeed the defendants had forged the King's writ, or had resorted to any fraudulent abuse of authority in derogation of the powers of other persons to effect their object, the case would have been different. But here no such complexion marked the case. No, not a breach of the peace had occurred. No magistrate had found it necessary to whisper the riot-act in the ear of his clerk, under pretence that the peace of the community was in danger. A more orderly or peaceable assembly had never taken place on any public occasion, and it had separated without having committed, or threatened to commit any act of violence."

In speaking of Major Cartwright he described him as one whose life had been devoted to the promoting the arts of his country, in endeavouring to preserve the purity of our national institutions, and

in the pursuit of those objects which dignify and enoble the character of man.—He spoke of his venerable age *, his amiable deportment in all the relations of life, and concluded by adverting to the worthy Major's desire that imprisonment rather than fine might be imposed, as the latter would in its consequences affect those who were dear to him. "If," said the learned gentleman, "it should be your Lordships' pleasure to consign this venerable, this worthy and excellent man to a prison, I know that he will submit to the sentence with the calm dignity of a gentleman; and I may add, with the constancy of a martyr. But, my Lords, allow me to observe, that whatever you may inflict on this venerable defendant, he will still be an object of respect to the present generation, and that an impartial posterity will do justice to his name and actions."

The learned counsel then sat down amidst a burst of uncontrollable applause.

Mr. Hill †, on the same side, expressed his un-

* In this speech Mr. Denman made a considerable mistake in Major Cartwright's age, which he stated to be 84. That gentleman on his return from court, observed to his family that he felt so much concerned at this mistake, lest it might be thought that it had been mentioned to excite compassion, that he was on the point of setting the learned counsel right, and was only deterred by the apprehension of apparent incivility in interrupting him.

† It is impossible to pass over in silence the zealous, and yet judicious, manner in which this gentleman (who at the time of Major Cartwright's trial was just beginning his career as a barrister) devoted himself to the legal business of his venerable friend.

willingness to weaken the impression which the eloquence of his learned friend had made on the court.

Mr. Wooler then addressed the Court at considerable length, and in a style of native eloquence peculiar to himself.

The Solicitor-General addressed the Court on the part of the Crown, with his usual ability.

After the Court had deliberated about half an hour, Mr. Justice Bayley proceeded to deliver the sentence, which was, that Major Cartwright should pay a fine of £100, and be imprisoned till that fine was paid; Mr. Wooler to be imprisoned in Warwick gaol for fifteen months, and to give security for five years; Mr. Edmunds to be imprisoned for nine months, and Mr. Maddocks for eighteen, both giving security for five years*.

While pronouncing sentence, the learned judge spoke with so much respect of the character and motives of Major Cartwright, that it was afterwards humourously remarked by that gentleman, that he thought he was going to offer him a reward instead of inflicting a fine, and that as the only thing of which he was accused by the Court was "a delusion", he thought it very hard to pay for so venial an offence.

The sentence, however, was very differently appreciated by his friends, who having anticipated a much severer judgment, saw with infinite satisfac-

* This brief account of the proceedings is chiefly taken from the report in the Morning Chronicle, 23d of June, 1821.

tion that he was free from the evils, so much to be dreaded at his advanced age, of a protracted imprisonment. Before he left the Court, he produced from one of the pockets of his waistcoat, which he always wore of an unusual size, a large canvas bag, out of which he slowly and deliberately counted £100 in gold, observing that he believed "they were all *good* sovereigns." The composed manner in which this was performed, and the dry tone in which he pronounced the words, afforded much amusement to the Court, in which it was said that even the judges themselves participated: indeed, the writer has been assured by an eye-witness, who watched him with the greatest attention, that not a muscle of his tranquil countenance was seen to change, or to betray any emotion, throughout the whole of the proceedings.

As he left the Court, blessings and cordial greetings awaited him on every side; friends, servants, and even common acquaintance sympathized in the general satisfaction; but those who were best acquainted with his peculiarities, abstained from any vehement expressions of congratulation, in which they knew he did not participate. Among those who sincerely rejoiced in this event were his brother defendants. With a magnanimity and feeling which do honour to human nature, they had manifested throughout the whole affair, the greatest anxiety for the safety of Major Cartwright, and when themselves on the brink of imprisonment, seemed to derive a sensible

gratification from the comparative mildness of his sentence.

Among the many kind congratulatory letters he received, was one from a gentleman residing in his neighbourhood, with whom he had never been previously acquainted, to which he returned the following answer:

"3d of June, 1821.

"DEAR SIR,

"It is with sincerity I thank you for congratulations which speak your good will towards me, but I cannot consider a fine of a hundred pounds when I had not violated, nor contemplated the violation of any law, human or divine, as being 'very favourable to me', especially after the previous fining, to an extent of many hundred pounds in expences brought on me by an iniquitous prosecution, working by a packed jury and various perversions of law, not forgetting the torture which for nearly two years the amiable females of my family have suffered.

"So far, however, as I was personally affected, I was, and am content to have been an object of this persecution, because of its tendency towards bringing about the political reform I seek, and, for seeking, have long had for enemies the faction interested in upholding the corruptions I have for nearly half a century combated, and long as life shall remain to me I shall not cease to combat.

"You speak of not perfectly agreeing with me

in politics. The word is of wide extent, applying, indeed, to whatever relates to the ordering of society and the well-being of a community, wherefore it were next to an impossibility that any two men, respecting all such matters, should perfectly agree; although in first principles, on which all the rest depends, such a perfect agreement is natural to men of sense and integrity, who have paid an ordinary attention to the science of politics.

"Religion and politics, although of most importance to men, are the only two subjects on which corrupt rulers by their laws forbid free discussion, impose false and absurd creeds, and by acts and frauds endeavour to mislead a people. No wonder then that the well-meaning become so perplexed as not 'perfectly to agree' on either of these subjects.

"Religion and politics are, however, much more nearly allied than is commonly imagined, and, indeed, I cannot consider politics in any other light than as practical religion, and pre-eminently so under the Christian dispensation.

"It being one of the vile acts of corruptionists to talk of religion and politics as being without affinity, it became an object in a treatise of which, on the late trial, I had occasion to prove myself the author, to show their close and inseparable connexion.

"As that treatise is not long, I beg leave to offer you a perusal of it, but am sorry I cannot

ask your acceptance of it, as it is out of print, and I keep only a few copies to lend.

"I am dear Sir,

"Your obliged and obedient servant,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

"TO THOMAS NORTHMORE, ESQ.

"3d November, 1821.

"From our friend Florez Estrada, the patriot General Pepe*, of Calabria, brought me a letter of introduction, and I have the gratification of seeing the general frequently, with his friend and his aid-de-camp, Colonel Pisa, staunch friends of liberty!

"The Northern Union, I trust, is growing to giant-size and strength. Its springing up, I hope, together with the spirit-stirring massacres of Manchester and Cumberland Gate, the universal sympathy for an injured Queen, and the speaking dismissals of a civil magistrate and a military officer, have generated such a feeling in the public bosom,

* It is hardly necessary to remark, that the society of this excellent and upright patriot afforded Major Cartwright the highest gratification. The general having during his residence in this country, learned to write and converse in English, the greatest intimacy subsisted between these congenial spirits; and when the venerable patriot's mortal career had closed, General Pepe shewed the respect he entertained for his character, by travelling from Worthing, in Sussex, where he was staying for his health, in order to attend his remains to the grave. On this occasion a gentleman who, to use his own expression, had "in early youth imbibed virtuous sentiments and a love of liberty from Major Cartwright", came out of Lincolnshire expressly for the same purpose, and returned on the following day.

that a renewed effort I am making, to second that Northern Union in the metropolis as a centre, and thence, with God's assistance, in all directions, will probably produce good fruit.

"The means used are in a declaration of the principles of reform, accompanied by appeals to the heads and hearts of Englishmen, such as I trust are not likely to fail.

"I have no doubt that the Crediton men will make a good beginning in Devon, and even in the infected capital city, the address of thousands to the late Queen assures me that the disciples will be numerous. But much will depend on a good beginning, as a nucleus. I need not say to whom the reformers will look for that commencement in and around Exeter.

"Cornwall I understand is well disposed—very well—but I have only a personal acquaintance with a few whig leaders, who, although they go much farther than their eastern brethren, have yet their absurd prejudices against true radical principles. Perhaps you, who are so much nearer the Land's End, may find means of communicating with the genuine Cornish Reformers, and let us find our way to the true Cornish heart.

"I have communicated with Mr. Hume. He has searched all the authorities quoted by me, and is going to the bottom of the military part of our constitution, and the villanies practised for substituting in its place the abomination of a standing army. When I observed to him, that all he had

so well done in hunting out and exposing abuses, must end in mere vanity and vexation of spirit, unless followed up by a radical reform, I saw no symptom of dissent, no whig evasions, no desire to shut the mental eye.

"If I can find time, I will read Hody; but we want no convictions of the necessity of restoring freedom, nor any information touching the principles on which we must act as means in practice. With these at our finger-ends, all we stand in need of are actors and co-operators. For these we must circulate our plans of union. Up, then, and be stirring!

"The ladies desire to join with me in best wishes to Mrs. Northmore and all the young ones.

"Yours, truly,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

In this year were published "Hints to the Greeks" by Nestor ΛΟΓΧΟΦΟΡΟΣ· in which some manœuvres are described and recommended, of which the late Lieutenant-General Long remarked, that they seemed the result of long and extensive study and experience in the art of war, rather than the suggestions of a man who had so many other subjects of occupation.

Major Cartwright also published in this year another letter addressed to Mr. Lambton.

In the September of this year he visited his nephew Mr. Hodges, and in a letter to Mr. Hume

dated Hemsted-Place, 28th of September, he remarks, "I have long thought with the sagacious Franklin, that it is not only right to strike while iron is hot, but that it is very practicable to heat it by continual striking, and as far as my purse would permit, have acted upon this principle."

On the 14th of March, another Middlesex meeting was held at Hackney, at which several resolutions, from the pen of the venerable reformer, were passed, one of which was as follows—

"That there is no mystery in the means of reforming the Commons House, since all it requires is comprised in four very plain and simple propositions, namely;—

"1st. That all male commoners, at the age when made liable to serve in arms for the national defence, be entitled to vote for representatives.

"2d. That each member shall represent a population as nearly equal as practicable.

"3d. That for securing the inheritance of unabridged liberty to every generation, without postponement, a new parliament be annually elected.

"And 4th. That as a shield against oppression for freely voting, all suffrage be by ballot."

In April of this year, Major Cartwright, thinking himself libelled in a work entitled, "The Book of Wonders", instituted proceedings in the Court

of King's Bench against the author; but a slight omission of a word in the legal form of the declaration, occasioned the plaintiff to be nonsuited.

Mr. Denman moved for a new trial, on the ground that the omission did not alter the sense; but the Chief Justice contended that the omission was fatal, and that the words of the defendant being rather directed against Mr. Cobbett than against Major Cartwright, that gentleman had no cause for complaint. It is somewhat remarkable, that after having all his life been subject to the most virulent attacks, without appearing even to notice them*, he should have considered this as worthy his attention. It consisted of an expression, indicating that he had laid down as an article of his creed, that we must, in fighting the enemy, not reject the use of even despicable and detestable men.

It may be mentioned, as a proof of Major Cartwright's good temper and indulgence in his own family, that he suffered himself to be laughed at for his sudden and unusual fit of captious soreness, and even joined in the laugh against himself.

In September, 1822, Major Cartwright visited Southend, in Essex. This excursion greatly benefited his health, which had been hitherto declining. After spending a month there, with his fa-

* It was his maxim, that a public man was worth nothing, unless he was sometimes abused; for that abuse was generally in proportion to the good accomplished.

mily, he returned to London in October, to pursue with fresh vigour his political occupations.

" TO T. NORTHMORE, ESQ.

" 10th of October, 1822.

" MY DEAR FRIEND,

" I have happily discovered a Yorkshire conspiracy for ultimately quashing Fawkes's proposed county meeting. The tactics I presume would be, to find good whiggish, prudent, plausible, reasons for procrastination, and yet amusing the reformers with hopes of having one at a proper time. Nothing could, however, be more fortunate than this conspiracy, as it will call forth the radicals to take the lead instead of being misled.

" In consultation with Wooler, I have drawn up a form of requisition for constitutional reform. Nearly twenty counterparts will, within these two days, be in all the populous parts of Yorkshire, and in good hands for collecting the signatures of freeholders.

" Thus the aristocrats must now follow instead of leading—especial care will be taken to be early with the sheriff for securing a priority; as I have had experience of whig tactics. When they find a patriot requisition afloat, they strike off one on the whig pattern, get it signed by a few grandees, and hasten to the Sheriff, that he may call the meeting for *their* object, and that the true reformers may be shut out.

"I am extremely anxious for things being well and wisely and harmoniously managed in Yorkshire.—Considering that Wooler is a Yorkshireman, and that he has a commanding eloquence combined with strict principle, and a heavenly sweetness of temper, how desirable it is that he should attend the meeting; but, alas! he is not a freeholder.

"The other day two persons called to consult me about a meeting for appointing a committee to prepare for Hunt a popular reception in London. —I gave them my frank opinion, that, unless the matter was likely to produce a spontaneous and very unanimous ebullition of public feeling the good effect would be doubtful; and I called to their recollection two known parties likely to counteract unanimity, and possibly to create confusion.—Hunt has gained much credit both in and out of parliament, and for the sake of the public, we ought to hope he will not risk a diminution of it. It will require extraordinary circumspection, and a dignified line of conduct; but after all, he ought to know his own case best, and I do not wish that any persons should endeavour to divert him from that course which, on mature consideration, he may think wisest and best. We had a pleasant radical dinner on the 28th, when the old Major entered his eighty-third year. Wolseley, Strickland, Docilli, a young Neapolitan, &c. &c. were present. Best remembrances to Mrs. N. and the young brood, from yours radically."

Among other gratifying testimonies of respect which he was in the habit of receiving from distant parts of the country, a vote of thanks was passed in the month of October at a public meeting at Leeds * for his unwearied exertions in the cause of radical reform, accompanied by a hope that he might live to see the people, for whom he had been so long and so zealously engaged, enjoying the good effects of that reform.

This wish was not realised as far as related to his own country; but it is a satisfaction to the mind of his friends, that he was permitted to behold the sun of liberty dawning on another hemisphere. He had witnessed, with intense interest, the struggle between the colonies of North America and the Mother-country; he had seen them free and independent; and, before he closed his mortal career, those of South America had shaken off the yoke of Spain, and had taken their place among the nations.

About this time the work entitled "A Voice from St. Helena", by Barry O'Meara, Esq. late surgeon to Napoleon Buonaparte, was the subject of general conversation; and as the writer, by mere chance, made a memorandum of Major Cartwright's remarks upon the subject of this publication, they will be here inserted.

How often since his death has there been reason

* A similar compliment had been paid him in the preceding year on the 11th of September.

to regret that this had not been her constant practice!

"The second volume", said he, "appears to me the most interesting; with the first I was disappointed. There was a querulousness in the complaints of Buonaparte which was inconsistent with real greatness. I saw nothing of that dignity of mind which suffers in silence, and disdains complaint. Besides which, I began the book with a great prejudice against one who could sacrifice the opportunities he enjoyed of liberating Europe, to the contemptible objects of personal aggrandisement; against a man who might have been a Washington, and yet became a despot—who was the Pericles of the Parisians, and while he adorned and beautified their city, destroyed their liberties. Yet, notwithstanding his despotism, it must be allowed that he possessed an exalted genius; his code of laws, his works of art, must immortalize his name; and when I think of some of the reptiles by whom the continent of Europe is now enslaved, he appears a transcendant character in the comparison."

It being remarked by the gentleman, with whom he was conversing, that our Government had gained nothing by his death, Major Cartwright continued, "It was certainly impolitic, as well as unjust, to torment him by unnecessary degradation or restraint; had he been immediately subjected to the sentence of a hasty tribunal, there might, in such a proceeding, have appeared a show of justice, a glare

which might have blinded common minds; but the slow death to which he fell a victim, makes him an object of general compassion, and without conferring any advantage, has fixed an indelible stain on those by whom it was inflicted."

In the beginning of December, Major Cartwright sent a requisition to the Duke of Bedford for a county meeting in Middlesex, accompanied by a letter, requesting his Grace's signature, but he declined, in terms of courtesy to the venerable writer, and of undiminished interest in the cause of reform, to take any part in the meeting; having already, on account of ill-health, been obliged to refuse signing two other requisitions of the same nature in other counties.

During this year, Major Cartwright published a letter to the Edinburgh Reviewers, and his Letters to Lord John Russell.

"TO THOMAS NORTHMORE, ESQ.

"6th January, 1823.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"The whig manœuvre about a smuggled requisition in Devonshire, may be easily defeated by the common freeholders putting one in circulation, as was done in Yorkshire. Without consulting any whigs in Middlesex, the radicals have now a requisition numerously signed; and I am daily and hourly expecting Wood's appointment for attending the Sheriff. Peter Moore, who yesterday dined with me, will be of the party.

"I have lately had a good account from Spain. I am informed that a translation of my Bill of Rights and Liberties is in hand there. I wish they would correct their mode of electing members of the Cortes: three successive strainings, whereby there can be nothing more likely than that in the end the representative chosen by the very few who have the final straining, may be one whom a great majority of the collective body would not have elected.

"This erroneous practice was recommended by David Williams to the French, at the time of their revolution. It had before been recommended by Hume.—The ladies join in every good wish to all at Cleve.

"Yours radically,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

The proposed Middlesex meeting being fixed for the 6th of February, a deputation from Mr. Whitbread's committee waited on Major Cartwright on the 4th of that month. The object of these gentlemen was to persuade him to give up his own intended resolutions; and, for the sake of expediency and unanimity, to adopt others which they proposed, of a temporising nature.

After a long argument, maintained on both sides with equal courtesy and good humour, it was found impossible to persuade him of the propriety of giving up or of modifying his resolutions. The gentlemen therefore politely expressed their hope that

he would not be offended if they also persisted in their intention, that of proposing an amendment— "Surely not," he replied; "for discussion is what I desire; I am less afraid of defeat than of omitting what I consider my duty."*

It is impossible to describe more happily this intractability of character, than has been done by a

* On this subject he expressed himself more at length on the day after the meeting, in a letter to one of the gentlemen who composed this deputation:—

"I hope I shall now stand justified, in your opinion, for having thought it more proper, that it should be left to the assembled freeholders, to determine on the line to be taken, than that I should have concurred in recommending, on ideas of expediency, any thing short of the rights and liberties of our country, since by humility, those freeholders, on seeing what was previously thought advisable by those friends of the public, headed by the county members who took the hustings, might have been induced, contrary to their genuine opinion and wishes, to have concurred in what, as I am convinced, is not warranted, either by the constitution, or by the knowledge of this enlightened age, or on the principles of true wisdom.

"But indeed, Sir, my experience and my reason both forbade me to depart from what, forty-seven years ago, I published on the important subject, and had more and more been confirmed in, by my observations on the conduct of persons, who, in my humble judgment, have too much leaned to party expediency, and too little submitted their minds to those principles of government, which are eternal, and ought to be the guides of political conduct.

"On an enlightened view of expediency itself, which is only the *wisest* way of doing what is in itself right, I have ever been persuaded, that it is far better to contend for what is correct in principle than to put that out of sight, although defeat at first should even be expected."

powerful writer, who says, that "though Major Cartwright was as gentle as a child, mild in his voice and manner, modest to the last degree, and unwilling to give unnecessary offence, yet that he could as soon be wheedled or cheated out of one jot of principle as he could be defrauded of his heart's blood."

"So far as union is desirable," says he, in a letter to Mr. Walker, 12th of June, 1818, "it is only a union on principles which virtue and true wisdom will approve, that is to be valued; *success* I hold to be a very inferior consideration. If not on right principles, it will have no sound point. If, while acting as becomes men enlightened on the subject of liberty, we shall fall, it will be with honour, to rise again with augmented strength; but if we fall in pursuit of a crooked policy, it will be with disgrace."

This was the last meeting of the Middlesex freeholders which Major Cartwright attended, and was almost the last time that he appeared in public. It is therefore gratifying to record that, in mentioning to his family the circumstances which occurred, he spoke of it as one of the happiest days of his life. Never, indeed, had he enjoyed a more unqualified triumph; for the amendment above alluded to was negatived, and his own resolutions carried almost unanimously.

Never was he observed to speak with more apparent ease to himself, with greater force and energy. Among the spectators were some distin-

guished foreigners who had not before been present at an English popular meeting. These gentlemen not only expressed their surprise and delight at witnessing such mental and bodily exertion in one so aged, but were equally gratified in observing his cheerfulness and alacrity of spirit, amidst the social group which met that day around his hospitable board.

The resolution proposed by Major Cartwright, and seconded by the Rev. William Draper, was as follows:—

"That much calamity having been experienced in consequence of the people of this realm not being constitutionally represented in parliament—a defect which may in a great degree be ascribed to an omission at the period of the revolution in 1688, when, in the 'Bill of Rights, parliament so emphatically 'claimed, demanded and insisted upon the rights and liberties of the people,' but unfortunately omitted to specify in what they more pre-eminently consisted—it is, in the opinion of this meeting, become necessary to declare, that in their judgment, in order to re-instate our sacred constitution on its true principles, that so, henceforth the people may be in real possession and the actual enjoyment of those rights and liberties which, at the period aforesaid, were only indefinitely declared, the elections of representatives and the duration of parliaments ought to be as follows:—

"1st. That all males, at the time when, by an

adult age, they become entitled to inherit such right and property in land, goods or chattels as may be theirs by the laws of man, may at the same time, as equals in the eyes of their Creator, likewise enter into full possession and the actual enjoyment of that superior and more sacred right and property, which by the law of God belongs to them, as intellectual, moral and responsible beings, endowed with a sense of right and wrong, and free will to choose between good and evil, by which inherent, superior and sacred right they are evidently entitled, equally to share in electing and appointing those persons who are to make laws which must have power over their liberty, their lives and properties; and consequently by causing to them prosperity, or adversity, happiness or misery.

"2dly. That the legislative representatives of the people may be chosen in and by districts as equally populous as may be practicable without inconveniently subdividing parishes, wards, or other subsisting divisions of the population.

"3dly. That not only in recognition of antient salutary usage, but likewise for completely securing to the people universally the sacred right of representation, as they successively attain adult age, as well as for erecting a strong barrier against the tyrannical and ruinous practice of taxing unborn generations, and thereby crushing liberty in the very egg; the representatives of the people be chosen annually.

"4thly. That as a right to an end includes a right to the means, and as no man ought to be exposed to ruin or persecution for freely voting, the elections ought to be by ballot."

In this resolution, almost the last which Major Cartwright offered to the notice of a public assembly, we see compressed the leading objects of his long and laborious life—the very objects which first caught his attention, as necessary to the happiness and freedom of a state; the very objects which in his first essay on the subject of politics in the year 1776, he recommended to his countrymen.

The petition founded on the resolutions was long and argumentative. It began by shewing that the expenditure of the nation previously to the revolution of 1688, had been uniformly kept within the limits of its yearly resources, and that the present generation, on account of the debt contracted since that period, are now yearly taxed more than forty millions. The petition then speaks of two evils of great magnitude which took their rise in one and the same year, the year 1694. One of these was the triennial act, which precedent, shortly afterwards introduced, was the prelude to a deeper stab on the liberties of the nation in the shape of septennial parliaments. The other evil complained of, was the funding system, relative to which the attention of the House was called to this striking fact, which, through the medium of

the press had three years before been laid before the public uncontradicted; namely, that in the course of seven hundred years, including the reigns of thirty-one kings, from William I. to the demise of George II. the English Government did not expend in principal money quite eight hundred millions of pounds sterling, whereas, in the single reign of George III. the same Government squandered in principal money, a sum exceeding two thousand three hundred and forty-seven millions.

The petition, though lamenting the existence of the funding system, yet expresses an opinion that justice requires, before a lessening of the dividends shall be determined on, that all sources of retrenchment, and all means of relief be explored, so that no particular class or classes of the community may be made exclusive sacrifices to public salvation; and to this end proposes several resources, such as an abolition of sinecures; the cession of all unprofitable foreign possessions, such as the Ionian Islands; the introduction of free governments into all colonies, for lessening the expense of holding them, and attaching them as allies to the English interests; the disbanding of the standing army; and a revision of the plan for remunerating the ministers of the Established Church.

This petition was signed by the freeholders, and the county members were requested to present it, which was accordingly done; and Major Cartwright had thus the satisfaction of knowing, that

almost the last effort of his political life was registered in the journals of the House.

A meeting of the county of Lincoln being in contemplation, Major Cartwright received a letter from a gentleman of that county, strongly urging his attendance on the occasion. Long journeys, and absences from the comforts of his own fire-side, had become so irksome to him, that he wished, if possible, to avoid so great an exertion; but as he found Sir Robert Heron averse from the adoption of a petition which he wished to propose, he determined on offering it to the meeting himself, and on visiting once more the county in which he had spent so many years of his life. He was induced to make this exertion on another account: on the occasion of a meeting held at Lincoln in the preceding year, he had written a letter to the sheriff, which was not read to the freeholders, according to his request; an omission on which he commented very strongly in Drakard's Stamford paper, in a letter dated May 10, 1822, signed Peregrine Falcon.

He accordingly left London on the 20th of March, accompanied by the writer of this narrative, who had the pleasure of witnessing the affectionate veneration with which he was received at every place where his person was known, or his name accidentally discovered.

This was, however, a pleasure frequently experienced by those who walked with him in the streets

of London; for hardly did a day pass without hearing expressions of whispered respect, or blessings emphatically pronounced on that worthy gentleman, "the good old Major"; expressions which, though generally lost upon their object, gratified the quicker ear and more disengaged attention of his companions.

On his arrival at Lincoln, he thus writes to Mrs. Cartwright:

"25th March.

"MY DEAREST AND BEST FRIEND,

"After two nights' rest on a double feather-bed, in the land of goose-feathers, I feel so renovated in strength, that I trust I may be able to encounter the labour of to-morrow, if I cannot get the amendment into other hands, as I shall strive to do.

"I landed F. at B. B., where I saw our amiable niece and her three fine boys, of whom I had a kiss in the chaise. On Thursday I shall visit the parsonage; but must hasten home, on account of my book and other matters.

"Colonel Johnson is, I find, of an old Lincolnshire family. I also learn, that he is an excellent man in all the relations of life."

The meeting took place, on the 26th of March, on the Castle Hill at Lincoln. The business was opened by Sir Robert Heron, who, after an appro-

priate speech, proposed a petition to the House of Commons, for reform, which was seconded by Sir John Thorold.

Major Cartwright then proposed a petition, which was seconded by Colonel Johnson. The Honourable C. A. Pelham, M.P. for the county (now Lord Yarborough), supported the original petition, and advocated what may be called moderate reform. Mr. Chaplin, M.P. for the county, then made a speech, in which he expressed himself in terms of respect towards the venerable mover of the amendment; candidly stating, that though an enemy to all reform, being perfectly satisfied with the present state of the representation, yet, were he called upon to choose between two evils, he would prefer, to the petition proposed by Sir Robert Heron, that which had been moved by Major Cartwright, as the most manly and explicit.

Major Allix and Lord Althorpe severally spoke in favour of the original petition, which, after an attempt at coalition with the father of reform (but rejected by him), was adopted by the meeting, and signed, on their behalf, by the sheriff; to whom thanks were voted for his urbanity in conducting the business of the day.

The same newspaper, from which this account is extracted, records, that the venerable Major produced a paper six yards in length, signed by persons in and near Boston, regretting that the

market-day having been chosen by the sheriff for the meeting, had prevented their attendance in favour of radical reform.

Though defeated in his endeavours to carry his petition, this excursion was very gratifying to him in other respects. His reception from many old friends, particularly from numbers of persons in the middling and lower classes of life, was, as usual, full of respect and kindness; to testify which, many persons walked over from Boston to Lincoln, a distance of nearly forty miles.

"TO COLONEL W. A. JOHNSON.

"April 3d, 1823.

"DEAR SIR,

"In answer to your obliging letter of yesterday, I am very sensible of your kind attention. It was, I assure you, with a strong feeling of reluctance that I left your hospitable roof last Monday evening; but a strong desire of breaking the length of my journey on Tuesday prevailed.

"We reached Stilton without inconvenience. I quitted a hard bed at six next morning, more fatigued than I lay down, but am to-day 'as well as can be expected'—at 82.

"Although unsuccessful in the particular point which carried me to Lincoln, and the journey painfully fatiguing, I never was more gratified or better repaid for any exertion. It has made known to me a member of a certain assembly, on whom a much-aggrieved nation may repose in full confi-

dence for exertion of right principles. Considering the present crisis in all its aspects, my imagination anticipates much good indeed!—Until your arrival in town, it will be my study how the incident may be turned to the best advantage.

"My opinion has long been, that reform, come when it will, will come suddenly; how soon, is known only to that Being by whose guidance alone we can succeed. He and his truth are omnipotent."

"TO THOMAS NORTHMORE, ESQ.

"9th May, 1823.

"Your idea of a dinner-meeting in favour of Spain has been working some time. A meeting for discussion is fixed for Thursday the 22d, with an intention of promoting a subscription. With Wooler I agree, that dinner-meetings for valuable objects are bad inventions; as, very soon after dinner the wine begins to take effect, all is noise and confusion; and although I am a friend to pithy and spirited toasts, they, in the way of utility, will not rank with able speeches and wise resolutions. As discussion is the great object, and that which must be depended upon for giving a tone to public opinion, as well as for placing in the fore-ground those who are capable of influencing that opinion, I hope you will be with us on this occasion, if only for that purpose.

"Foreseeing the cookery of a certain water-gruel, I kept back our radical petition of the

county of Middlesex, to be presented on a future day.

"I have now to request your acceptance of a copy of my new work, which I hope to put into your own hands."

On the 19th of May, Major Cartwright addressed a letter to Earl Stanhope (the son of his old friend so often mentioned in this work), on the subject of popular representation. In answer to the objections against universal suffrage, from which some persons anticipate anarchy and confusion, he mentions some remarkable facts furnished by the Inquirer for April, 1823.

It had been prophesied that a general massacre of the whites would follow the emancipation of the negroes in any West Indian island in which the experiment should be tried. The facts alluded to prove that no such result did arise in St. Domingo, from the decree of the French government in February, 1794, and that every thing remained in an orderly state, until the invasion of Le Clerc, in 1801, for the purpose of restoring slavery in that island *.

"Such", says Major Cartwright, "is the answer of history and experience to the rash predictions of prejudiced false prophets."

At this time was published "The Constitution

* It is impossible here to enter into the details of this history; but the curious reader will be amply rewarded by consulting the work alluded to; in which he will find the interesting evidence given on the subject by the venerable General Vincent.

Produced and Illustrated", which Mr. Northmore, in a letter already quoted, denominates his last best work.

This treatise, whether considered as the composition of a man in his eighty-fourth year*, of one whose opinions Mr. Fox had declared, in the House of Commons, to be worthy of the greatest attention and respect, or, as containing the concentration of fifty years' study and experience in public affairs; might seem worthy of the attention of those who investigate the merits and defects of different publications. It was, nevertheless, with a very few exceptions, passed over in silence by the periodical publications of the time.

That its contents were not, however, considered by the publishers in general, of so insignificant a nature, is evident by the fears they entertained of its liability to prosecution †, so that the author, as on a former occasion, found it necessary to hire a small shop, where a confidential friend was employed as agent to dispose of the copies.

* Dr. Parr remarked to a friend, after its perusal, that the author wrote with more energy the older he grew, and that he did not believe there was any man of his age capable of composing such a work; adding, in a laughing tone, "except myself."

† In Major Cartwright's former works, he had confined himself chiefly to the subject of parliamentary reform, as connected with his own country. In "The Constitution Produced and Illustrated", he enlarges more on the principles of general legislation; and it is evident that the experience of years, and the researches he had made in the science of government, had strengthened rather than diminished the bias of his mind in favour of elective institutions.

In a letter to a bookseller, who had expressed some fears of the kind alluded to, he says, "I shall not be apprehensive of any prosecution for the mere opinion you quote, until I hear that the Bible Societies are indicted for publishing a book in which I find these words, "There is no God, I know not any." Should such an indictment be preferred, I imagine that the context, shewing the true object of the book, and the precepts it contains, would, to any jury not being bigotted atheists, and furious persecutors of any other opinion, prove a sufficient defence."

During the summer of 1823, Major Cartwright allowed himself but a few days of relaxation from his various labours, which he spent near Henley-on-Thames, at the house of Mr. H. E. Strickland, who having married one of his nieces, was endeared to him by the double tie of friendship and affection.

On his return to town, he wrote to the President of the Congress of Greece; and as a proof of his continued attention to the interests of that country, the following letter to one of the Greek deputies is here inserted, though of a later date than the period under consideration, being written only two months before his death:

"TO SIGNOR LURIOTIS.

"July, 1824.

"SIR,

"Desirous that you should know what I took

the liberty of suggesting to the Congress of Greece, I have the honour of inclosing you a copy *.

"The title of a 'Provisional Constitution' appearing an invitation to suggestions for its improvement, I had hopes that what I offered to the consideration of the Greek lawgivers, might be acceptable.

"Your present residence in England affording you an opportunity of consulting a variety of authors, who have thrown light on the science of government; and where there are not wanting many persons to assist your judgment, in respect to the correctness or incorrectness of what the writer has advanced; it should seem probable that you may be able to collect information serviceable to the patriots of Greece, in laying foundations for the future benefit of a country, to which all the enlightened of every nation must feel indebted, and for the future prosperity of which they must be warmly interested.

"I cannot, however, omit to offer it as my deliberate judgment, that the modern Greek lawgivers will most consult the true interest of their country, in adopting a form of constitution, the most perfect according to the present state of human knowledge; and that therein will be found

* In the Appendix will be found Major Cartwright's suggestions to the Provisional Government of Greece, in which he lays great stress on the difference between *constitution* and *law*. His opinion, on this subject, has also been manifested in his Letter to Mr. Quincy Adams in this volume, p. 132.

their greatest security against the insidious politics of Russia, or any other of the powerful despotisms. And considering the comparative diminutiveness of a Greek republic to the extensive empires in its vicinity, I am fully convinced that the establishment of a perfect constitution will be just as practicable, as any imperfect form of government which those empires, by their intrigues, may endeavour to cause to be introduced.

"That we may have an opportunity of conversing on the subject, I have to request that you and Signor Orlando, and your secretary, will dine with me on the 16th of this month, at five o'clock, when I shall hope to have the pleasure of my friend Mr. Bowring's company also. If you should happen to be engaged on that day, have the goodness to name any other after the 16th, which may suit you.

"I am, &c.

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

On the first of September, 1823, Major Cartwright had the satisfaction of entertaining beneath his roof, the wives of two of the principal leaders in the Spanish revolution.

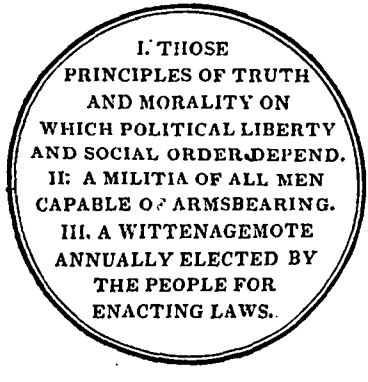
Doña Rafaella de Quiroga, with her little daughter, and Doña Theresa del Riego, having taken refuge in England from the storms which threatened their unhappy country, were received by the venerable patriot with all that courtesy and kindness, which their peculiar situation and engag-

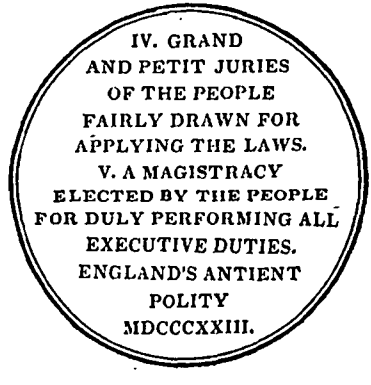
ing manners could not fail to call forth in his benevolent breast.

Seated on each side of their venerable host, and opposite to the busts of their absent husbands, which he had caused to be modelled for the Spanish dinner-meeting already mentioned, these unfortunate ladies offered to the eye of generous sympathy, a striking and interesting picture.

It is well known that Doña Riego, about eight months afterwards, and in the prime of youth and loveliness, followed her gallant husband to the grave.

About this time Major Cartwright caused several thousand medals to be struck, at Birmingham, illustrative of what he considered the five elements of the genuine polity of England.





On the 8th of October, he paid a visit to his nephew, the Rev. Edmund Cartwright, of Earnley in Sussex. He performed the journey with apparent ease, and seemed much delighted with the

retirement and rural aspect of that part of the country. His fondness for children has been already noticed, and he experienced peculiar satisfaction in the company of his great nephews, the youngest of whom, a child of four years of age, engaged the attention of the old sailor by sitting on his knee, and singing to him the favourite sea-songs of his youth. It was probably from those early associations, that every nerve seemed to vibrate with pleasure, as the little singer would vociferate "Turville on the Main", and the inspiring chorus of "Hearts of Oak."

But alas! this cheerful scene was of short duration; the unexpected news of the illness of a sister, together with the rapid decline of Dr. Cartwright, from whom, a short time before, he had received an animated letter, full of projected mechanical inventions, soon destroyed the good effects which had been anticipated from the sea-air, and the happy family circle in which he found himself.

He returned to town in about a fortnight greatly indisposed, and was soon after informed of the death of his brother, who expired at Hastings on the 30th of October, aged eighty years.

During his stay at Earnley, Major Cartwright addressed the following letter to a gentleman interested in the affairs of Mexico:

"TO SEÑOR LLANOS GUTIEREZ.

"18th of October, 1823.

"DEAR SIR,

"I need not say to you how much I lament the turn which things have taken in Spain, where it should seem that even the brave Catalonians will not be able much longer to resist the French armies that will be at liberty to unite for overpowering that province.

"I send you the form of a constitutional instrument for Mexico, the preamble of which is, of course, subject to such alterations as natives, better qualified than I can be to model them to the actual state of things, may find necessary to introduce.

"Six copies of an abridgment of my larger work on the constitution are about to be sent to Greece; and a learned Italian has made a translation of this abridgment into the language of Italy. I have also reason to expect that some French literati will do the same in respect to France*.

"Nations are properly jealous of foreigners who shew a disposition to meddle in their affairs; but still, when convinced that tendered services carry on the face of them a self-evidence of utility, that jealousy may yield to the patriotism which seeks

* It had been suggested to him by the Honourable Leicester Stanhope, in a note on the 24th of May, 1823, that such a translation would be extremely useful, and Major Cartwright lost no time in having it executed.

the general good. I believe you know that twelve years ago I sent to Señor Arguelles my Essay on the Independence of our own American Colonies, written in 1774, strongly recommending a declaration of independence of all the Spanish colonies of America*, by the Cortes of Old Spain.

"I therefore trust I may be now considered as a faithful counsellor to Mexico of twelve years standing; and that the present offering of an old friend and an old man, who must shortly be in his grave, will be received as a sincere testimony of good-will from one who ardently prays for the liberty of all mankind."

Major Cartwright did not live to know in what manner his suggestions were received by the Government of Mexico; but the following letter received some months after his death, afforded a melancholy satisfaction to his family:—

"Mexico, 10th of August, 1824.

"MOST RESPECTED SIR,

"With the utmost pleasure I heard of your health and that of your family, and with gratitude I thank you for the honour of your letter.

"The paper you sent, and a translation of the letter you deigned to write to me, I presented to the Congress. It was received with the greatest pleasure, and the instrument was ordered to be passed to the Committee of Constitution to be con-

* See letter to Senhor Arguelles in this volume, p. 15.

sulted immediately; as you will see by the report of the newspaper I send to my brother.

"The Mexicans, Sir, are grateful to you for your kind remembrance of them, and will take your advice on all occasions, as from a person truly attached to liberty and independence. For my part, Sir, I think, that after the punishment of the tyrant Iturbide, who was shot at Padilla, state of Tamaulipes, we shall accommodate matters so well, that our republic in short time will reflect liberty to all the corners of the world.

"Thanking you for the honour you did me, I beg to be remembered to your amiable family,

"And remain, Sir,

"With respect, &c.

"MATTEO LLANOS GUTIEREZ."*

To the distress which Dr. Cartwright's death occasioned his brother, was added the affliction suffered by the family of Riego, and the failure of all his hopes for the liberty and happiness of Spain.

Don Miguel del Riego, Canon of Oviedo, had been deputed by his brother to accompany Dona Theresa and her sister Dona Lucia del Riego, to England, and while the fate of the unfortunate General was in suspense, the agonies he endured were such as might be expected from one so devotedly attached to a beloved and only brother.

In these sufferings Major Cartwright so deeply

* This letter will shew how well the language of England is likely to be understood and written in Mexico.

sympathized, that the habitual calmness and fortitude of his character, almost forsook him, and for the first time in his life he seemed to lose the power of concealing his own emotions, or of controlling those of others.

When the fate of Riego was sealed, he circulated, in all parts of London, a hand-bill, in which the sorrowing friends of liberty were recommended to wear mourning as a testimony of sympathy in the overwhelming grief of the widow and relatives of that noble martyr to their cause; and he farther suggested that this mourning should continue thirty-eight days, the number of the years which had been granted to the sacrificed Riego.

Not contented with this expression of his feelings, he endeavoured by every means in his power to promote a subscription for a monument to perpetuate the melancholy event.

For this monument he formed a design, from which a finished drawing was executed by Mr. Gandy, and sent to the Royal Academy in Somerset House, but which was rejected on account of its subject.

"It is with regret", says a Royal Academician, "that I learn your drawing is inadmissible on account of the subject. I have made all the interest possible with the council: they have discussed the matter, and the majority are against it."

This design, the taste and simplicity of which have been much admired, is thus explained in the words of the inventor:

"The pedestal consists of three cubes placed in a line, and faced with white marble. In front they present a single entablature, but in the rear they are divided into three entablatures, for inscriptions in Spanish, English, and Latin. The ends of the pedestal are consequently faces of single cubes, for inscriptions in French and German. Two altars are allegorically introduced, as dedicated to liberty and eternity, and between them is seen Riego expiring in the arms of Fame. The grand front entablature tells the story of the hero's sword having been, in full Cortes, consecrated to his country."*

In the prosecution of this design, Major Cartwright spared neither time nor trouble; but though several patriotic gentlemen† joined in the attempt, and a meeting of the Common Council was held for the purpose of setting on foot a subscription,

* The drawing which represents this elegant design has been presented by Mrs. Cartwright to the Canon Riego, the general's brother, already mentioned.

† To one of these, Robert Slade, Esq. of Doctors' Commons, he thus writes: "It is our intention once more to give the Common Council an opportunity of doing themselves honour on the occasion, to which end we hope that you and Mr. Favell will revive the question.

* * * * * * *

"We must not be told that there are no precedents for monuments to foreigners, when they have been erected in this kingdom to Casaubon, St. Evemond, Schomberg, Theodore of Corsica (whose cause was first espoused by the government of this country, where he died in exile); also Paoli, and moreover Dumourier, lately interred at Henley. If he who turned renegade to the

the project died gradually away; and the increasing weakness of Major Cartwright, together with his disability, from pecuniary considerations, to further it as he wished, obliged him unwillingly to relinquish all hopes of its accomplishment.

"TO DR. BIRKBECK.

"15th Nov. 1823.

"SIR,

"Not having taken a note of who is, pro tempore, receiver of annual subscriptions to the London Mechanics' Institute, permit me to place mine, for being a member of so excellent an institution, in your hands, and to congratulate you on the birth of this additional child of your philanthropy, which, it is morally certain, cannot fail to confer happiness on its parent, and unspeakable benefit on the community.

"Although I shall esteem it an honour to be a member, yet, as not being an operative mechanic, I shall not think myself entitled to have any voice in the framing of its laws, or any claim to partake in its management; which, agreeing with those who have given like opinions, I am convinced must

cause of freedom has a monument in England, shall one be denied to Riego?

* * * * * * *

"Respecting precedents, however, it was well observed by a law luminary (Peere Williams), that for doing what is laudable, if precedents be wanting, 'tis fit we make one. All novel improvements in art or science—all first discoveries—all original benefits to society—are without precedent, and for that very reason pre-eminently honourable."

remain exclusively in the hands of the operatives alone, for insuring prosperity to the institution, or good to the public. With sincere respect, and more than respect,

"I remain, Sir, truly your well-wisher,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

The arrival of the gallant Mina in England at this time, induced Major Cartwright, in common with many other friends of liberty, to wish that some public expressions of respect might be paid him on his entry into London, and to this end he addressed the following letter to Don Miguel Del Riego:

"13th December, 1823.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"The reluctance of General Mina to appear an object of admiration to an assembled multitude, is worthy of that intrinsic merit which dictates to man the faithful performance of a duty to his country and to mankind, on a principle that is to satisfy the mind by a sense of rectitude, which looks only to the approbation of that Being whose providence is over men and nations.

"But as Providence, for bringing about its purposes in human affairs, operates through the means of human actions, so whatever is naturally to be expected for the benefit of our country and of mankind, by any particular line of conduct, on any particular occasion, a good and wise man will

be ready to take into his consideration, and to act according to the result of his reflections.

" It is on that account the opinion, as I believe, of the English people, that if General Mina will consent to let it be known on what day he would arrive in London, such would be his reception, as to manifest to the world that the people of this country take so deep an interest in the cause in which he so nobly distinguished himself, as might not only influence the English Government to act rightly, but would also powerfully operate on the public opinion of Europe, so as best to counteract the machinations of the despots who are in a conspiracy against human liberty.

" This, my friend, is my firm belief, gathered not only from the abundant evidence furnished throughout the channels of our numerous journals, of the sentiments of the people in every part of the kingdom, but collected likewise from the concurrent judgments of persons in this capital, who are eminent for knowledge and virtue; in opposition to which are seen only a few, who are notorious for servility and venality, and on whom, there can be no doubt, hath plentifully fallen that shower of French gold, which hath been so lavishly poured down on unfortunate Spain.

" Thence it must be inferred, that if General Mina would consent to gratify our wish, he would thereby contribute to a recovery of Spanish freedom, which can only now be recovered by the same means as shall give freedom, in the first place, to

the enlightened portions of Europe, and then gradually emancipate the remainder, as the light of reason, and the inherent desire of liberty should be diffused in those states where now they are most kept down by the iron hand of an odious tyranny.

"On this occasion, my friend, I am pleading the cause of England, in whose political service I trust that, for half a century, I have been found faithful, and have not unprofitably laboured towards a recovery of those antient liberties, of which she now retains little more than the empty forms and names, and outward show of free institutions; or, in other words, the mere husks and shells, while the nutritive kernels are devoured by the vilest and most contemptible insects.

"As, however, the tide of public opinion, which had so long favoured the voyage of arbitrary power, has at length turned in favour of freedom, and every day grows more and more rapid; the best hopes may be entertained that England may take a leading part in the recovery of European liberty; and I am convinced that if General Mina shall, on this occasion, comply with the earnest wishes of England, nothing would more contribute towards keeping alive in Spain that spirit of which he and Riego, in the hands of Providence, were the principal instruments in laying solid foundations on which the superstructure of as solid a freedom will yet, in due time, be raised.

"You, my friend, I am persuaded, have already

seen enough to entertain a similar opinion; and in that eloquence of the heart, which flows from the pen of enlightened patriotism, I trust for your inducing your virtuous and renowned countryman to suffer his private inclinations to give way to the public good of Spain, of England, of Europe, and of mankind, to which great end circumstances are now so favourable.

"I have the honour to subscribe myself,

"Dear Canon,

"Truly your friend and fellow-labourer,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

On the 9th of February, 1824, was written what is believed to be the last of Major Cartwright's compositions which appeared in print. It is entitled a Problem, and exhibits no symptoms of decaying intellect, or diminished courage. See Appendix, No. XIX.

The following is of a different nature, and might be thought too trivial for insertion in this work, if it were not desirable to give a specimen of that playfulness which would occasionally break out amidst so many serious and harassing occupations:—

"To the Canon of Oviedo, greeting:

"Know that, for the love we bear the Spanish nation, we have determined that your head shall be taken off:

"Wherefore you are hereby required to appear before us at No. 37, in Burton Crescent, this day at eleven of the clock, clean shaved; when we shall in person forthwith guard you to the place of execution, our faithful executioner, John Henning*, being there in readiness for rendering us this acceptable service, that so, according to your deserts, you may be made a suitable example to your countrymen.

"Nothing doubting of your obedience to our reasonable command, to this writing we set our hand and seal, on Friday, the 13th day of February, in the year 1824.

"JOHN, the Father of many who hold the true political faith."

It is now the writer's painful task to record the progress of that decline of bodily strength, which in a few months carried to the grave the most beloved of friends and of parents.

In the month of April he made a short visit to his old friend Admiral Peere Williams Freeman, his messmate on board the Magnanime, and brother midshipman at the sea-fight between Hawke and Conflans. In the family of this gentleman, he expressed an opinion which he had hitherto carefully concealed from his own, that he felt an increasing feebleness, which warned him how short a time he

* Mr. Herning is well known as a sculptor, by various works of art, especially by his beautiful friezes, copied from the Elgin marbles.

had to live. Having called on his friend Mr. Holt White, at Enfield, on his road from Hoddesdon, that gentleman expressed a hope that he might see him again in the summer—his reply was, "I will come if I can; but I have strong indications that the old machine is nearly worn out."

On his return, this feebleness became more apparent from the daily diminution of his accustomed walks; but those about him still flattered themselves, that as he had no visible cause of illness, a suspension of his constant and arduous occupations might avert the dreaded event. In this hope they strongly urged his giving up, for a time at least, every exertion which tended to exhaust his strength; but, willing as he in general was to oblige them, he could not be persuaded to forego those mental exertions for the good of mankind which his approaching end made him consider more than ever necessary—nor did he allow himself any other recreation than that afforded by the visits of the friends and enlightened foreigners, who frequently spent the evening at his house. In these little parties he would converse with cheerfulness; and as he sat in his arm-chair, his countenance beaming with benevolence, and occasionally with animation, he exhibited a picture of virtuous and enlightened age, which none could contemplate without reverence and affection.

The following letters will sufficiently shew how completely his thoughts were awakened to the great change that awaited him; and when it is re-

collected that they were written so short a time before his death, and under the influence of extreme physical exhaustion, they may be considered as the effusions of an almost disembodied spirit, hovering on the brink of eternity.

"TO ——

"13th of April, 1824.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Returning last night from my visit at Admiral Williams Freeman's, at Hoddesdon, I found your kind note of the 10th, and the North American reviews you had the goodness to leave for my acceptance. This token of your friendship, added to others previously experienced, have made a lively impression on the mind of one, who being in his 84th year can have little expectation of seeing you again.

"Although the separation, after the pleasure of having for a short time enjoyed your acquaintance, is one of much regret; yet I have a true satisfaction in reflecting on the pleasure you must experience, in visiting the many relations and friends of yourself and your lady, and in being a witness of human society in the full fruition of national freedom.

"Notwithstanding it is my fate to witness a very different scene, yet in the trust I have that reason, and the North American example, will sooner or later, in the dispensations of Divine Providence, cause a revival of European liberty, is a

consolation that cannot be taken from me; nor can a desire of promoting such a consummation, as far as the humble abilities of a private individual may contribute to that end, be ever extinguished.

With an earnest hope that your voyage may be prosperous, and that at your wished-for return you may find your worthy parents in good health, I beg to subscribe myself,

"Your obliged friend and servant,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

"TO MONSIEUR GERARD BUISSON.

"20th of June, 1824.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"We are all much flattered by the friendly recollection of us expressed in your letter of the 20th of April.

"Like yourself, we are anxious to hear of our common friend the Baron de Zandt, especially as we learn from one of his nation, that many persons who entertain similar opinions, have lately, in his country, been deprived of liberty; but that knowledge is on the wing, which will bring the people and their rulers to be of one mind.

"As you, my dear Sir, do not meddle with state affairs, but devote yourself to the muses—the grave as well as the gay—we conclude that your personal tranquillity is secure from disturbance, and that in the bosom of your family, and in the circle of your associates, you have all the enjoyment you well merit. As to myself, my occu-

pations and amusements are what you witnessed them; for in my old man's chair, surrounded by those I love, and whose affection and kindness are far more gratifying to me than I can express, my life glides smoothly towards its close, with a degree of happiness for which I am truly grateful to those who so materially contribute thereto; and with a lively hope, that when the time of my translation shall come, my demerits may not be allowed to rise in judgement against me, but that the infinite goodness of our common parent will render that translation a better. That your course may be strewed with flowers, and ultimately terminate in your happiness, is the sincere wish of

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

There seems nothing so desirable in human existence, when that existence is prolonged to an unusual period, than to journey towards the grave in the possession of undiminished energy of mind, and with feelings of such cheerful resignation as we have seen displayed in the foregoing letter.

About forty years previous to this period, in a letter to one of his sisters, he thus expressed himself on the subject of the approaching dissolution of his mother, who was then eighty years of age; "With regard to the loss we must sustain, I will only remark, that although affection must necessarily feel a shock on such an occasion, it seems more desirable that she should gently and quietly depart in peace amongst her children, and before

greater infirmities should increase her sufferings, than that she should drag on the last links of life in misery of any kind, or with the loss or great decay of her intellects—what any rational being would wish for themselves, seems most consistent with every sentiment of duty and affection, to wish for those who are dear to us."

The wish thus implied was mercifully granted: no loss or decay of intellect, no feebleness, no irritation of the mind, no acute sufferings of the body, attended the closing period of his life*.

* In preparation for the event which awaited him, he allotted about this time, several little presents to his near relations, with care appropriating to his great nephews such books and articles as he considered might be most useful in their several professions. To one intended for the army, and who was the subject of the anecdote mentioned in this volume, p. 11., he gave his manual of instruction for the militia, several books on military subjects, and his militia sword, &c. To another, who was at that time a naval cadet at Portsmouth, his nautical charts, his tracts on ship-building, and Captain Shank's engravings of sliding keels, &c. He also wrote the following memorandum, which, however, was not found till a fortnight or three weeks after his decease:—

"The importance to society of medical knowledge is obvious. Medical knowledge must be founded on anatomical observation; and in proportion as physicians and surgeons are skilled in anatomy, will be their usefulness. That all students in medicine or surgery should *practically* study anatomy is doubtless necessary, since the mere theory to be learned from books cannot qualify a surgeon to perform difficult and delicate operations; nor can those who study medicine expect to improve their science, unless they shall add to books a practical knowledge of anatomy. Reflecting on the foregoing considerations, and also recollecting that the anatomy of our body by worms is unavoidable, it seems desirable,

The lamp, indeed, was sinking into the socket, but the flame so soon to be extinguished, burnt, even to the last, with pure and steady brightness.

Of the publication of his last work he thus speaks, in the month of July, in a letter to B. M. Beverley, Esq.:

"For my not sooner answering your obliging letter of the 29th of May, I have to plead occupation, the inertness of age, added to the defects of a broken constitution for the last fifty years, and considerable indisposition of many days past.

"I also deferred writing till I could announce to you the publication of 'Palim', a dialogue of twenty-four pages, a copy of which waits your acceptance.

"Its object is, to exhibit government in its sim-

for the benefit of society, that they should be previously dissected by the teachers of medicine and surgery.

"It is therefore my wish, that very soon after my decease, my corpse may be committed to the care of my friend Dr. Harrison, (if at that time in London,) or to Mr. Cline, or to the last attending physician, to be removed to Surgeons' Hall for dissection in a regular lecture, and then immediately deposited in its coffin, ready for being conveyed to the place of interment.

"But all this, relative to dissection, to be on condition of Dr. Harrison, Mr. Cline, or such last-attending physician engaging for the punctual observance of what I wish to be done, to the entire satisfaction of my executrixes, on whose consent the whole must depend.

"My own wish is, simply, that my body, after death, and before its dissolution, may be instrumental in promoting the good of mankind."

plest, and, as I think, its best form. It is intended in the way of instruction to those who interest themselves in the pruning of constitutions, as well as ultimately to guide those who aim at restoring the purity of our own. In consequence of some intimacy with friends of liberty, of Italy, Spain, France, and Germany, I am led to expect its being translated into all those languages. As many Spaniards and Spanish Americans are now here, I have thoughts, if my purse will admit of it, of printing a Spanish edition for distribution among them*.

" Touching this being 'not the day for the cause of the people', I am satisfied in your saying 'nil desperandum', since, although that cause does not at present produce any very conspicuous popular exertion, and in two certain houses experiences no encouragement, convinced I am, that it is working well in a diffusion of true political knowledge; and that the magnificent American mirror is daily enlightening the old world more and more. This being the case, and the wings of truth giving her now a tenfold velocity to what she was capable of in the earlier ages, we must be satisfied; but not without doing all we can to invigorate her."

In the same letter, he speaks of that early want of education which has been alluded to in the first

* In consequence of this wish, which he did not live to accomplish, it has been, since his death, fulfilled.

volume of these Memoirs. "As a completely unlearned man," says he, "who got no education at school, and little, as may be supposed, on a ship-of-war's deck, it is a gratification to me not to be expressed, that, from the noblest exertions of the learned, I find a confirmation in the principles which have been my guide in politics; and that the foundations I have laboured to establish must, as it should seem, be those on which all political morality and all political economy, to be just and useful, be raised. Indeed, amidst my regrets respecting the want of education, I sometimes think that the absence of learning, as well as the want of a retentive memory*, may have been fortunate circumstances, by confining my exertions to a contemplation of first principles, and to the legitimate conclusions of common sense, adapted to the understanding of the mass of a people.

"In the multitude of authors, those even of this class may possibly be of use, at least they are less likely to mislead the public, than those whose learning and logic can give to error an appearance of truth."

* His want of memory, though often lamented by Major Cartwright himself, was not perceptible to others. His extreme correctness in relating any circumstance, or in giving an opinion with regard to any fact, was remarkable. Perhaps his consciousness of a defective memory had taught him never to hazard any thing in conversation of which he was not positively sure; certain it is, that whoever repeated after him, might feel safe in so doing.

On the 13th of July, Major Cartwright had the gratification of receiving from the venerable Ex-President Jefferson, to whom he had sent a copy of his "English Constitution", a letter which is here given to the public.

It was a great pleasure to Major Cartwright to observe, that the signature of this letter was written in a hand no less firm and powerful than that which appeared in the declaration of American Independence, a copy of which Major Cartwright had framed, and hung up in his dining-room.

"Monticello in Virginia, June 5, 1824.

"DEAR AND VENERABLE SIR,

"I am much indebted for your kind letter of February 29, and for your valuable volume on the English constitution. I have read this with pleasure and much approbation; and I think it has deduced the constitution, inherited by the English nation, from its rightful root, the Anglo-Saxon. It is really wonderful that so many able men should have failed in their attempts to define it with correctness; no wonder then that Paine, who thought more than he read, should have credited the great authorities who have declared, that the will of parliament is the constitution of England. So Marbois, before the French revolution, observed to me, that the Almanac Royal was the constitution of France. Your derivation of it from the Anglo-Saxons seems to be made on legitimate principles.

Having driven out the former inhabitants of that part of the island called England, they became, as to you, Aborigines and your lineal ancestors; they doubtless had a constitution, and although they have not left it in a written formula, to the precise text of which you may always appeal, yet they have left fragments of their history and laws, from which it may be inferred, with considerable certainty, whatever their history and laws shew to have been practised with approbation, we may presume was permitted by their constitution; whatever was not so practised was not permitted; and although this constitution was violated, and set at nought by Norman force, yet force cannot change right; a perpetual claim was kept up by the nation in their perpetual demand of the restoration of their Saxon laws, which shews they never were relinquished by the will of the nation. In the pullings and haulings for these antient rights, between the nation and its kings of the races of Plantagenets, Tudors, and Stuarts, there was sometimes gain and sometimes loss, until the final reconquest of their rights from the Stuarts broke the thread of pretended inheritance, extinguished all regal usurpations, and the nation re-entered into all its rights; and although in their bill of rights they specifically reclaim some only, yet the omission of others was no renunciation of the right to assume their exercise also, whenever occasions should occur. The new king received no rights or powers but those expressly granted to him. It has

ever appeared to me, that the difference between the whig and tory of England is, that the whig deduces his rights from the Anglo-Saxon source, the tory from the Norman; and Hume, the great apostle of toryism says, in so many words, (note AA to chap. 42.,) that in the reigns of the Stuarts, 'it was the people who encroached upon the sovereign, not the sovereign who attempted, as is pretended, to usurp upon the people'; this supposes the Norman usurpations to be rights in his successors; and again, (c. 59.) 'the commons established a principle, which is noble in itself, and seems specious, but is believed by all history and experience, *that the people are the origin of all* JUST *power;* and where else will this degenerate son of science, this traitor to his fellow-men, find the origin of *just* power, if not in the majority of the society? Will it be in the minority, or in an individual of that minority?

"Our revolution commenced on more favourable ground. It presented us an album, on which we were free to write what we pleased; we had no occasion to search into musty records, to hunt up royal parchments, or to investigate the laws and institutions of a semi-barbarous ancestry. We appealed to those of nature, and found them engraved in our hearts, yet we did not avail ourselves of all the advantages of our position. We had never been permitted to exercise self-government; when forced to assume it, we were novices in its science; its principles and forms had entered little into our

former education; we established however some, although not all its important principles. The constitutions of most of our states assert, that all power is inherent in the people; that they may exercise it by themselves, in all cases to which they think themselves competent; (as in electing their functionaries, executive and legislative, and deciding by a jury of themselves both fact and law, in all judiciary cases in which any fact is involved;) or they may act by representatives, freely and equally chosen; that it is their right and duty to be at all times armed; that they are entitled to freedom of person, freedom of religion, freedom of property, and freedom of the press. In the structure of our legislatures, we think experience has proved the benefit of subjecting questions to two separate bodies of deliberants; but in constituting these, natural right has been mistaken; some making one of these bodies, and some both the representatives of property instead of persons, whereas the double deliberation might be as well obtained without any violation of true principle, either by requiring a greater age in one of the bodies, or by electing a proper number of representatives of persons, dividing them by lot into two chambers, and renewing the division at frequent intervals, in order to break up cabals.

"Virginia, of which I am myself a native and resident, was not only the first of the states, but I believe I may say, the first of the nations of the earth, which assembled its wise men peaceably together, to form a fundamental constitution, to

commit it to writing, and place it among their archives, where every one should be free to appeal to its text. But this act was very imperfect; the other states, as they proceeded successively to the same work, made successive improvements; and several of them, still further corrected by experience, have, by conventions, still further amended their first forms. My own state has gone on so far with its *prémiere ebauche*, but it is now proposing to call a convention for amendment. Among other improvements, I hope they will adopt the subdivisions of our countries into wards; the former may be estimated at an average of twenty-four miles square, the latter should be about six miles square each, and would answer to the hundreds of your Saxon Alfred. In each of these might be, 1. An elementary school; 2. A company of militia, with its officers; 3. A justice of the peace, and a constable; 4. Each ward should take care of their own poor; 5. Of their own roads; 6. Their own police; 7. Elect, within themselves, one or more jurors to attend the courts of justice; 8. And here give in at their folk-house their votes for all functionaries reserved to their election. Each ward would thus be a small republic within itself, and every man in the state would thus become an acting member of the common government, transacting, in person, a great portion of its rights and duties, subordinate indeed, but important, and entirely within his competence: the wit of man can-

not devise a more solid basis for a free, durable, and well-administered republic.

"With respect to our state and federal governments, I do not think their relations correctly understood by foreigners. They generally suppose the former subordinate to the latter, but this is not the case, they are co-ordinate departments of one simple integral whole. To the state-governments are reserved all legislation, and administration in affairs which concern their own citizens only; and to the federal government is given whatever concerns foreigners, or the citizens of other states. These functions alone being made federal, the one is the domestic, the other the foreign branch of the same government; neither having controul over the other, but within its own department. There are one or two exceptions only to this partition of power. But, you may ask, if the two departments should claim each the same subject of power, where is the common umpire to decide ultimately between them? In cases of little importance or urgency, the prudence of both parties will keep them aloof from the questionable ground; but if it can neither be avoided or compromised, a convention of the states must be called, to ascribe the doubtful power to that department which they may think best. You will perceive, by these details, that we have not so far perfected our constitutions as to venture to make them unchangeable—but still, in their present state, we consider them not

otherwise changeable, than by the immediate authority of the people, on a special election of representatives for that purpose expressly. They are till then the lex legum.

"But can they be made unchangeable? Can one generation bind another, and all others in succession for ever? I think not: the Creator has made the earth for the living, not the dead. Rights and powers can only belong to persons, not to things; not to mere matter unendowed with will—the dead are not even things. The particles of matter which composed their bodies make part now of the bodies of other animals, vegetables, or minerals of a thousand forms. To what then are attached the rights and powers they held while in the form of man? A generation may bind itself as long as its majority continues in life. When that has disappeared, another majority is in place, holds all the rights and powers their predecessors once held, and may change their laws and institutions to suit themselves. Nothing then is unchangeable but the inherent and unalienable rights of man.

"I was glad to find, in your book, a formal contradiction, at length, of the judiciary usurpation of legislative powers; for such the judges have usurped, in their repeated decisions that Christianity is a part of the common law. The proof of the contrary which you have adduced is incontrovertible; to wit, that the common law existed while the Anglo-Saxons were yet Pagans; at a time when they had never yet heard the name of Christ

pronounced, or knew that such a character had ever existed. But it may amuse you to shew when, and by what means, they stole this law in upon us. In a case of quare impedit, in the year-book, 34 H. 6. fo. 38. (1458), a question was made, how far the ecclesiastical law was to be respected in a common law court? And Prisot, c. 5. gives his opinion in these words—'A tiel leis que ils de seint eglise ont en *ancien scripture*, covient à nous à donner credence; car ceo common ley sur quels touts manners leis sont fondés—et auxy, Sir, nous sumus obligés de conustre leur ley de saint eglise; et semblablement ils sont obligés de conustre nostre ley: et, Sir, si poit apperer or à nous que l'evesque ad fait come un ordinary fera en tiel cas, adonq nous devons ceo adjuger bon, ou autrement nemy,' &c. See S. C. Fitzh. Abr. qu. imp. 89. Bro. Abr. qu. imp. 12. Finch in his first book, c. 3, is the first afterwards who quotes this case, and misstates it thus, 'To such laws of the church as have warrant in *holy scripture*, our law giveth credence', and cites Prisot, mistranslating 'ancien scripture' into 'holy scripture'; whereas Prisot palpably says, 'to such laws as those of holy church have in *antient writing*, it is proper for us to give credence'; to wit, to their antient written laws. This was in 1613, a century and a half after the dictum of Prisot. Wingate, in 1658, erects this false translation into a maxim of the common law, copying the words of Finch, but citing Prisot. Wingate max. 3, and Sheppard tit. 'Religion', in

1675, copies the same mistranslation, quoting the Y. B. Finch and Wingate. Hale expresses it in these words, 'Christianity is parcel of the laws of England.' 1 Ventr. 293. 3 Keb. 607., but quotes no authority. By these echoings and re-echoings from one to another, it had become so established in 1728, that in the case of the King v. Woolston, 2 Stra. 834, the court would not suffer it to be debated, whether to write against Christianity was punishable in the temporal courts at common law? Wood, therefore, 409, ventures still to vary the phrase, and says, 'that all blasphemy and profaneness are offences by the common law,' and cites 2 Stra.; then Blackstone, in 1763, IV. 59., repeats the words of Hale, that 'Christianity is part of the law of England', citing Ventris and Strange; and finally Lord Mansfield, with a little qualification, in Evans's case in 1767, says, 'that the essential principles of revealed religion are parts of the common law', thus engulphing Bible, Testament and all, into the Common Law, without citing any authority. And thus we find this chain of authorities hanging link by link one upon another, and all ultimately on one and the same hook; and that a mistranslation of the words 'ancien scripture' used by Prisot. Finch quotes Prisot; Wingate does the same; Sheppard quotes Prisot, Finch, and Wingate; Hale cites nobody; the Court, in Woolston's case, cites Hale; Wood cites Woolston's case; Blackstone quotes Woolston's case, and Hale; and Lord Mansfield, like Hale,

ventures it on his own authority. Here I might defy the best read lawyer to produce another scrip of authority for this *judiciary forgery;* and I might go on further to shew how some of the Anglo-Saxon priests interpolated into the text of Alfred's laws, the 20th, 21st, 22d, and 23rd Chapters of Exodus, and the 15th of the Acts of the Apostles, from the 23rd to the 29th verses. But this would lead my pen and your patience too far. What a conspiracy this between Church and State!!! Sing Tantararara, Rogues all, Rogues all; Sing Tantararara, Rogues all!

"I must still add to this long and rambling letter, my acknowledgements for your good wishes to the University we are now establishing in this state. There are some novelties in it: of that of a professorship of the principles of government, you express your approbation. They will be founded in the rights of man: that of agriculture I am sure you will approve; and that also of Anglo-Saxon. As the histories and laws left us, in that type and dialect, must be the text-books of the reading of the learners, they will imbibe, with the language, their free principles of government. The volumes you have been so kind as to send, shall be placed in the library of the University. Having, at this time, in England, a person sent for the purpose of selecting some professors, a Mr. Gilmer of my neighbourhood, I cannot but recommend him to your patronage, counsel, and guardianship, against imposition, misinformation, and the deceptions of partial and false recommendations, in the selection of

characters; he is a gentleman of great worth and correctness, my particular friend, well educated in various branches of science, and worthy of entire confidence.

"Your age of eighty-four, and mine of eighty-one years, ensure us a speedy meeting. We may then commune at leisure, and more fully, on the good and evil, which in the course of our long lives, we have both witnessed; and, in the mean time, I pray you to accept assurances of my high veneration and esteem for your person and character.

"THOMAS JEFFERSON."

To this letter, Major Cartwright returned an answer on the 28th of July, 1824, at the conclusion of which, after mentioning the various topics of Mr. Jefferson's "much valued letter", he says, "What now remains for me to add, but the expression of a wish to be favoured with your sentiments, on the expedience and utility of the *moral regulator* of manners in a republic spoken of in the tract I send you? It is a topic on which, for many years, the writer has bestowed much thought, and even, in spite of the chilling influence of increasing age, with an increased persuasion in its favour*.

"Should your Virginian library not possess West's

* Major Cartwright alludes to the institution of national games at stated periods, to be made subservient to the cause of morality, and to promote a variety of objects, desirable in a national point of view.

Translation of the Odes of Pindar, to which is added a Dissertation on the Olympic Games,—that admirable discourse will be pointed out to your friend Mr. Gilmer, as well worth the attention of statesmen, who at this critical juncture in human affairs, have pre-eminently in their hands the education of mankind, in the most sublime of all the sciences, that of political government.

"Conscious of the dulness and other imperfections of this heavy letter, the writer pleads the extreme decay of strength, not only of body, but of mind, which he has of late experienced. Nothing, indeed, would induce him to engage in such a task, but a hope, ere he go hence, of rendering some service to that cause in this world which he has most at heart.

"Trusting in your kind acceptance of this apology, and that you will favour him in reply with a line from your more youthful and vigorous pen, he subscribes himself truly,

"Your admiring friend and servant,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

"TO JEREMY BENTHAM, ESQ.

"7th August, 1824.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"By the bearer (for I would not risk accident by the post) you will receive the letter of Thomas Jefferson; of which you are welcome to take a copy, or to make any application of its contents you please, as I well know that the public good is your sole object.

"Accept my best thanks for the list of your works, and the intimation of farther aid for the information of Mr. Gilmer.

"The letter of Thomas Jefferson is one I have received as part of a correspondence opened with a few leading men in America; in the hope, that in any future revisions of their several constitutions, they may avoid the complexity in their constitutional instruments, the copying of which proved so great a stumbling-block to Spain; as lamented in what is attributed to Galeano, in No. I. of the Westminster Review.

"The recommending simplicity in all such documents, is a leading object of the political dialogue, although, in respect of England, much more is aimed at in the working of time and truth.

"If, indeed, her constitution were from the first what I have endeavoured to shew, and the reflection of two years has confirmed me in that persuasion, a new and safe guide is furnished to the historian. Taking the principles of that original polity as a basis for his history, he will then have a criterion for ascertaining through the progress of events, whatever was in unison, or whatever is in discordance with the true constitution. He will, in particular, be able to appreciate the horrid havoc of the English liberties by the accursed Norman, and to unravel all the complexity and confusion which from the first introduction of the Norman counterfeit to this hour, have rendered our system an almost incomprehensible mystery. Nor will the historian be without a mirror, in which

may be seen the errors and the vices of both Whigs and Tories.

"If the author of the 'Constitution Produced and Illustrated' have had the good fortune to dig up from among the ruins and rubbish accumulating through thirteen centuries, the genuine antique which exhibits the true form of our polity, what remains to be accomplished for the glory and happiness of England, but a code of corresponding laws; and who but a Bentham shall furnish such a code?

"With such hopes, the author of the 'Constitution' is going down to the grave, perfectly satisfied that however that discourse may hitherto be supposed to have operated, it may in time do its office, that of pointing out to the disciples of liberty the right course for putting down and triumphing over the combined enemies of liberty."

Notwithstanding the skill and friendly attention of Dr. Harrison, who had formerly been for many years his physician in Lincolnshire, the state of Major Cartwright's health became more and more unfavourable; but unwilling to suppose it hopeless, his anxious family were induced to believe that change of air might remove the lurking fever which undermined his strength.

In this arrangement he acquiesced with his accustomed gentleness, though well aware that the remedy was useless, for when Mrs. Cartwright complained to Mrs. Holt White in his presence, of the injury he did his health by writing so many hours in the day, and added, that he had nothing

but debility to contend with, he turned his head to see if this beloved wife was not aware that debility at eighty-four years of age would be as fatal as disease; and seeing in her earnest look and energetic manner, that she really believed his recovery was attainable by rest and care, his whole countenance (to use the words of the lady already alluded to) was illumined with a most benevolent smile at her happy credulity, and he only shook his head in reply.

When farther urged by Mrs. White to come to her house for change of air, he remarked, "Dear lady, I feel that I carry the burthen of eighty-four years on my shoulders."

A small house being taken on the edge of the Lower Heath at Hampstead, Major Cartwright removed thither on the 10th of September, and on the first evening of his arrival, he seemed much revived, and observed, that he breathed more freely than he had done in London; the next morning, however, the amendment ceased, and from that time till his decease he laboured under a constant and most distressing oppression on the chest.

Among several whose anxiety led them to call upon him while at Hampstead, were his valued friends Mr. and Mrs. Holt White, with whom, notwithstanding his extreme debility, he conversed with much cheerfulness. Taking an opportunity, however, when alone with Mr. Holt White, he said emphatically, "White, they would not insure my life at Lloyd's for a fortnight."

Mr. White unable to deny this evident truth, endeavoured to conceal his emotion, and turned the conversation; after which, Major Cartwright proceeded to speak of the College which Jefferson was about to establish in Virginia, and thanked his friend for the communication he had sent him relative to works of literature, which might be of utility in the library of the projected institution.

He remarked, that he had hoped if his life had been spared a little longer, he should have completed his "History of Juries"; and during the whole of this conversation, he had the manner of of a person who is going to set out on a long journey, and who calls to mind every particular which it may be necessary to remember before his departure. Even the circumstance of a small book he had borrowed, and which he wished to have returned to the owner, was not forgotten. It has been since ascertained that the same impression had never been absent from his mind for several months.

While at Hampstead, as one of his family was reading to him the letters of Don Doblado on Spain, an idea having struck him which he thought might be inserted in the Spanish translation of his political dialogue, he, with great difficulty, wrote as follows; being frequently obliged to pause from extreme faintness. It was the last time he ever put pen to paper.

"It is to be hoped that the time is near, when the universal Spanish people shall feel the true dignity

of asserting that equality in which they came from the hands of their Creator, who made them all alike heirs by natural right of political liberty, as well as of eternal happiness, if merited by virtue.

"It was Almighty God, who in forming Spaniards for such felicity, made them *men*. It was a succession of tyrants, who, for reducing them to slaves, made them cavaleros, hidalgos, grandees, and taught them the contemptible nonsense of family blood. Virtue alone is true nobility: patriot services for establishing common right and universal freedom, are alone legitimate titles to public trust and distinction."

He also dictated a letter to General Michelena, envoy from Mexico, to recommend to him a young officer whose talents and information he hoped might prove useful in the service of that country. These two last efforts closed a long career of public exertion and private benevolence.

Finding he grew daily weaker, he was anxious to return home, and on the 16th of September he was with great difficulty supported up stairs to the back drawing-room of his house in Burton Crescent, where a bed had been prepared for him, and from which he never rose again. From that time, he might be said to be almost expiring, so great was the oppression on his lungs, and so painful his efforts for respiration.

But amidst all his sufferings he only lamented the fatigue and anxiety of those about him, and

when expressing his surprise, that with a frame so exhausted he should find it so hard to die, he frequently exclaimed in the most emphatic manner, "God's will be done."

Learning that some of his nearest relations had come from a distance to see him, after requesting that an interview so affecting to both parties might not be prolonged more than a few minutes, he desired them to be admitted, and gave them his last blessing; but his emotions, though suppressed, were evidently so extremely painful to his exhausted frame, that it became necessary for his tranquillity to refuse several subsequent applications of the same kind from those who were attached to him, and for whom he entertained a similar regard. When informed of the frequent enquiries of his friends and relations, he expressed great thankfulness for their attention; and requested the writer, at a suitable time, to give them the following remarkable message:

"Say to all enquiring friends, that I have never ceased to entertain the most consolatory hopes of the ultimate establishment of civil and religious liberty: but to this end, there must be *virtuous* instruments, which, it is to be hoped, the times will supply."

He also gave the same person some instructions which he wished should be attended to after his decease, among others, a letter to be written to

Mr. Jefferson. He called to mind some particulars respecting different sums of money which were owing to him, and which he desired might be claimed for the benefit of those he left behind him; expressing much anxiety for the welfare of his beloved wife, as well as for the comfortable establishment of his faithful and valued servant, Henry Banham, who had lived with him thirty-five years; and who, with a female domestic, resident twenty years in his house, shared with his wife and niece the painful task of watching the last hours of his existence*.

General Michelena (the Mexican minister) having about two days before his death, sent a kind message to inform him that the scheme of Iturbide had failed, and that the liberty of Mexico might be considered as established, he exclaimed with fervour, "I am glad, I am very glad!" These were almost the last words he ever spoke: his voice soon

* So many pleasing instances of attention occurred at this time from various classes of society, that the following circumstance can hardly be supposed to have been entirely accidental. It was observed, that during the last few days of Major Cartwright's illness, a perfect stillness prevailed in that part of Burton Crescent in which he resided, and that the usual noises, vociferous cries, &c. were discontinued. Among other instances of respect shewn to his memory in distant places, it is worthy of remark, that in a town where he was well known both as a public and private character, the inhabitants, wishing to mark their feeling on receiving the news of his death, notwithstanding the opposition which was made to their wishes by the Corporation, insisted on ringing what is called a dumb peal on the occasion.

after became nearly inaudible, but he was perfectly sensible to the last, and appeared absorbed in mental prayer.

He had expressed at Hampstead his conviction, that he should not live till his birth-day on the 28th of September, and this prediction was verified: for he expired on the 23d about half-past five in the afternoon, but so calmly, that the moment at which he ceased to breathe was hardly perceptible.

Of his personal appearance in latter life, an idea may be formed from the portrait at the head of the first of these volumes. It would be difficult, however, for any person who never saw him, to imagine the calm but dignified expression, the deep thought and habitual benignity of his countenance; still more impossible would it be to paint him, as he appeared, when any instance of cruelty and oppression, or of treachery to the sacred cause of freedom roused his sudden indignation, and called forth the lightning of his eye.

In youth, if we may believe the testimony of his contemporaries, he had been remarkably handsome, but the hardships he went through in Newfoundland, had early in life impaired his health, and given to his complexion that pale and sallow hue, which afterwards never left him. Except his upper lip, which was somewhat too long, his features were regular, and the form and colour of his eye most beautiful; his height was somewhat more

than five feet, ten inches, and his figure finely proportioned. A model by Mr. Macdowell of Seymour Street, Euston Square, which has been offered to the Committee for Major Cartwright's monument, gives a perfect idea of his appearance in the latter part of his life, and presents, in every respect, a striking, and, to those to whom he was most dear, an affecting resemblance.

His dress was peculiar, for in that he consulted convenience alone, and therefore, for many years, had not varied the form of his clothes to suit the fashions or whim of the day.

His manners were those of a perfect gentleman, and his deportment was peculiarly dignified and graceful. A young lady once remarked, "If I had seen Major Cartwright begging and in rags, I must instinctively have courtsied to him."

In the early part of his life he was passionately fond of field-sports, and particularly of hunting*, which he followed with his usual alacrity, till other more important objects engrossed his undivided attention.

That quality usually called courage, is in most men so much the result of natural constitution, that it would be ridiculous to dwell on the instances which might be given of his habitual coolness and insensibility to danger. The writer,

* His brother, Dr. Cartwright, who had been himself, when young, remarkable for his feats in horsemanship, once observed to the writer, that his brother John was in every respect the best and most elegant rider he had ever seen.

however, cannot forbear remarking, that except where the safety of others was concerned, it seemed as if the sensation of fear were a stranger to his breast.

Another feature in his character is, however, particularly deserving of notice, as being probably much more rare, and by many persons it should therefore seem, of more difficult attainment. It was the extreme tenderness with which he treated the private feelings of those with whom he was acquainted, and the caution he used in speaking of their affairs before others. This caution he inculcated in his family, both by precept and example; and nothing gave him so much pain as the mention in mixed company, or at table, of any circumstances relating to individuals, which they would not have wished to be made public. "Can we expect", he would say, "that discretion from our servants which we do not practise ourselves; and will they not naturally imitate us in repeating what may unnecessarily hurt the feelings, or injure the reputation of individuals?"

With a turn of thought so conscientious, it will not be surprising, that of all men who ever lived, none entertained a higher idea of the sacredness of friendly and confidential intercourse. It may be truly said, that he would have lost his life, rather than have betrayed a secret entrusted to his care.

Such a character, indeed, deserved to be beloved, and it is a pleasure to reflect, that even in this life,

he received the recompense of virtue. The ardent affection, the devoted attachment which he inspired in those whom he admitted to his friendship, continued, with a very few exceptions, to the close of his existence, and he died, as he had lived, amidst the blessings of all who knew him.

In his religious opinions he adhered to no particular sect or party*. He read the Scriptures daily, and drew from them his own conclusions; what those conclusions were, may be seen by the following extracts from a paper which accompanied his will.

Speaking of himself in the third person, he says, "The legal doctrines of the state-church not satisfying his judgment, he sought for truth in the Bible, and in Reason, equally, the revelations of the Almighty." The opinions in which he at length found rest and satisfaction were these:

"That God is I AM! the eternal! the self-existent! not powerful, but POWER; not wise, but WISDOM; not good, but GOODNESS. That he is one: a spirit without person; for in the idea of person who can exclude either form or limit? But what is the form of ubiquity? where are the limits of infinity? From the eternity and existence of the Deity, his UNITY cannot be, even in idea, separated.

"That Jesus of Nazareth is the Christ, the

* His favourite authors on theological subjects were Clarke and Jortin.

chosen one, the highly favoured of God, the Saviour of men, and their appointed Judge.

"That the proper good and happiness of man is only to be found in piety to God, and virtue towards his fellow creatures."*

In his will, dated in June 1824, he requested that his funeral might be conducted by his executrixes with all possible attention to economy. The following is the concluding passage:—"To my country, anxiously desiring her welfare, I leave a fervent wish for such necessary, deep, and salutary reforms in her institutions, as would not only restore her lost freedom, but purify from the odiousness and debasement of unfaithfulness and corruption, all her public departments. By a complete restoration of her genuine polity (which I have endeavoured to place before her eyes), she might, in my humble judgment, so correct the morals and habits of her people, as to establish on a solid and enduring basis, her future liberty, prosperity and renown. To this end she must cease to follow the example of conquering states, which, from small beginnings, become what may be considered as vast pyramids, absurdly resting upon their points, with their broad foundations in the air, from the

* In his writing desk were found many scraps of paper, on which were written various texts of Scripture; on one of these, apparently of very recent date, were the following;—Psalms, ix. v. 9. Isaiah, xvi. v. 4. 2d of Kings, 4th chap. Proverbs, xxviii. v. 16. Jeremiah, xxi. v. 12. Jeremiah, xxii. v. 3.

unnaturalness of which position they necessarily fall in ruins, misery, and contempt. When England shall restore the simplicity of her original polity, she will have a basis sufficient for stability, felicity, and glory; and then, instead of insanely making her state to resemble an inverted pyramid, she, by merely colonizing on her own natural, sound, and constitutional principles, may spread to a wide extent, confederate nations, sincere friends to her welfare, firm supports of her greatness; and in place of jealous rivals, or secret and insidious enemies of her repose, she would raise up around her willing ministers to her aggrandizement."

His funeral took place at Finchley*, on the 30th of September, where he was deposited in the same vault with his third sister, who died in the year 1817. According to his desire, only one mourning coach followed his remains, in which attended, as chief mourners, his nephews, the Rev. Edmund Cartwright, and Thomas Law Hodges, Esq.; Henry Eustachius Strickland, Esq., who had married the eldest daughter of Dr. Cartwright, and John Charles Girardot, Esq., the nephew, by marriage, of Mrs. Cartwright.

But notwithstanding the impossibility of any farther attendance on the part of his family, several

* Finchley was formerly the residence of Major Cartwright's grandmother on the mother's side; who married for her second husband Counsellor Fothergill of that place, by whom the vault was built.

of his friends could not be induced to forego the melancholy satisfaction of joining in the sad procession; and besides these were many other persons in a humbler situation of life, who, in carts and on foot, paid him this last tribute of heart-felt respect.

The service was read in an impressive manner by Mr. Worsley, rector of Finchley, and an eye-witness* thus speaks of the melancholy ceremony:—

"I cannot help expressing to you, and Mrs. Cartwright, those feelings of melancholy consolation which I am certain must have been entertained by all present, in common with myself, that the last honours were paid with an unostentatious dignity, sobriety, and a sweet quietness, consistent with the great, good, and venerable character we so truly regret; whose memory we shall ever esteem as long as we have any sense of either virtue or freedom."

A few days after the ceremony, a subscription was set on foot for a public monument to his memory; and on the 20th of June, 1825, a meeting took place, at the Crown and Anchor, in furtherance of the same object.

The following account of the proceedings is taken from the newspapers of the 21st of June:—

* William Hopkinson, Esq. of Stamford, in Lincolnshire.

" MONUMENT TO MAJOR CARTWRIGHT.

" A public meeting was held yesterday, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, of friends and subscribers to this intended monument. At half past one the chair was taken by Sir Francis Burdett, who addressed the meeting at some length. He said, 'that the purpose of their assembling was, to perpetuate the remembrance of one, whose long and laborious life had been devoted to those great principles upon which liberty depends, and to the devising means whereby that liberty might be obtained and secured. He was known by the various works with which, from time to time, he had enlightened the public mind—inculcating the rights of his countrymen, and aiming to promote their freedom. Major Cartwright was one whom, whether regarded in public or private life, it was impossible not to venerate and to love. In the former, he was marked by the most persevering magnanimity: in fact, he stood unrivalled in the zeal and courage with which he encountered every opposition, and shrunk not from danger of the most appalling kind.—(Applause.) Consistency was a prominent feature of his character. He was the same under all political aspects—the undaunted patriot, in the midst of dangers and in the worst of times.—(Hear, hear.) He lives in the works with which he has instructed his countrymen. One of these I regard as unexceptionably excellent; it

was written at the time when a French invasion was threatened, and when this country was in various ways (not altogether the most constitutional) put upon its defence. The suggestions of Major Cartwright in that admirable pamphlet, if followed up, would have rendered the success of that invasion hopeless, and have placed his countrymen in a position in which their liberties could never be assailed by any foreign or domestic foe. I never', said the Hon. Bart., 'could read that work without feelings of the deepest admiration; it is grounded upon the recognized principles of public rights; it is entwined with all our feelings as Englishmen, who are determined never to cease to struggle with all who would overturn or undermine those rights. I cannot, by any stretch of imagination, conceive any Greek or Roman virtue surpassing the public and private worth of my deceased friend. His whole life was a life of principle—a bright display of the love of general liberty and of individual benevolence.—(Great applause.) I never knew a man who had such an extensive aim; the happiness of the human race was his object, and he would have been at any time proud to have sacrificed his life in this sacred cause. These sentiments followed him to his death-bed, and his last thoughts were those of his country.—(Hear, hear.) His last efforts were transmitted to me, and I saw no indications of decaying intellect,no abatement of the fire of patriotism.—(Great applause). The same disinterested feelings animated him to the

last, as those which led him to the sacrifice of all personal and private advantage during his honourable life. No man had more opportunities or qualifications for advancing himself in the world—none in the race of excellence more likely to attain the goal.—(Hear, hear.) He possessed every requisite for any line of distinction: a powerful understanding; unconquerable energies; firmness of purpose which would flinch from no danger; and these united to a mildness, an amicability, a gentleness which won over every heart.—(Great applause.) His character was purely *English*.—(Great applause.) No tinsel, no glitter; all was solid and sterling worth; the very nature of his mind led him to a straight-forward, manly, upright, British course. Indeed, some objected that he was too uncompromising and impracticable; I doubt, whether if so, he was not therefore the wiser and the honester, or at least the more unsuspected.—(Applause.) By this unbending integrity I think he has more advanced the great cause of constitutional liberty and knowledge, than by adopting a more pliant course. But I cannot consent to call him impracticable. Wheresoever was any rational hope—I will not say of success, for success in what he proposed was not to be expected; his views were too extensive; his virtues were too great for the times in which he lived—(Applause)—but wherever was the probability of public advantage, I have repeatedly seen him sacrifice his private feelings, and not refuse a compromise for the general good. The fact is, that he lived

not in times when any thing was to be obtained; and this must serve as an answer to those who ask, What was the amount of his labours? But he advocated principles in which all are interested; he called forth the energies of the British people to great constitutional topics; and, by this uncompromising spirit in an age when nothing was to be gotten by a more subservient policy, we have, at least, this benefit from his labours—that we may hope that his bitterest opponents will yet grant us something, though they are not prepared to give us all we have a right to demand.—(Great applause.) The more closely I contemplate his character, the more am I convinced that it stands without a parallel in this country, and I think it not produced, nor produceable, in any other country.—(Great applause.) I see so rare a combination of heroic devotedness, and the gentlest virtues of humanity; such a freedom from the paltriness and ostentation, the vacillating and timid policy of time-serving, self-seeking, pseudo-patriots, that I look on it as a debt from his countrymen, to mark, by some public monument, their gratitude for the devotedness of his life, spent in their service, and for the maintenance of their noblest privileges.'—(Great cheering.)

"Sir Francis then read the several Resolutions, which announced the expediency of continuing open the list of subscriptions until a sum, not exceeding £2000 should be raised, in order to perpetuate, by a suitable monument, the great public worth and private virtues of Major Cartwright. It

appeared that £500 had already been subscribed, and the present meeting was called pursuant to resolutions of the Committee, assembled on the 1st inst. at the house of Peter Moore, Esq. M. P., with whom, and other friends of the deceased, the idea had originated, at the time when the Major was interred (October, 1824).

" Mr. Rutt said, ' that he had known Major Cartwright for more than forty years, and had first met him in a society constituted for promoting Parliamentary Reform: a project which he who had been dubbed " the heaven-born Minister "—(a laugh) abandoned, but to which Major Cartwright adhered consistently to the last.—(Hear, hear.) He (Mr. R.) had in his possession a copy of the second edition of his first pamphlet, printed in 1777, and the name of Granville Sharp was in the title-page.—(Hear.) These eminent men were connected in close friendship; and it was only Mr. Sharp's being absorbed in questions of a more confined yet humane character, which prevented his becoming one of the finest and most energetic politicians of his day.—(Applause.) No man was more free than the Major from personal ambition. He was the patriot, not of England, but of the world; he sought no liberty for his country but what was beneficial for mankind.—(Hear, hear.) His was far beyond the boasted liberty of Greece or Rome; indeed, liberty had no existence in those states. There was no people in Greece—they were all either privileged masters or wretched slaves.—(Great applause.) His friend was no visionary

character—he did not neglect domestic duty to promote any wide universal scheme of speculative liberty.'—(Applause.)

"Mr. Galloway said, 'that the opponents of Major Cartwright's political views had talked much of moderate reform, but had shown as yet nothing of practical result. The non-reformers are a powerful body; and the united energies of all friends to real reform are called for, to effect any thing like success. The Major may not have done much by effects, but he had left an example worthy of eternal admiration; and what brighter or better legacy can be bequeathed than a good and glorious example?'—(Hear, hear.)

"Francis Canning, Esq. of Warwickshire, bore testimony to the public and private virtues of their deceased friend.

"Mr. Sturch had known the late Major forty-three years ago, and enjoyed his acquaintance to his death. 'He was one of the society instituted for constitutional information, of which the other members were Dr. Jebb, Mr. Horne Tooke, Dr. Brocklesby, and Mr. (afterwards Sir Samuel) Romilly. Major Cartwright was one of that body, and a more firm, able, temperate, or consistent advocate of freedom never existed. His memory cannot die, for it will live in his immortal works.'—(Applause.)

"Dr. Gilchrist said, 'the Major had begun public life on the principle of being serviceable to the whole community. He had, all through his career, exhibited great talents and integrity. In his latter

years, the Major had communicated much with him, and testified, upon innumerable occasions, that his private benevolence was not inferior to his public principle. His noble and generous heart exhibited one powerful seat of feeling, shortly before his death, in his charitable treatment of the unfortunate refugees, whom he received into his house and sheltered.'

" Mr. Hobhouse said, 'he came to do honour to himself by advocating the proposition. He had been, on one occasion, opposed to Major Cartwright, but he had uniformly occasion to respect him; and latterly, he had the high gratification of receiving the unqualified approbation of the venerable man for the conduct he pursued.'

" Mr. Hill (the Barrister) spoke in favour of the proposition, and Mr. Wooler, as Secretary to the Committee, stated that the subscriptions amounted to £500 already.

" The Resolutions were then unanimously carried, and the meeting separated."

Several resolutions were passed, and the following gentlemen were appointed as a committee to carry them into effect.

Sir F. Burdett, M.P.	Alderman Wood, M.P.
J. C. Hobhouse, M.P.	Hon. Col. Leicester Stanhope.
P. Moore, Esq. M.P.	R. Sykes, Esq.
Col. Johnson, M.P.	R. Slade, Esq.
W. James, Esq. M.P.	Dr. Gilchrist.
Sir R. Wilson, M.P.	S. Peach, Esq.
D. Sykes, Esq. M.P.	Dr. Harrison.
C. F. Palmer, Esq. M.P.	G. Ensor, Esq.

T. Rawson, Esq.
G. Kinlock, Esq.
E. H. Baker, Esq.
General La Fayette.
Col. Kirk.
H. E. Strickland, Esq.
Captain Wood.
H. Woods, Esq.
A. Galloway, Esq.
R. Collet, Esq.
F. Canning, Esq.
J. W. Hodgetts, Esq.
S. Shore, Esq.
Rev. J. Fullagar.
C. Mankin, Esq.
— Gregory, Esq.
P. Walker, Esq.
C. Dickenson, Esq.
M. D. Hill, Esq.
C. Prynne, Esq.
T. L. Hodges, Esq.
W. Mason, Esq.
W. Hallett, Esq.
T. J. Clarke, Esq.
R. M. Beverley, Esq.
J. Henning, Esq.
— Rogers, Esq.

Though the subjoined list of Major Cartwright's works is given to the best of the writer's knowledge, it is probably far from being a complete one. No circumstance, likely in his judgment, to affect the interests or liberties of the public, ever escaped his watchful attention; and he was, therefore, continually sending short pieces to the press, many of which are now lost, and were probably, even by himself forgotten. Still less easy would it be to ascertain the addresses, petitions, and resolutions he was employed to draw up both for public and private use, for where he could conscientiously lend the assistance of his ready pen, it has been already stated, that assistance was never denied. To have passed a single day without devoting the greater part of it to writing, would have been in his laborious life, a very remarkable and almost unprecedented occurrence.

LIST OF MAJOR CARTWRIGHT'S WRITINGS.

On the Rights and Interests of Fishing Companies. 1772.
Letter to Edmund Burke. 1774.
American Independence. 1774.
Second Edition. 1775.
Legislative Rights of the Commonalty vindicated; or, Take Your Choice. 1776.
To the King.—Proposals for saving Great Britain, and recovering America. 1777.
Letter to Lord Abingdon. 1777.
The People's Barrier. 1780.
Address to the Committee of Associated Counties. 1780.
Letter to the Deputies. 1781.
Give us our Rights. 1782.
Internal Evidence; in Answer to Soame Jenyns, Esq. 1784.
Declaration of Rights. 1784.
A Nottinghamshire Farmer's advice to his Brother Freeholders. 1785.
Plain Truths to Plain Men. By a Holland Fen Farmer. 1791.
A Letter to the Duke of Newcastle: in the Appendix to which will be found the plan for supplying the Navy with oak timber. 1792.
A Letter to a Friend at Boston. 1793.
A Letter to the Duke of Richmond. 1793.
The Commonwealth in Danger. 1795.
Letter to the High Sheriff of Lincoln. 1795.
The Constitutional Defence of England. 1796.
A Speech intended to have been spoken at Lincoln. 1796.
Appeal, Civil and Military. 1799.
Letter to Wyvill. 1801.
The Trident. 1801.
A Review of the Proceedings upon the Petitions, complaining of an undue Election and return for the County of Nottingham, in a Letter to the Speaker. 1803.
The State of the Nation, in a series of Letters to the Duke of Bedford. 1805.

England's Ægis, in 2 vols. 1806.
Reasons for Reformation. 1809.
The Comparison between Mock Reform, Half Reform, and Constitutional Reform. 1810.
The Ghosts of Nelson, Pitt, and More. 1811.
Six Letters to the Marquis of Tavistock. 1812.
Twenty Letters to Wyvill. 1813, 1814.
To the Westminster Electors. 1814.
Letters to Clarkson. 1814.
A Full Report of the Proceedings of the Hampden Club, published by order of the Committee. 1816.
Universal Suffrage vindicated, in a Letter to the Rev. R. Fellowes. 1817.
Letters to the Lord Mayor. 1817.
A Bill of Rights and Liberties. 1817.
Letter to Sir F. Burdett, as Chairman of the Committee for the Sufferers, &c. 1818.
Seven Letters to the Duke of Bedford, from Tunbridge Wells. 1818.
Letter to the Electors of Westminster. 1819.
Ditto, April 6th. 1819.
A Bill of Free and Sure Defence. 1820.
Birmingham Complaint and Remonstrance. 1820.
Letter to Mr. Lambton. 1820.
Ditto. 1821.
Hints to the Greeks. 1821.
Letter to the Edinburgh Reviewers. 1822.
To Lord John Russel. 1822.
The Constitution Produced and Illustrated. 1823.
Abridgment of ditto. 1824.
Political Dialogue. 1824.

In Wyvill's Political Papers, Vol. I. p. 4.

Address to the Committee of the Associated Counties. 1780.
Letter to the Freeholders of Middlesex and Electors of London. 1780.
Letters to the Deputies of the Associated Counties. 1781.
Address to the unrepresented Inhabitants of Leeds, Sheffield, Birmingham, &c. 1782.

Dialogue between a Gentleman and a Cottager. 1783.
Declaration of the Middlesex Freeholders' Club. 1804.

In Cobbett's Register.

Letter to Mr. Cobbett, on a Standing Army. 21st March, 1806.
Letter to Ditto. 30th March, 1806.
To Holt White, Esq. 26th October, 1806.
To Sir F. Burdett, Bart. 29th October, 1806.
To S. Whitbread, Esq. November, 1806.
Observations on a Letter from Mr. O'Bryen. 17th November, 1806.
To W. Windham, Esq. 29th November, 1806.
To Ditto, on National Defence. 30th November, 1806.
To Ditto. 24th February, 1807.
To Ditto. 26th February, 1807.
To S. Whitbread, Esq. on the affairs of Spain. 15th July, 1808.
To Mr. Cobbett on National Defence. 6th September, 1808.
To the Author of the Impartial Examination of Sir F. Burdett's Plan of Reform. 31st August, 1809.
To Ditto. 17th December, 1809.

In the Black Dwarf.

Letter on the Westminster Elections. 15th July, 1818.
A Letter containing a Description of Proposed National Coins. May, 1823.
Letter to Lord Stanhope. 19th May, 1823.
Letters to Mr. Hume.

In the Statesman Newspaper.

Letter on Foreign Mercenaries. March, 1810.
Seven Letters to Sir F. Burdett, Bart. 1817.

In the Sunday Review.

Letter to Lord Selkirk. 9th July, 1809.
Letter to J. Martin, Esq. M.P. for Tewkesbury. 1821.

Major Cartwright occasionally took the name in different newspapers of Alfred, Fitzwilliam, God-

frey Fitzhugh, Philo-Selden, Peregrine Falcon, and Defensator. A very short time before his death, he wrote a letter for the newspapers with the last of those signatures. It was occasioned by his observing that one of his deceased brother's inventions had been claimed by another person; and it was curious to observe the correctness of his memory both as to the period of the invention, and its mechanical details, which seemed to be as fresh in his mind, as if they had been of recent occurrence.

The task which by the writer's peculiar situation devolved upon her, is now fulfilled; and the work, with all its imperfections, must be submitted to the public. Many will doubtless think it too prolix, and may consider some of its details uninteresting; while, on the other hand, some will find it deficient and inadequate to the object in view; but all are requested to bear in mind, that it was first begun beneath the pressure of recent affliction, and was afterwards continued at intervals, amidst the disadvantages and interruptions of frequent and severe indisposition.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Vol. I., page 31.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY SIR HUGH PALLISER, ETC.

SIR, Harbour Grace, October 12, 1767.

HEREWITH I have the honour to transmit your Excellency the copies of my proceedings in the surrogacy at Trinity; together with the trial between the inhabitants of that harbour and Mr. Greatrakes in the Vice-Admiralty court. As he was in the character of a merchant, at a distant harbour, and the season of the year critical, beside that he was not the actual offender, but only the bondsman; I was cautious to avoid every step that might carry an arbitrary appearance, or put it in a lawyer's power to pick out any irregularities in my proceedings; of which I concluded he would avail himself in England, should the penalty be levied upon him. Therefore I still deferred to arrest him, after receiving a second information upon oath, until I had sent for the inhabitants, who, as the party injured, were properly the persons to prosecute. I was obliged for a considerable time to disguise the real intention of assembling them, and by much circumlocution to extort as it were such declarations of their sentiments as answered my purpose, and from which they could not retract, before I could venture to open the whole matter; and even then found that it was necessary to suppress Greatrakes's name, and to word the complaint as a general thing, which I had done ready for the occasion. However, at last all present signed the memorial, and promised to send me such men from their re-

spective rooms, as might be able to give evidence against any offender. This done, I despatched Mr. Richardson to Bonavista, where he arrested Greatrakes; and at the same time I published the enclosed proclamation at Trinity. Your Excellency will see what passed on the trial, and I shall be happy if the conducting of it shall escape any other censure than what may be due to inexperience and ignorance of law, which it must be liable to. The principal people have also promised me to exert themselves to the utmost in clearing the country. An instance of the empty professions and spiritless behaviour of the prosecutors, will appear in its true light when your Excellency is informed that the list of destitute persons, to which is annexed the certificate, was not put into my hands till I was on the point of sailing, and then without any other than its own evidence, though it was in the possession of Mr. Street, agent to the elder White, of Pool, who was a principal sufferer, and one of the most earnest complainants. From this list, and what information I have since the trial gathered by scraps, I have no doubt but an early prosecution in the season might have subjected perhaps more than Greatrakes to the penalty; but late as it was, and favourable in its issue, yet, Sir, it has evidently produced the good effects you proposed by it; for I found very ready compliance as to passages, and having taken a fresh bond which is herewith also enclosed, am convinced that no one will risk a second prosecution, as they see your Excellency determined not to overlook such misdemeanors. I arrived here on Friday night, and this morning opened the court, where I expect much trouble, as I am informed that in many cases where the boat-keepers are already in debt, some of the merchants are resolved to pay no wages at all to their servants; in all which cases I shall govern myself by what appears to be your Excellency's true meaning in your late regulations, and enforce my own decrees thereon, without regarding either remonstrances or non-compliance.

I am, Sir, &c.

No. II.

Vol. I., page 34.

REMARKS on the Situation of the ABORIGINES of Newfoundland, with some Account of their Manner of Living: together with such Descriptions as are necessary to the Explanation of the Sketch of the Country they inhabit; taken on the Spot in the Year 1768, and presented to Governor Sir Hugh Palliser, by Lieutenant JOHN CARTWRIGHT, R.N.

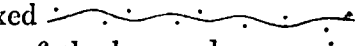
> "Lo, the poor Indian! whose untutor'd mind,
> Sees God in clouds, or hears him in the wind."

THE journey in which the river Exploits was traced, and Lieutenants' Lake discovered, was undertaken with a design to explore the unknown interior parts of Newfoundland; to examine into the practicability of travelling from shore to shore, across the body of that island; and to acquire a more certain knowledge of the settlements of the natives or Red Indians, as well as to surprise if possible one or more of those savages, for the purpose of effecting in time a friendly intercourse with them, in order to promote their civilization, and render them in the end useful subjects to his Majesty.

The epithet of "red" is given to these Indians, from their universal practice of colouring their garments, their canoes, bows, arrows, and every other utensil belonging to them, with red ochre.

The situation of this tribe as a part of the human species, with certain particulars relating to them, is truly singular. Although they are the original native inhabitants of a country we have so long possessed, they have not now the least intercourse with us whatever; except indeed, sometimes, the unfriendly one of reciprocal injuries and murders. There are traditions amongst the English inhabitants of Newfound-

land, which prove that an amicable intercourse once subsisted between them and the natives; and at the same time afford sufficient evidence, that the conduct of the savages was not the cause that these social bands were first broken. In the course of these remarks, will be shewn more at large the reason for the continuance of this disunion; whence it will perhaps appear, that there is no other method to restore the intercourse between us, than that which was adopted by Governor Palliser, and attempted on the expedition that gave rise to these observations.

But before I mention any thing that bears a reference to the sketch, or speak of the Indian manner of living, it may be necessary, in order to prevent any confused ideas arising in the mind of the reader, to give previous descriptions of the whigwham or hut, distinguished on the sketch with red ink by the mark ○; of the square dwellings marked □; of the deer fences and sewels marked  and ⊢; of the canoe; and lastly, of the bow and arrow, in which are at once comprised the whole of their arms, either offensive or defensive.

The whigwham is a hut in the form of a cone. The base of it is proportioned to the number of the family, and their beds form a circle around the fire that burns in the centre. The beds are only so many oblong hollows in the earth, lined with the tender branches of fir and pine. Several straight sticks like hop-poles compose the frame of the whigwham, and the covering is supplied by the rind of the birch-tree. This is overlaid sheet upon sheet, in the manner of tiles, and perfectly shelters the whole apartment except the fire-place, over which there is left an opening to carry off the smoke. The birch rind is secured in its place by outside poles, whose weight from their inclined position is sufficient for that purpose. The central fire spreading its heat on all sides makes them quite warm; and notwithstanding one of these habitations, where materials are plentiful, may be completed in less than an hour, yet they last a long time; for

being always in the woods, they are defended from the force of the wind, that would otherwise very soon overturn such slender fabrics.

Of the square habitations, very few were observed on the whole journey; one upon Sabbath Point in Lieutenants' Lake, and another at a small distance above Little Rattle. They were much alike; and examining the latter we found it to be a rectangle framed nearly in the fashion of the English fishing houses, only that the studs were something apart, from which it was evident that they alone could not, in that state, form the shell, as in the English buildings, where they are closely joined together. But about eighteen inches within this, and parallel to it, there was another frame of slighter workmanship rising to the roof. From the hair which adhered to the studs, the interval appeared to have been filled with deer skins, than which there could have been nothing better calculated for keeping out the cold. This was the construction of only three sides, the fourth being raised by trees well squared and placed horizontally one upon another, having their seams caulked with moss. The difference was probably owing to a deficiency of skins; and the rather so, as this inferior side of the dwelling bore a south-east aspect, which required less shelter than any other. The lodgments of the rafters on the beams, and the necessary joints, were as neatly executed as in the houses commonly inhabited by our fishers. The roof was a low pyramid, being encompassed at the distance of three feet from its vertex, by a hoop tied to the rafters with thongs. Here the covering had terminated, and the space above the hoop had been left open as in the whigwham, for a passage to the smoke, the fire-place, according to custom, having been in the centre.

The deer fences we found erected on the banks of the Exploits, are situated in places the most proper for intercepting herds of those animals, as they cross the river in their route to the southward, on the approach of winter, and again at the return of mild weather when they wander back

again. They have the best effect where there is a beach of about twenty feet wide, and from that a steep ascending bank. Along the ridge of this bank the Indians fell the trees without chopping the trunks quite asunder, taking care that they fall parallel with the river, and guiding every fresh cut tree so as to coincide with and fall upon the last. The weak parts of the fence are filled up and strengthened with branches and limbs of other trees, secured occasionally by large stakes and bindings; in short, these fences and our plashed hedges are formed on the same principles, differing only in their magnitude. They are raised to the height of six, eight or ten feet, as the place may require, so that, the steepness of the bank considered, they are not to be forced or over-leaped by the largest deer. Those fences near Slaughter and Fatal Isles, and the other most frequented places, are from half a mile to half a league in length; only discontinued here and there for short distances, where the ill growth of the wood does not favour such works. The Indians are here at no loss; for their knowledge of the use of sewels supplies the deficiency, and completes their toils. At certain convenient stations they have small breast works half the height of a man (by the furriers called gazes), over which it may be presumed they shoot the deer passing between the waterside and the bank, deterred by the sewels and disabled by means of the fence from entering the wood until an opening clear of these obstructions may present itself.

Their sewels* are made by tying a tassel of birch rind, formed like the wing of a paper kite, to the small end of a slight stick, about six feet in length. These sticks are pricked into the ground about ten or a dozen yards apart, and so much sloping, that the pendant rind may hang clear of its support in order to play with every breath of wind. Thus it

* "Hos non immissis canibus, non cassibus ullis; Puniceæ agitant pavidos formidine pennæ." Virgil. Dryden has neglected the peculiar beauty of this passage, by using only the general word toils, which gives no idea of a sewel formed with coloured feathers.

is sure to catch the eye of the deer, and to make them shun the place where it stands.

The canoe peculiar to these Indians comes next to be considered, and so well deserves particular notice, that no pains will be spared to gratify the curiosity of the inquisitive reader; and it is hoped, that by the assistance of the perspective view exhibited in the sketch of the country, the reader will be fully satisfied on this head. See Chart, Vol. I. p. 33. There also he will see a representation of the whigwham, as well as of the arrows of this people. The principle on which the Red Indian's canoe is constructed, is perhaps nowhere else to be met with, the sides beginning at the very keel, and from thence running up in a straight line to the edge or gunwale. A transverse section of it, at any part whatever, makes an acute angle; only that it is not sharpened to a perfect angular point, but is somewhat rounded to take in the slight rod that serves by way of keel. This rod is thickest in the middle, (being in that part about the size of the handle of a common hatchet,) tapering each way, and terminating with the slender curved extremities of the canoe. The form of this keel will then, it is evident, be the same with the outline of the long section, which, when represented on paper, is nearly, if not exactly, the half of an ellipse longitudinally divided*. The coat or shell of the canoe is made of the largest and fairest sheets of birch rind that can be procured. Its form being nothing more than two sides joined together where the keel is to be introduced, it is very easily sewed together entire. The sewing is perfectly neat, and performed with spruce roots, split to the proper size. That along the gunwale is like our neatest basket work. The seams are payed over with a sort of gum, ap-

* In the representation of the canoe which accompanies the chart, the artist has not given the form so correctly as could be wished. In Major Cartwright's drawing, the extremities are more curved, and consequently the ellipse, if continued, would be more perfect. The figure of the Indian in the distance, behind the canoe, is also extremely disproportioned, being more than twice as large as that in Major Cartwright's drawing.

pearing to be a preparation of turpentine, oil, and ochre, and which effectually resists all the efforts of the water. The sides are kept apart, and their proper distance preserved by means of a thwart of about two fingers' substance, whose ends are lodged on the rising points abovementioned, in the middle of the gunwale. The gunwales are made with tapering sticks, two on each side; the thick ends of which meet on the rising points with the ends of the main thwart, and being moulded to the shape of the canoe, their small ends terminate with those of the keel rod, in the extremities of each stem. On the outside of the proper gunwales, with which they exactly correspond, and connected with them by a few thongs, are also false gunwales, fixed there for the same purpose as we use fenders. The inside is lined entirely with sticks two or three inches broad, cut flat and thin, and placed lengthways, over which again others are crossed. A short thwart near each end to preserve the canoe from twisting, or being bulged, makes it complete. It may readily be conceived, from its form and light fabric, that being put into the water, it would lie flat on one side, with the keel and gunwale both at the surface. But being ballasted with stones, it settles to a proper depth in the water, and then swims upright; when a covering of sods and moss being laid on the stones, the Indians kneel on them, and manage the canoe with paddles. In fine weather they sometimes set a sail on a very slight mast, fastened to the middle thwart; but this is a practice for which these delicate and unsteady barks are by no means calculated. A canoe of fourteen feet long is about four feet wide in the middle.

The bows are all of sycamore, which being very scarce in this country, and the only wood it produces that is fit for this use, it thence becomes valuable. The sticks are not selected with any great nicety, some of them being knotty, and of a very rude appearance; but under this simple rustic guise they carry very great perfection; and to those who examine them with due attention, admirable skill is shewn in their construction. Except in the grasp, the inside of them

is cut flat, but so obliquely and with so much art, that the string will vibrate in a direction coinciding exactly with the thicker edge of the bow. This seems to be essential to the true delivery of the arrow, but is a principle that appears not to be generally understood amongst archers. The bow is full five feet and a half long.

The arrow is made of well-seasoned pine, slender, light, and perfectly straight. Its head is a two-edged lance, about six inches long, and the stock is about three feet more. Like the famous arrow that pierced the heart of Douglas, it is feathered with the "gray goose wing."

The country which the Red Indians now inhabit, is chiefly about the river Exploits, extending northerly as far as Cape John, and to Cape Frehel in the south-east. They were formerly known to spread themselves much farther, but it is thought they were then considerably more numerous than they are at present. In the winter it seems they reside chiefly on the banks of the Exploits, where they are enabled to procure a plentiful subsistence, as appeared by the abundance of horns and bones that lay scattered about their whigwhams at the deer-fences. Rangers' River, Prospect Lake, the Forbidden Ponds, and other places, may admit, no doubt, of a like residence, and afford them the same kind of food, though not in such plenty; for the channel of the Exploits, stretching itself directly across the regular and constant track of the deer, must necessarily ensure to them abundance of venison, while all the other places may yield them no more than occasional supplies. In summer they live altogether, as it is supposed, on the sea-coast. Between the boundaries I have mentioned, of Cape John and Cape Frehel, is spread a vast multitude of islands abounding with sea-fowl, ptarmigan, hares and other game, besides seals in great numbers. On the largest of these isles are deer, foxes, bears and otters. Besides hunting all these, they used formerly to kill considerable quantities of salmon in the rivers and small streams; but the English have now only left them

in possession of Charles's and another brook. During the egg season they are supposed to feed luxuriously, and by no means to want food after the young have taken wing; for in archery they have an unerring hand that amply supplies their wants. A kind of cake made with eggs, and baked in the sun, and a sort of pudding stuffed in a gut, and composed of seals' fat, livers, eggs and other ingredients, have been found about their whigwhams. These puddings, it is thought, are preserved by them as a provision against times of scarcity, and when the chase may happen to fail.

The Red Indians, as I have observed before, have no intercourse with Europeans, except an hostile one, which, there is great reason to think, is founded, on their part, upon a just, and, to an uncivilized people, a noble resentment of wrongs. On the part of the English fishers, it is an inhumanity that sinks them far below the level of savages. The wantonness of their cruelties towards these poor wretches has frequently been almost incredible. One well-known fact shall serve as a specimen. A small family of Indians being surprised in their whigwham by a party of fishermen, they all fled, to avoid, if possible, the instant death that threatened them from the fire-arms of their enemies; when one woman being unable to make her escape, yielded herself into their power. Seeing before her none but men, she might naturally have hoped that her sex alone would have disarmed their cruelty; but to awaken in them still stronger motives to compassion, she pointed, with an air of the most moving entreaty, to her prominent belly. Could all nature have produced another pleader of such eloquence as the infant there concealed? But this appeal, Oh, shame to humanity! was in vain; for an instant stab, that ript open her womb, laid her at the feet of these cowardly ruffians, where she expired in great agonies. Their brutal fury died not with its unhappy victim; for with impious hands they mutilated the dead body, so as to become a spectacle of the greatest horror. And that no aggravation of their crime might be wanting, they made, at

their return home, their boasts of this exploit. Charity might even have prevailed in their favour, against their own report, and have construed the relation into an idle pretence only of wickedness, which, however, they were incapable of having in reality committed, had they not produced the hands of the murdered woman, which they displayed on the occasion, as a trophy.

Although I meant to confine myself to a single proof of my charge against the fishermen, yet, as that is general, and of so criminal a nature, it may not be amiss to bring more evidence against them, in order to satisfy the reader that their guilt has not been exaggerated. The following story will but too much confirm what has been already advanced. Some fishermen, as they doubled, in their boat, a point of land, discovering a single defenceless woman with an infant on her shoulders, one of them instantly discharged at her a heavy load of swan-shot, and lodged it in her loins. Unable now to sustain her burthen, she unwillingly put it down, and with difficulty crawled into the woods, holding her hand upon the mortal wound she had received, and without once taking off her eyes from the helpless object she had left behind her. In this dreadful situation, she beheld her child ravished from her by her murderers, who carried it to their boat. How the infant's cries, as they bore it off, must have pierced her fainting heart! How the terrors of its approaching fate must have wrung a mother's breast! The arrows of death were dipped in the keenest of all poisons. Cowardly as they were cruel, the crew snatched away the child in the utmost hurry and affright, and made a precipitate retreat, for just before they discovered the woman they had seen on an eminence at a considerable distance, two Indian men. Sentiments of horror and indignation will move no doubt the generous reader, when he casts his eye upon these shocking scenes; but what feeling, what mode of disgust has nature implanted in the human heart, to express its abhorrence of the wretch who can be so hardened to vice as to conceive

that he is entitled to a reward for the commission of such bloody deeds! One of the very villains concerned in the capture of the child, supposing it a circumstance that would be acceptable to the Governor, actually came to the writer of these remarks at Toulinguet, to ask a gratuity for the share he had borne in the transaction. Had he been describing the death of a beast of chase and the taking of its young, he could not have shewn greater insensibility than he did at the relation above mentioned: but it was not to be heard without far other feelings, and in point of facts is here literally repeated. The woman was shot in August, 1768, and to complete the mockery of human misery, her child* was, the winter following, exposed as a curiosity to the rabble at Pool, for twopence a piece.

The fishermen take a brutal pleasure in boasting of these barbarities, and he who has shot an Indian values himself more upon the feat than if he had overcome a bear or a wolf.

These Indians are not only secluded thus from any communication with Europeans, but they are as effectually cut off from the society of every other Indian people. The Canadians have generally a pretty strong hunt that range the western coast of Newfoundland, between whom and these natives reigns so mortal an enmity (as in the subsequent letter is more fully mentioned) that they never meet but a bloody combat ensues †.

This is the only tribe from the continent that can now approach them; for the English settlements on the east coast keep back the Esquimeaux, who are said formerly to have ranged far enough to the southward, to have fallen in with Red Indian canoes, and it is understood that they then treated all they met as enemies. The Esquimeaux in harassing them kept to their own element, the water; where their

* The Indian mentioned by Captain Cartwright in his Journal, 15th June, 1785, was the child here described.—Vol. III. p. 49.

† That is the case with all savage nations; occasioned by mutual fears, and not being able to understand each other's language.

superior canoes and missile weapons provided for killing whales, made them terrible enemies to encounter: but in getting rid of these, they have still changed for the worse, meeting with foes more powerful and, to their experience, no less savage, who distress them every where alike; so that neither sea nor land can now afford them safety. To complete their wretched condition Providence has even denied them the pleasing services and companionship of the faithful dog. This affectionate and social creature is partner in the joyous chase, fellow traveller, protector, and domestic attendant to every race of mankind that history has brought to my knowledge, except to these most forlorn of all human beings. May we not look upon this as one of the heaviest evils they endure? For the Indian that in his dealings with his fellow creatures will but too frequently experience fraud and treachery, finds in his honest dog a friend that never will forsake or betray him, and one that is not incapable of sympathizing in his misfortunes and in his welfare.

Their coming down in the spring to the sea coast and the islands I have spoken of, may very properly be termed taking the field or opening the campaign, for there they are obliged to observe all the vigilance of war. So inconsiderable are they in point of numbers, and subject to such an extreme dread of fire-arms, that they are ever on the defensive. Besides, the necessity of their separating into single families and small parties, in order to obtain that subsistence which no one place would furnish to numerous bodies, renders them in general an easy conquest to a single boat's crew. There is no cod fishery, and consequently there are no inhabitants within the very exterior verge of these islands; but they are often visited by boats that carry the salmon fishers, shipbuilders, sawyers, woodmen and furriers, into the respective bays and rivers situated within them; as well as by such as run from isle to isle in quest of game. The Indians from their secret haunts in the woods, let not a motion of all these people escape them; and in order to be on their

guard, are careful to post themselves where they can command a view of all approaches, and secure an easy retreat. Their whigwhams are frequently erected on a narrow isthmus, so that their canoes may be launched into the water on the safe side, whenever an enemy's boat appears. Both day and night they keep an unremitting and wary look out; so that to surprise them requires in general uncommon address and subtlety. Even to gain a sight of them is no small difficulty; for they enjoy in so much perfection the senses of sight and hearing, that they seldom fail to discover the advances of the fishermen early enough to make their retreat, without so much as being perceived. This is known to every one who has traversed those islands, as the traces of Indians are found by such persons wherever they land, and sometimes such fresh signs of them, as are a proof they have not quitted the spot many minutes; and though these appearances are observable every day, yet whole seasons sometimes pass without an Indian having been seen.

A Red Indian in the summer time may be compared to a beast of chase, such as the wolf or fox, that preys on other game, and in his turn is liable to fall himself a prey to hunters more destructive. He is like them endowed with a peculiar sagacity in finding, watching and tracing his game, as well as with strength and activity for the pursuit: and he subsists by the sole excercise of those powers. Like them he is a wanderer, roaming from place to place as the revolving seasons vary his food, and point out each successive haunt of woods or rocky shores, mountains or valleys, ponds or plains in which it must be sought; and lastly, he has to expect from the fishermen exactly the same treatment as the brute creatures he is compared with, and it behoves him to seek his safety in the friendly covert of the forest and in vigilance equal to theirs.

From this view of the unsettled restless life of the Red Indians during the campaign, which breaks not up until the expiration of the summer season, it appears that their perpe-

tual apprehensions of danger must entirely deprive them of that repose and security which is essential to the enjoyment of life.

But let us accompany them into their winter quarters, where it is probable that, like the Indian tribes on the neighbouring continent, a general festivity reigns among them. They are now free from alarm; and if any particular rites in their religious worship require time in the performance, this, and not the summer, is evidently the season for celebrating them.

From the undoubted original connexion between these islanders and the tribes just mentioned, it is to be supposed that, like them, they hold assemblies for deliberating on peace and war, and for promoting an early union of the sexes in nuptial bonds, as the grand support of the community. On these occasions, the continental Indians pass their time in singing, dancing, and feasting, and in recounting perilous adventures in war, and in the chase. But we may conclude that the happy meeting of our Indians in the interior of Newfoundland cannot be of long duration, for want of provisions to supply the feast. It must be soon necessary for them to form themselves into distinct parties, for occupying the posts at which they kill the travelling deer for their subsistence during the winter.

Between Flat Rattle and Rangers' River, the banks of the Exploits bear marks of being well inhabited, when the Indians resort thither from the sea-coast. Beyond Rangers' River, as my letter to Governor Palliser mentions, the whigwhams are thinly scattered. Some persons are of opinion that the number of these Indians amounts to three hundred, others suppose them not to exceed two hundred souls; and no doubt their reasons for keeping within such narrow bounds, have considerable weight; but the numerous habitations we met with, as we travelled towards Lieutenants' Lake, incline me to add to the greater of these numbers one or two hundred souls more.

When the Indians assemble at their respective stations, their habitations are soon put in order, their deer-fences repaired, the necessary sewelling completed, and every preparation made for the ensuing slaughter. In the beginning of winter, the deer of this country all resort to the southward, where the climate is more mild, and the snow not so deep as in the northern parts; so that those who have spent the summer to the northward of the Exploits, have necessarily this river (running from west to east) to cross in their route. The country hereabout being one universal forest, it would be impracticable to find or kill many of them in such an unbounded covert. The wide opening made by this river, being, as it were, a lane through these extensive woods, renders it the most commodious situation for that purpose.

The first fall of snow is sure to put the deer in motion; and when the earth is covered to a certain depth, the Indians know that their harvest is at hand. The deer, to defend themselves from the packs of wolves that for ever infest them on the road, seek, as it were, protection from each other, and gather together in vast herds, as birds of passage collect in flocks to make their journey. If the snow continues with the usual frost, they travel at an easy rate both night and day, without quitting the paths trodden by their leaders, and without any other food than what they crop and browse from the overhanging branches, as they pass along. In this case their journey is not of long continuance, and the killing season of the Indians must be soon over. But when the frost fails, and a thaw dissolves the snow, the deer no longer pursue their march with the same regularity, but spread themselves on the spot to feed, until fresh snow and a new frost give the signal for re-assembling. These interruptions frequently happen, and must then always retard the operations of the Indians more or less. With plenty and happiness smiling upon them on one hand, and on the other hunger and misery staring them in the face, there can be no doubt but that they employ all their ingenuity in framing

their toils, and that their utmost watchfulness, skill and activity are exerted in attending them. We must remember that this extraordinary fatigue always happens in the worst weather; for it is the falling of the snow that urges the deer to move, and at this change of the seasons the weather is particularly tempestuous. So long as their wants continue, they must be strangers to sleep or repose; and even night can yield them no respite from watching and labour. To dispose of the weighty carcases, as the deer are slain, must be a fatiguing part of their work; and care is to be taken to have them kept free from taint until the frost seizes them. They are then in perfect security the whole winter, except an unexpected thaw should happen; for so long as the frost holds, there is no want of salt.

It may be presumed that their first meeting in winter-quarters, affords every delight and social enjoyment, that so hardfaring, rude, and uncultivated a people are capable of. Refinements in sentiment are not to be found among them, and they can be little acquainted with the rational pleasure of reflection; but whensoever mankind possess plenty, and are content with it, they must be happy; and that this measure of bliss must sometimes fall to their lot, cannot well be doubted. If they know not the arts that embellish life, and those sciences that dignify humanity, they are ignorant also of the long train of vices that corrupt the manners of civilized nations, and of the enormous crimes that debase mankind.

I cannot obtain the least insight into the religion of the Red Indians; and have thought it very remarkable, that in a journey of about seventy miles, through the heart of their winter-country, not a single object should present itself, that might be looked upon as intended for religious purposes, or denoted any superstitious practices of those people; except indeed some small figured bones, neatly carved, and having four prongs, the two middle ones being parallel, and almost close together, while the outer ones spread like a swallow's tail. Some of these have fallen in my way, and from the

thong fixed to their handle, I have imagined them to be worn as amulets; and I conjecture that the religion of this people rises but little above such harmless, trifling observances.

The summer, in this part of the world, is tolerably long and pleasant, the autumn short and rough; when a hasty winter, armed with stormy north-west winds, snow, sleet and frost, makes his furious onset, giving no quarter until he has bound the whole country in his icy chains, and overwhelmed it with a load of snow. But having once subdued all nature to his obedience, he then deigns to smile. A serene sky, a bright sun, and gentle breeze, shew the mildness of his established reign.

On a supposition that our Indians might fall short in venison, it may not be improper to shew what other resources they have to help them out. Along all the shores, either of salt or fresh water, that we are acquainted with, which are well sheltered with wood, there is in winter, the greatest abundance of ptarmigan, which is a species of grouse, though they are erroneously called partridges. These birds do not seek the warm woody vales until the snow and wintry blasts drive them off the open barrens where they are bred. They become in cold weather so tame as to appear deficient in the principle of self-preservation; so that they are killed at pleasure, and may be almost reckoned as a kind of domestic poultry to the Indians.

The marten or sable, next to be considered, is a creature with which this country abounds, and is of all others the most easily entrapped by the furrier. This animal follows every track made by men in the woods, and allured by the smell of provisions, haunts their dwellings. This pilfering inclination is easily turned to the destruction of the animal, and is fortunate for the furrier.

The beaver is not wanting in these parts, and makes no mean addition to their store of provisions. The most luxurious epicure may envy them this dainty. The flesh has an exquisite flavour, peculiar to itself, which, together with a

certain crispness in the fat, is so grateful to the taste that it is preferred to the finest venison. No broth excels that which is made of the fore quarters, that are quite lean. The hind quarters, unseparated, are commonly roasted, being richly clothed with fat, of which the tail entirely consists. A dish of tails to eat as marrow is esteemed a great delicacy. The meat is remarkably easy of digestion, and its admirers say it may vie with even turtle itself as a delicious, nutritive and wholesome diet. It is only in winter that beaver is in season, when a large one, as some report, will weigh sixty or seventy pounds. The much admired political, mechanical, provident and social operations of this animal, have exercised many ingenious pens, which may deservedly be styled ingenious, as it is the property of ingenuity to invent. How could a traveller resist the temptation of applying the flat scaly tail, so admirably contrived for the purpose, as a trowel for spreading mortar, in the erection of their dams and houses? Nor must it be disputed, but that it may be equally serviceable as a sledge whereon to draw the materials. But I am well informed the sagacious beaver himself is still ignorant that this singular tail was given him for either of those ends. Their sage maxims of government, their punishment of offenders and expulsion of slothful members from the community, have been all gravely related by authors, who have gained no small credit for these curious discoveries, the result of their deep researches into nature; and these writers, in transgressing the dictates of truth, have not however entirely lost sight of them; for the beaver will be readily admitted to be an equal favorite of Providence, and to be governed by as intelligent an instinct as the bee or ant, whose economy is so wonderful.

We may add to the animals above mentioned, the bear, the wolf, the fox, hare and otter, besides two or three birds of prey, all of which are to be found in this wild forest, and may afford the Indians a casual meal now and then.

The white or water bear is not to be reckoned amongst

the creatures that contribute to the sustenance of the Red Indians. Although this animal is found in Newfoundland in the winter and early in the spring, he is only a stranger from the northern continent. Stimulated at this season by hunger, he will quit the shores and venture many leagues amongst the floating ice, in quest of seals; and he preys indifferently by sea or land. He is of enormous size and strength, and no less fierce and voracious. The houses of the fishermen are sometimes broken open by him, and sometimes he will pursue a boat at sea, his attacks being always without craft or hesitation, for he is a stranger to fear. But as he seldom or never goes any distance from the sea-coast inland, I do not imagine that the Indians ever see him about their winter settlements.

Postscript, November, 1769.

Having endeavoured to convey to the reader, in the above remarks written in February, 1768, the clearest idea in my power of the situation of the Red Indians in Newfoundland, and not doubting but he compassionates their unhappy life, while upon the sea-coast, it is with much satisfaction that I can now communicate to him the pleasure I felt on finding that the present governor *, immediately on his arrival in the country last July, issued a proclamation, signifying that it was his Majesty's will and pleasure he should express his abhorrence of such barbarities, as it had been represented to him, his subjects frequently exercised to the native savages, and that they were required to live in amity and brotherly kindness with them; commanding the magistrates at the same time, to use their utmost diligence in apprehending all persons who might hereafter be guilty of murdering any of the said native Indians, that they might be tried for such capital crime by the laws of England.

His Excellency has likewise adopted the plan of his predecessor, for the future civilization of this people, which,

* The Hon. John Byron, who succeeded Sir Hugh Pallisser as governor of Newfoundland in July, 1769.

though his first attempt has failed, yet as it happened by mere ill fortune, against a most flattering prospect at one particular juncture, it is to be hoped, may finally be crowned with success.

No. III.

Vol. I., page 56.

Downing-street, April 6, 1775.

SIR,

I took the first opportunity after seeing you, to get possession of your plan for raising a perpetual supply of timber for our dock-yards; and after a very careful perusal, obtained Lord North's permission to communicate it to Mr. Stephens of the Admiralty, where I am sure it will meet with every attention that it may deserve. My very limited knowledge of the subject leaves me an incompetent judge of it; but I am clear that you have at least shewn industry, ingenuity, and information, and shall be glad if the same favourable idea should be formed by those whose good opinion is of consequence to you in your profession. The attempt is creditable, though the execution of it may be found impracticable.

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble Servant,

WILLIAM EDEN.

MR. CARTWRIGHT.

No. IV.

Vol. I., page 71.

Extracts from the Standing Orders drawn up by Major Cartwright, for the Use of the Nottinghamshire Militia.

At every proper and convenient opportunity, an officer should give due praise to those that keep themselves clean,

and are careful to make a soldier-like appearance, and to do their duty with cheerfulness; using his best endeavours to inspire them with that pride in doing well, which makes the soldier's duty a pleasure, as well as with that no less desirable pride in their corps, which interests every soldier in the credit and honour of his regiment. These effects are only to be brought about by an exact discipline, regulated by justice, and tempered with humanity, respect, and politeness, so that the gentleman and the peasant, the colonel and the private sentinel, may truly be brother soldiers. Love and respect, mixed with awe, are the sentiments in the minds of the soldiers towards their officers, that unite their interests and their wishes; and, without this union, no regimental pride can take place, no regimental reputation be acquired. When moved to displeasure, an officer is particularly to avoid all oaths, or ungentleman-like, or insulting expressions to those who misbehave; but to reprimand them in such terms, as shew he feels for the disgrace they bring upon themselves, and is concerned that they oblige him to resort to the harsh powers of his superior station; and so, in short, as to excite shame and sorrow, but not anger, in the breasts of the offenders; by which means he will preserve the dignity of the officer, and his severities will produce their due effect; and finally, he is both by example and authority to quicken the men's attention to every word of command, and to inculcate above all things, the great duty of steadiness.

Either upon the parade or in the field, an officer will more effectually recall the attention and steadiness of a forgetful soldier, by a quick and reprimanding eye, or a silent token of observation, than by vociferation or abuse; for the latter disgust and provoke more than they awe; besides that they are in themselves breaches of good discipline, and very disrespectful to the commanding-officer, and indeed to every officer present: while on the contrary, the former is an instructive example to the irregular soldiers of that silent attention and anxious care for the preservation of order,

which ought strictly to be observed by every officer and soldier, to the last moment that they are upon the parade or under arms; when nothing ought to be seen but perfect uniformity, accompanied by immoveable steadiness, or quick, exact, and graceful movements; and nothing heard but the proper sound of those movements, besides the strokes of the drum, the notes of the music, and the voice of the commanding-officer.

Upon all duties of command, or of trust and confidence, such as detachments, guards, superintendance of drills, visiting of hospitals, of quarters, &c. wherein officers are not immediately under the eye of a superior, it should be a most sacred point of honour with them, not to omit the smallest tittle of any such duties, nor to do them in a careless or unmilitary manner; for, though their neglects may not come to the knowledge of the commanding-officers, yet they cannot be unknown to the soldiers, which is far worse; and, even upon duties the most trifling, they ought always to pique themselves upon setting examples to the soldiers of obedience, punctuality, and unremitting attention. No men upon earth will fail to make good soldiers under such officers; and such examples, far more than the care or labours of the training officers, will form a regiment to order and discipline, and ensure its answering the wishes of our country in the day of battle.

These, no doubt, are motives sufficiently strong; but to men of principle and of feeling, there is perhaps, a motive still more urgent with them, to let their own conduct on all occasions be proper examples to their men: the private soldier never sits in judgment upon his officer, but the officer frequently judges, and condemns, and punishes, the soldier; and the courts-martial in which he officiates are, in a free country, judicatures of a harsh nature. How can a bacchanalian officer pass sentence upon a drunken soldier? How can the inattentive punish the negligent? or the disorderly consign to the halbert the disobedient, without being guilty

of the grossest insolence, the insolence of office; without filling the minds of the sufferers with all the indignation and hatred which tyranny ever inspires, and without subverting the best part of the foundation of discipline. To govern, through the medium of fear alone, is mean and hateful; as far as it may be necessary, it is always to be lamented, and too much pains cannot be used to substitute, in its room, the nobler principle of emulation.

[The introduction to what relates to the private soldier runs thus:]

A ballotted militia soldier, in a free nation, is one who by a wise and equitable law, is under an obligation to act as a military representative of his parish, and to bear arms for defence of his country. By serving faithfully in that capacity for three years, he may then remain peaceably at home the rest of his life, under the protection of those whose lot it shall then be to appear in the same honourable character.

A militia substitute is he, who, by his own voluntary act, takes upon himself to bear arms as the military representative of some one parish; and, by always remembering the honourable nature of the character he assumes, he ought to pride himself in supporting it like a man and a soldier.

The great end of arming a militia is to defend the nation against foreign attacks, without exposing it, at the same time, to that danger to liberty, which is justly to be apprehended from all other military establishments; a militia-man is, therefore, the most honourable of all soldiers.

A soldier should be vigorous and brave, and particularly proud of his personal cleanliness and military appearance; he should be temperate, regular, frugal, and provident; he should be skilful and ready in all parts of his exercise and manœuvres; strict in the performance of every duty and every movement, whether observed by his officer or not; and shew the same cheerful obedience to his corporal as to his colonel. When posted as a sentinel he should be vigilant, careful and determined; his life should be less valued than

the defence of his colours, or the preservation of his honour; and as the grand secret and ornament of a soldier in the field, he should distinguish himself by constant attention and an immoveable steadiness. To such a soldier, every worthy officer will be a friend and a father.

What a good soldier should be, has been already laid down; but let it be remembered, that for making a good soldier, the best foundation is being a good man. A good man may always be relied on; but, upon a bad man, there can be no dependence.

[The introductory observations on giving instructions for a march are as follow:]

This is the time for the officer and the non-commissioned officer to shew his attention and regard for order and regularity; this is the time for the soldier to give proof of his discipline.

There is no part of duty, during a campaign, of more importance than a march. Towns are taken, armies are defeated, and provinces won, by a march! There is, perhaps, no standard of merit between regiment and regiment so much to be depended upon, as the mode in which they respectively perform a march. It is therefore incumbent upon a regiment, as it values its honour, to take all opportunities of conducting its removal, from one quarter to another, with every form and precaution of a march through an enemy's country.

Disorder upon a march is not only grossly scandalous, but it retards and harasses the troops: It totally deprives them of that common principle of animation which they possess, while they move in one body, inspired by one soul. it is attended with easy surprise, and sure defeat.

Order, on the contrary, commands respect, gives perfect security let an enemy appear when and where he will, occasions celerity, and eases the troops, by bringing them so much sooner to their destined place of rest and refreshment.

When a regiment considers a march as a field-day's exercise, never letting a rank or a file be undressed, moving with

a measured step, pushing forward with ardour and spirit, no man stirring out of his place, except at the regular halts, calculating to a minute its arrival at its destination, and there making its entrance with the same silent attention and steadiness as are shewn before a reviewing general—then that regiment may be pronounced to be equal to any undertaking, and fit for any enterprise.

From the circumstances of long stages, bad roads, foul weather, heat of the sun, &c. marches will sometimes be fatiguing. But what then? An English soldier scorns as much to be out of humour or out of spirits at a necessary fatigue, as to want courage on the appearance of danger. The sorry wretch, who can slink away from his comrades, or the dead-hearted looby, who groans and grumbles at an unavoidable fatigue, deserves to be kicked out of the ranks, and left in a ditch; and ought so to be treated, were it not for disgracing a regiment, by strewing the road with stragglers. A soldier is destined to frequent hardships; but thence arises one of the glories of his character. Let him bear them like a man, and from his own breast he will have more than a recompense. He whose spirit will not bear him like a man through the common sufferings of a soldier, let him tarry at home and rock the cradle.

No. V.

Vol. I., page 112.

COPY of a LETTER from the Right Hon. the EARL of SHELBURNE, to JOHN AUDRY, Esq. Chairman of the Wiltshire Committee. Read at a General Meeting of the County of Wilts, held at Devizes, on Wednesday, the 29th of March, 1780.

March 26, 1780.

SIR,

I AM very much mortified that it is not in my power to perform a duty I feel so very agreeable and honourable, as

that of attending a Committee of Correspondence and Association at Devizes on Tuesday next, and the meeting of the county, which is to be held the subsequent day.

The early negative put upon the enquiry into the public expenditure in the House of Lords; the refusal of any account of places and pensions held by members of that house; the violence done to the constitution by the arbitrary removal of the Earl of Pembroke from the lord-lieutenancy of our county (an office which his ancestors have so long and so honourably held, I believe, from its first institution), for no other possible cause but for having voted as a free man upon a public question; as well as by that of the Marquis of Carmarthen from the lord-lieutenancy of the East Riding of Yorkshire:—

And in the House of Commons, the proceeding to lay new burthens, without taking any, much less effectual economical measures, in direct opposition to the prayer of our petition, as well as those of other counties; the number of taxes proposed to be superadded; some bearing very hard upon our county in particular; namely, that which regards the private brewery, besides the addition made to the severest of all duties, that on salt; when it is certain that triple the sum might have been, and may still be produced from the suppression of unnecessary offices, savings in the mode of expenditure, and other economical reforms, which require only integrity to accomplish; the difficulties which have been thrown in the way of a very able plan of reform now before the House; no enquiry made into exorbitant contracts; accountants suffered to remain with large public balances at their own disposal; the measure for a commission of accounts taken out of independent and disinterested hands, and assumed by the authors of our distress, in such a manner as to mock every idea of parliamentary independency, or popular enquiry; no expectation offered by the minister, except a possible reversionary reduction of those places which do not contribute to the influence of the Crown, in answer to the

petitions, desiring an abolition of those that do; and, withal, a position laid down as fundamental by the supporters of the court, and ministers in both Houses, that the influence of the Crown is not dangerous to the constitution, and is not increased, in contradiction to the evidence of all our senses: —

These facts, I apprehend, can leave little doubt with any freeholder, who approved of the former meeting, of the necessity of immediately associating for the accomplishment of those indispensable objects, stated in our petition, in as strong terms as constitutional language can dictate.

But I am sensible that it must occur to our county, as it has already done to others, to consider what steps can be taken to obtain that reform of which our present parliament gives so little hope, acting even under all its present circumstances; or what security can be had for preserving in future what we may have the good fortune to obtain in this moment of exigence. It gives me great satisfaction to find, that it has occurred to none to have recourse to other means than those purely civil, as well as strictly constitutional.— Though no one feels with more concern the abuses which have taken place in the militia, and particularly the departure from the ancient, true, fundamental, and, till of late years, invariable militia principles of keeping them within their counties, except in case of actual invasion (their present distant and unnecessary removals serving only to assimilate them to the standing army in principle and in habits, not in discipline); I still have that confidence in our army as well as militia, as at present constituted, that I hope neither are yet so estranged from a love of the constitution, as to give any just apprehension of danger.

Two measures have offered themselves for consideration, which, inasmuch as they affect the House of Commons merely, come unquestionably within the province of our county-meeting, and cannot, by any misrepresentation, be construed to arise from improper motives:—The one is to

shorten the duration of parliaments; the other, to equalize the representation, which at present confessedly bears no proportion, either to the number of people, the quantum of property, or the proportion of public contribution; nor does it hold to any rank or description whatever, but is the mere child of accident or intrigue.

The people of England, I conceive, have, and always had, a clear, unalienable, indefeasible right both to the one and the other, in their fullest extent, upon a stronger ground than that of any act or acts of parliament. That "the House of Commons must be free in every circumstance of its constitution", is the foundation-stone of all our government. The same right which the people had formerly, and, through the blessing of God, exerted so happily for us, their posterity, to have parliaments frequently holden, when they were aggrieved by the Crown's withholding them, now goes to have them frequently and equally chosen, when it appears, through the length of the duration, and the inequality of the representation, that they are still more aggrieved than they were formerly by the total want of them.—And if this should appear to be the sense of a fair majority of the people, collected together, either in county-meetings or in any other constitutional mode, there can be no doubt but that proper laws will be immediately enacted to restore the constitution to its first principles in these particulars: for it is not to be presumed, that the present defective representation would venture to oppose the manifest sense of those from whom they derive all their authority; much less that the House of Lords, constituted as it is, or the Crown, could be so ill-advised, as to deny their concurrence and assent to so salutary a reform, in a part of the constitution which more particularly belongs to the democracy.—These principles are so unalterably engraven in my mind, that I should hold myself criminal in the suppression of them when called for. It will be for the county to judge, whether they will proceed to declaratory resolutions on the subject of them, and then

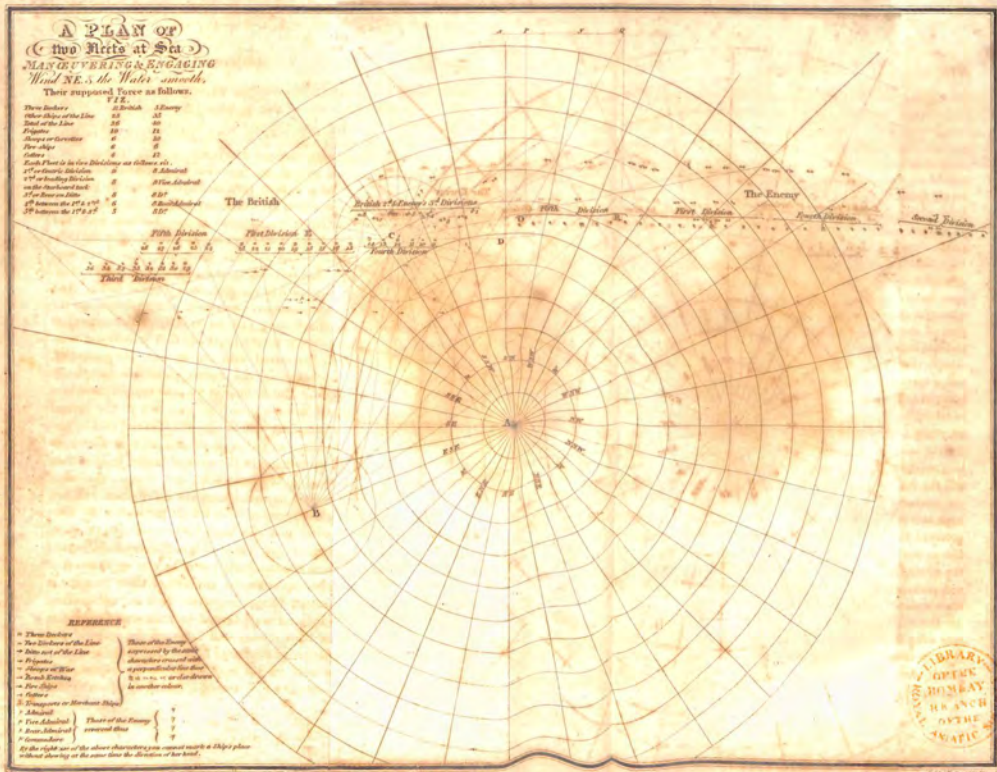
wait till the sense of the rest of the kingdom is so far known; or whether they will be contented finally, without pushing the right of the people to its utmost extent, by insisting upon an annual election, and a total change of the representation. There are men of whose integrity there is but one voice, and whose judgement deserves every attention throughout England, who foresee more inconvenience than, I confess, I do in the whole extent of these propositions. Besides, the consequences of great changes have been, in all times, so uncertain, that it may be most prudent to avoid them; especially as in the present instance, I am free to own, that so far as I am capable of judging, every end may be obtained by the repeal of the Septennial Act, and a reasonable addition of county members, chosen by districts, or under some regulation which might preclude all unnecessary expense. But I shall most willingly subscribe to the discretion and wisdom of the meeting, in this and every other consideration of expediency; and I dare rely upon the generosity and candour of the county and committee, that they will put a just interpretation upon the liberty I take, meaning to assume no more than what might become any other freeholder; submitting my unreserved sentiments, in time of distress, to their better judgment, as I cannot have the honour of attending in person, when I might explain myself more particularly upon each part, as occasion might require. I have nothing so much at heart as to prove the sincerity and consistency of my conduct upon all occasions, but most of all in the county of my residence, and among a neighbourhood whose good opinion must in the end make the comfort and honour of my life.

I have the honour to be, with great respect and consideration,

Sir,

Your most obedient and humble Servant,

SHELBURNE.


A PLAN OF
two Fleets at Sea
MANŒUVERING & ENGAGING
Wind NE. & the Water smooth.
Their supposed Force as follows.
VIZ.
Three Dockers 2 British 3 Enemy
Other Ships of the Line 23 35
Total of the Line 36 40
Frigates 10 11
Sloops or Corvettes 6 10
Fire ships 6 6
Cutters 4 12
Each Fleet is in five Divisions as follows viz.
1st or Centric Division 8 8 Admiral
2nd or leading Division on the Starboard tack 8 8 Vice Admiral
3rd or Rear on Ditto 8 8 Dt
4th between the 1st & 2nd 6 8 Rear Admiral
5th between the 1st & 2nd 5 8 Dt
The British
The Enemy
Fifth Division
First Division
Fourth Division
Second Division
Third Division
A
B
C
D
REFERENCE
Three Dockers
Two Dockers of the Line
Ditto not of the Line
Frigates
Sloops of War
Rotch Ketches
Fire Ships
Cutters
Transports or Merchant Ships
Those of the Enemy expressed by the same characters crossed with a perpendicular line that is ⊥ or distinguished in another colour.
Admiral
Vice Admiral
Rear Admiral
Commodore
Those of the Enemy reversed thus
By the right use of the above characters you cannot mark a Ship's place without showing at the same time the direction of her head.
LIBRARY OF THE HOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

No. VI.

Vol. I., page 130.

Naval Surveying, by John Cartwright, 1779.

Amongst other national desiderata, it were on many accounts to be wished that we were in possession of better means than have hitherto been employed, for taking plans of fleets while in action with, or manœuvring in the presence of an enemy. Every engagement at sea, between even the smallest squadrons, is an event highly interesting to the public. But when capital fleets encounter, peace or war, dominion or dismemberment, national triumph or humiliation, hang suspended in the precarious scales of battle. And whenever inadequate performances or glaring failures on the part of sea-officers may call for official, parliamentary, or judicial inquiries, it is very important that facts and circumstances closely connected with the honour, the prosperity, and even the safety of the nation, should be completely brought to light. But so long as we shall neglect the means of taking actual surveys upon the spot, and at the critical moments, for recording with fidelity the material events, and thereby of deciding, or rather preventing all controversy, so long we shall continue to be the sport of heated imaginations and the dupes of misrepresentation; not to omit, that when the most able and impartial men are called upon, and perhaps at a distant period of time, for the particulars that have occurred in every part of a large fleet on occasion of an action or rencontre at sea, where all is in perpetual motion, and the whole scene is unceasingly assuming new appearances, it will perhaps be impossible for any two of them to agree in their statement of various important facts, notwithstanding all the aid that memoranda and journals can furnish; so that after the most minute and laborious investigation, we shall be in danger of remaining in doubt, if not in ignorance. But it is not only for the satisfaction of the ministry, the legislature, and the nation at large, that it is recommended

thus to rescue from obscurity all great operations at sea, but from a feeling also for those officers who may henceforth direct or bear a part in those operations; and whose fortunes, honour, and peace of mind, must depend on the future sentiments of their country. Let demerit of a certainty know that it shall not escape exposure; and let merit be also assured, that if not duly rewarded, it shall at least be known and celebrated.

In order to obtain such plans as might answer all these purposes, the following simple apparatus, and easy as well as dispatchful mode of surveying, is proposed:

1. Officers must be provided with various blank charts, such as the specimen given herewith; prepared only with all the points of the compass, and concentric circles at every half mile described thereon. The lines to be drawn with blue, green, or red ink; and the centres of the concentric circles to be placed at different points on different charts; so as that the surveying-officer may have charts suited to any situation his ship may be in, with respect to the fleet he is to survey.

2. Numerical lists similar to that hereafter given of your own fleet, great and small, with columns for remarks, must also be provided. And lists as complete as may be, or at least blank tables with similar columns, should also be in readiness for noting down what happened to the enemy; since, in judging of the conduct of an officer, the condition of an enemy's fleet or ship, as well as of his own, is to be taken into the consideration.

3. As often as it shall be thought proper to take a plan of the fleets, let a signal for that purpose, to particular ships, be thrown out. Upon the appearance of this signal, the apparatus to be brought forth, and then the signal answered. At the same instant the surveys to begin*. The bearing,

* A better way would be to throw out the signal twice, the first time for preparation only, and the second for execution. All the ships

and the estimated distance of every ship being taken, her place upon the chart is to be marked with the character* proper for her class, whether three-decker, two-decker, frigate, or other vessel; and her number as she stands upon the numerical list, or else her initials, as most dispatchful, to be added thereto.

In the execution of this design, two or more persons may be employed at the same time, provided their several departments are properly assigned them. One, for instance, to take the places of the other surveying-ships, the flags, the van and rear ships, as well as those also of the enemy, if in the same quarter, or mixed with your own ships in fight; another, to take all intermediate ships that fill up the less important spaces in the line; a third, to take frigates, convoys, small-craft, &c. But the principal person should himself always take every ship whose situation is critical, or particularly interesting to either fleet. Very few minutes will be necessary for thus giving every ship a place in your plan; especially if surveying be made an occasional practice while a fleet is in the act of performing manœuvres for exercise upon a cruise.

4. While some persons are proceeding as above, others at the same time are to be noting down the apparent *condition* of every ship in both fleets, marking it opposite to her name or description, in the numerical lists or table above mentioned; for the expeditious performance of which the following signs† or short-hand characters are offered, until others better calculated for the purpose shall be invented.

concerned having by their answers signified their readiness, the signal should be hauled down, and then upon its being repeated, the work instantly to begin.

* ⫻ three-decker: ⇒ two-decker: ↖ frigate. The characters to point in the same direction as the ship, as near as may be.

† On account of the delay it would have occasioned in having these signs cut on wood, they have been omitted. It is, however, not thought material, as any officer adopting the plan, may easily form characters for it.

N.B. A ship has too little sail set when she requires and is able to set more, in order to keep, or to reach the station assigned her, to relieve a friend whom she ought to relieve, or to attack an enemy whom she ought to attack; and she has too much, when her station is overshot, and she neglects to shorten sail accordingly, or when she flies from an enemy for whom she ought to wait.

To the above short rules, it cannot be necessary to add many observations. The plan herewith submitted to consideration will best illustrate what has been laid down. It is supposed to have been taken at A; from a ship sent thither for that purpose, as soon as it became probable that an action would speedily ensue. It will be readily admitted, that all the material errors to which it is subject, must be in the respective *distances* of the several ships from the point A. But it will soon appear that in the distances themselves there will be no material error, if similar plans shall be taken from other ships properly situated. On the present occasion I have supposed only two other surveys to be made, from B and from C; making, with A, a triangle nearly equilateral. As the sides of this triangle make the governing bases of the survey, the angles of it are to be very carefully taken with Azimuth compasses. Since, then, these angles must be the same in each survey, it follows, that when the three plans shall be brought together, the very act of reconciling these angles must, of necessity, correct all erroneous distances, so as to give the several sides of the triangle with almost geometrical exactness, especially when there are such a variety of other bearings as will all contribute towards this reconciliation of angles throughout the several surveys. It also follows, that when the angles agree, whatever incorrectness shall still remain undetected, will affect all the distances alike, and be proportional. If, however, by any farther means, such slight incorrectness of distance may be discovered, a mere enlargement or contraction in your scale of miles will

set all right, and perfect your plan. Now, in order to provide for such discovery, it seems adviseable that a sloop or cutter should attend the surveying-ship at A; and as soon as the survey begins, make sail for the line of battle, upon a course at right angles to that which is steered by the fleet. Then, if the fleet only keep its course till the cutter sails to D, and, if the cutter have frequently measured her rate of sailing by the log, as well as noted the time spent in the run, the surveying officer will obtain the distance from A to D with a degree of accuracy fully sufficient for his purpose. The same might be done by another vessel measuring the run from B to E. It is unnecessary to add, that having the angle C A D, and the length of the perpendicular A D, the length also of the hypothenuse A C is known; and that the side A C, together with all the angles of the triangle A B C, gives you the sides A B and B C. Your data, then, for taking a survey, is complete; and when practice shall enable your officers to perform it with despatch, it will be little inferior in mathematical exactness to the surveys taken on land.

Whenever the different parts of the fleet or fleets which are to be surveyed, may be sailing in contrary or very different directions, as on the present occasion is the case with the second and fourth divisions of the British fleet, it is obvious that the respective positions of the ships should be ascertained as instantaneously as possible, and before any of them, to the eye of the surveying officer, shall appear to cross each other. And if, to his observation, they form mere groups, or clusters, as at C, it will be sufficient to ascertain the true bearing of a single ship, as the surveying-ship No. 12, and to catch the rest with a glance of his eye; so that their change of position within a few moments, while, from memory he gives each its place upon the plan, may not occasion any discoverable inaccuracy of bearings. Then, when the survey taken at C shall be consulted, it is evident that the most trivial incorrectnesses will be done away.

If your fleet be to leeward, as that of the enemy is represented in the chart, you obtain an accurate perpendicular by means of a cutter being stationed in the line at O, which, upon the signal for surveying, runs down rectangularly to the line of the course (x y) steered by the fleet, as well as by the surveying frigate at Q. By allowing for the probable excess of swiftness by which the cutter will out-sail the frigate that keeps pace with the fleet, you may easily provide for their both arriving at P about the same time, in order that the admeasurement may be the more correct. As O P is equal to Q R, the surveying officer thus obtains the perpendicular he sought.

As such surveys would not only exhibit lively and faithful representations of the good or ill effects of manœuvres, but likewise record the particular conduct of every captain, in executing the designs of the commander-in-chief, it should seem that the practice of surveying would necessarily tend to excite in the officers, attention and emulation, as well as to improve our naval tactics in general.

Although I have here supposed only three ships to survey the fleet, my meaning, nevertheless, is that in all ships of the fleet the apparatus should be at hand, and that every ship which finds itself well situated for ascertaining the positions of any part of the fleet, especially where there is any group or double line of ships, should, at least if at leisure, make a partial survey of such group or double line, at the instant of taking the general survey by the particular ships appointed for that purpose.

[Here follows a plan entitled "Remarks on the Apparent Condition of each Ship respectively at the several times of Surveying the Fleet." It consists of three columns: the first is "A Numerical List of the Fleet under the command of ————"; the next column has at its head the date, with the hour and minute the remarks commenced, and how many minutes were spent in taking them; and the third is "The Condition of the Enemy's Ships in battle, and as respectively

opposed to the British." In the second column, the characters standing for the bow-sprit, jib-boom, &c. as well as those which shew in what state the ship is in at the time specified above, are inserted.]

N.B. The numerical list always to be taken from van to rear upon the *starboard* tack. After the whole line, the frigates and small craft of the van or second division to come next, and then those of the fourth, first, fifth and third, successively*.

In noting down the condition of ships, observe the same order as appears in the table of short-hand characters; that is, proceed regularly from the bow-sprit aft; taking also lower masts before top-masts, all masts before yards, and rigging last of all. This method will promote both accuracy and despatch.

EXPLANATION of the Circumstances at the time of taking the Plan.

Eight of the British van have attacked eight of the enemy's rear, and forced some of them round to the other tack, but all of them out of the line, by laying them on board well forward upon the bow, and then wearing ship. The rear division, at the same time, have made sail to windward, in order to be in readiness for meeting the enemy's van, in case it should tack; while the three centre divisions stand on, with intention of making a second attack, of the same nature as the first, should the enemy abandon his rear, and make no new manœuvre in the mean time. But at the moment of taking the plan, the enemy perceiving his rear must inevitably fall a sacrifice, if not supported, is in the act of wearing his four divisions that have not engaged, meaning to engage

* Perhaps it would contribute to perspicuity if the divisions also, as well as the ships, should on all occasions be uniformly numbered from van to rear on the starboard tack.

the British line upon contrary tacks, in order to avoid a decisive action, and to keep between their main body and the detached ships to leeward, in hopes, should the approaching action prove favourable for him, of taking advantage of their separation. The British Admiral being, however, aware of the danger of such a separation, as well as of the undecisiveness of all actions of fleets upon contrary tacks, will wait only until he sees the enemy hauling upon the larboard tack, when he will immediately put his fleet nearly before the wind, steer west till he covers his second division and gets to leeward of the enemy's line, then wear round to the larboard tack, and bring to, for the enemy to pass (if they like it) to windward of him; ordering, at the same time, his third division into its original station again. By this manœuvre, the enemy's third division must be separated from his main body, and no alternative left him but the loss of that division, or a decisive action between the fleets. Then if the enemy, determined to keep to leeward, again bears up for that purpose, and drops beyond the two divisions in battle, the British Admiral will do the same; but now he will form to windward of their line, still separating it from their third division. In making this manœuvre, the British Admiral, as he must pass through the divisions in battle, would have an opportunity of completing the defeat of the enemy's ships, by the fire his fresh ships would pour into them in passing. Should the enemy now choose to engage, and for that purpose should range along to leeward, the fourth division of the British, as soon as an equal number of the enemy are abreast of them, must bear up, and board them well forward on the bow as before mentioned, so as to force them, at all events, out of the line, and, if possible, upon the contrary tack, notwithstanding an approach will thereby be made towards the rear of their fleet, while the British van is leading another way; and at the same instant, the van division, or the third, must be ordered to tack and make sail to the NW., so as to be ready either for falling on the rear of the enemy,

in case it should interfere with the British fourth division to leeward, or for once more returning to its original station, or posting itself elsewhere, as occasion might require. It is by bold and unexpected manœuvres that those breaks and separations of fleets are effected, which, to the less able and the less determined combatants would prove disorder, confusion, and defeat. As the fighting in regular lines, especially upon contrary tacks, and a close adherence to the systematic modes of preserving the unity of a fleet, are, of all things, the best calculated to improve the advantages which the enemy at present derive from their numbers, by encouraging them in disputing with us the dominion of the sea; so it is our best policy carefully to avoid engaging upon the contrary tack, whenever it may be avoided, as well as by all possible means which superior seamanship and the daringness of the British naval character will suggest, to disconcert all their attempts at regular fighting: for, in proportion to the irregularity of a sea-fight, we may reckon upon the great advantages of that hardiness and skill which is not the distinction of our commanders only, but of our nation.

This anticipation of events beyond what the survey supposes to have taken place, is only intended to justify the original departure from regularity in the imaginary action, as not hazarded without a foresight of consequences.

No. VII.

Vol. I., page 191.

REGULATIONS of the Society of THE FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE, associated for the Purpose of obtaining a Parliamentary Reform.

I. Resolved, That the title of this society be, "THE FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE, associated for the Purpose of obtaining a Parliamentary Reform."

II. That the declaration agreed upon at the meeting of the 11th of April 1792, expresses the political objects of this Society.

III. That no person be capable of becoming a member of this Society until he has expressed his assent, by subscribing his name to the above-mentioned declaration.

IV. That every candidate for admission to this Society shall be proposed and seconded by two of its members, and balloted for at the succeeding meeting.

V. That the election of members shall be by ballot, and that no candidate shall be deemed duly elected unless it shall appear that he is chosen by nine-tenths of the members present.

VI. That until the Society shall consist of one hundred and fifty members, no ballot shall be taken, or other business begun, unless a number, not less than one third, of the members of the Society be present.

VII. That a general meeting of this Society be held at Freemasons' Hall, at one o'clock in the forenoon, on the first Saturday in every month, during the sitting of Parliament.

VIII. That the members of this Society be duly summoned to every general meeting, and that for that purpose they enter their places of abode in a book, to be kept by the committee hereafter described.

IX. That a committee, consisting of twelve persons, be appointed, one fourth of which shall be replaced by election at each general meeting of the Society.

X. That this committee be empowered to conduct the ordinary correspondence with all individuals or societies desirous of promoting the cause of Parliamentary Reform.

XI. That the duty of this committee shall be to prepare such business as shall appear to them fit to be laid before the general meetings of the Society; and that they shall be requested to draw up such Resolutions as they shall deem proper to be submitted to their consideration.

XII. That this committee be hereby enjoined strictly to

conform, in all their correspondence, or other communications, to the principles contained in the declaration of the 11th of April, 1792.

XIII. That such committee have power and authority to regulate the mode of their own proceeding, conforming to the general rules and occasional instructions of the Society, and also to employ any clerks at the expense of the Society, and to draw upon the treasurer for any sums which they may find necessary for their proceedings.

XIV. That it be a general instruction to the committee, in their correspondence, to advise all friends of Parliamentary Reform, to form themselves into similar Societies, on similar principles, in all parts of the kingdom; and that a copy of the Declaration of the 11th of April, be transmitted to all such Societies.

XV. That to defray the necessary expences of the Society, each member shall, on his admission, pay to the treasurer two guineas and a half, and continue the same payment annually, computed from Lady-day 1792.

XVI. That two treasurers shall be annually appointed to receive the contributions of the members, and that they shall be empowered to issue money upon the order of the committee, or the vote of a general meeting.

XVII. That the committee be empowered to call extraordinary meetings of the Society, giving as much previous notice to the members as the exigency of the business may permit.

DECLARATION.

A number of persons having seriously reviewed and considered the actual situation of public affairs, and state of the kingdom, and having communicated to each other their opinions on these subjects, have agreed and determined to institute a Society, for the purpose of proposing to Parliament, and to the country, and of promoting, to the utmost of their power, the following constitutional objects, making the

preservation of the constitution, on its true principles, the foundation of all their proceedings.

First—To restore the freedom of election, and a more equal representation of the people in Parliament.

Secondly—To secure to the people a more frequent exercise of their right of electing their representatives.

The persons who have signed their names to this agreement think, that these two fundamental measures will furnish the power and the means of correcting the abuses, which appear to them to have arisen from a neglect of the acknowledged principles of the constitution, and of accomplishing those subordinate objects of reform, which they deem to be essential to the liberties of the people, and to the good government of the kingdom.

A LIST OF THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY.

Charles Grey, Esq. M.P.
Hon. Thomas Maitland, M.P.
George Rous, Esq.
William Cuninghame, Esq.
John Tweddell, Esq.
Earl of Lauderdale.
Nicolls Raynsford, Esq.
James Mackintosh, Esq.
Thomas Christie, Esq.
Malcolm Laing, Esq.
Right Hon. Lord Kinnaird.
James Archdekin, Esq.
William Harwood, Esq.
David Godfrey, Esq.
Higgins Eden, Esq.
Philip Francis, Esq. M.P.
Charles Goring, Esq.
John Hurford Stone, Esq.
W. H. Lambton, Esq. M.P.
John Godfrey, Esq.
George Tierney, Esq.
Arthur Pigott, Esq.
J. B. Church, Esq. M.P.
Gilbert Ironside, Esq.
T. B. Hollis, Esq.
William Baker, Esq. M.P.
Samuel Whitbread, jun. Esq. M.P.
Dudley North, Esq. M.P.
Sir John Throckmorton, Bart.
John Courtenay, Esq. M.P.
M. A. Taylor, Esq. M.P.
William Breton, Esq.
Thomas Rogers, Esq.
Hon. Thomas Erskine, M.P.
R. Knight, Esq.
Thomas Thompson, Esq. M.P.
Colonel Tarleton, M.P.
H. Howorth, Esq.
Mr. Serjeant Bond.
William Lushington, Esq.
Right Hon. Lord John Russell, M.P.
Samuel Rogers, Esq.
T. C. Curwen, Esq. M.P.
Peregrine Dealtry, Esq.
Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Esq. M.P.
William Fullarton, Esq.
Norman Macleod, Esq. M.P.
James Losh, Esq.

John Sawbridge, Esq. Ald. M.P.
Richard Weld, Esq.
John Claridge, Esq.
John Wharton, Esq. M.P.
James Martin, Esq. M.P.
William Smith, Esq. M.P.
John Scott, Esq. M.P.
Sir Bellingham Graham, Bart.
George Byng, Esq. M.P.
John Cartwright, Esq.
Jer. Batley, Esq.
Ralph Carr, jun. Esq.
Ralph Milbanke, Esq. M.P.
Henry Howard, Esq.
Sir J. W. S. Gardiner, Bart.
B. E. Howard, Esq.
E. B. Clive, Esq.
Sir George Staunton, Bart.
Henry Howard, Esq. M.P.
John Leach, Esq.
John Nicholls, Esq.
Joseph Richardson, Esq.
John Towgood, Esq.
William Chisholm, Esq.
John Fazakerly, Esq.
Richard S. Milnes, Esq. M.P.
Samuel Shore, Esq.
Samuel Shore, jun. Esq.
Charles Warren, Esq.
Long Kingsman, Esq.
Edward Jer. Curteis, Esq.
Samuel Long, Esq. M.P.
Henry Swann, Esq.
T. B. Rous, Esq.
D. O'Bryen, Esq.
J. Lodge Batley, Esq.
James West, Esq.
Richard Carpenter Smith, Esq.
W. Powlett Powlett, Esq. M.P.
George Livius, Esq.
Right Hon. Lord Daer.
Hon. John Douglas.
Right Hon. Lord Edward Fitzgerald.
Rev. Dr. Kippis.
James Jacque, Esq.
Francis Love Beckford, Esq.
Adam Walker, Esq.
Richard Sharp, Esq.
Rev. Dr. Joseph Towers.
John Clerk, Esq.
Thomas Bell, Esq.
John Wilson, Esq.
Andrew Stirling, Esq.

COMMITTEE.

William Baker, Esq., M.P. Chairman.
Charles Grey, Esq. M.P.
Samuel Whitbread, jun. Esq. M.P.
John Wharton, Esq. M.P.
R. B. Sheridan, Esq. M.P.
Philip Francis, Esq. M.P.
Hon. Thomas Maitland, M.P.
William Henry Lambton, Esq. M.P.
George Rous, Esq.
John Godfrey, Esq.
William Cuninghame, Esq.
James Mackintosh, Esq.

TREASURERS.

Right Honourable Lord Kinnaird.
George Tierney, Esq.

No. VIII.

Vol. I., page 216.

TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SOCIETY OF THE FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE.

SIR,

By the "Society for Constitutional Information", I am commanded to express to you the satisfaction that its members feel on the institution of your Society.

That the House of Commons itself, which is the very subject to be reformed, should have furnished a part of this strength, may ultimately afford important advantages to the public. But it must not, Sir, be disguised, that at first this circumstance will necessarily be accompanied with doubts, with suspicions, with apprehensions. It is not, Sir, the first time that numbers of that house have professed themselves reformers: it is not the first time that they have entered into popular associations. But should they on this occasion, prove faithfully instrumental in effecting a substantial reform in the representation of the people, and the duration of parliaments, it will be the first time that the nation hath not found itself in an error, when it placed confidence in associated members of Parliament, for the recoveries of the constitutional and inestimable rights of the people. The long-lost rights of representation, are rights, Sir, which in truth are not to be recovered but by the exertions and the unanimity of the people themselves. Impressed with this great truth, it has been an invariable object of this Society to revive in the minds of the commonalty at large a knowledge of their lost rights, respecting the election and duration of the representative body; and we doubt not that your Society will see the wisdom of pursuing a like course. May it taste the delight of diffusing this knowledge; may it reap the honour of calling forth the energies of the nation!

When this Society, Sir, contemplates that flood of light and truth which, under a benign Providence, is now sweeping from the earth despotism in all its forms, an infringement

of rights in all its degrees, to make way for freedom, justice, peace, and human happiness; and when it sees your Society announce itself to the world as the friends of the people, it rests assured that this new institution abundantly partakes of that light, that it embraces that truth, and it will act up to the sacredness of that friendship which it professes, by nobly casting from it with disdain, all aristocratic reserves, and fairly and honestly contending for the people's rights in their full extent.

Here, Sir, be assured, lies all your strength. You may boast of names, of wealth, of talents, and even of principles; but without the fellowship of the people, understanding and feeling their immediate interest in the contest, your association, whenever it grapples with that powerful despotism to which it is opposed, and to which a constitutional cloak gives double strength, will most assuredly crumble to dust.

Here, Sir, it is with peculiar satisfaction that the "Society for Constitutional Information" can express its belief, that to its own unequivocal "Declaration of Rights, without which no Englishman can be a freeman, nor the English nation a free people", it owes that confidence on the part of all true friends to a substantial reform of Parliament, which in all periods of the Society's existence it has invariably experienced.

This short Declaration, containing no more than four distinct propositions, satisfied the people that the Society assumed not the office of reformer, without knowing with precision what wanted reform; nor the character of friend, without manifesting that sincerity which gave proof of its attachment. It left to such reformers as Mr. Burke to talk of the people's liberties, and at the same time to deny or explain away their rights.

This Society, Sir, trusts that the purity of principle which actuated individual members of Parliament, who joined the associations that have been spoken of, will in no degree be affected by the observations that have been made upon the

insufficiency of those associations. But, convinced that a strong impression still remains upon the minds of the people, that in general, persons who have long been accustomed to hold seats in the House of Commons, under the present abuses in the representation, and whose connexions are all aristocratic, must be almost more than men, at once and completely to sacrifice both prejudice and unwarranted power at the altar of freedom; this Society, convinced I say, Sir, of the existence of this impression, would not suffer its delicacy to stand in the way of its duty on this important occasion; but determined with the frankness belonging to sincere affection, to warn its new brethren against a danger to which they might otherwise become exposed through mere inadvertency.

That the distinguished persons who have adorned the senate, and now adorn your Society, may be found equal to the sublime efforts of virtue which their situation now demands, and may on that account receive the blessings of their country and of mankind to the latest posterity, is the sincere, the ardent wish of the Society for Constitutional Information! In whose name I have the honour to subscribe myself with great regard, Yours, &c.

JOHN CARTWRIGHT, Chairman.

No. IX.

Vol. I., page 288.

EXHIBITION at No. 118, Pall-Mall, of the Drawings of the HIERONAUTICON, or NAVAL TEMPLE.

CATALOGUE.

1. An elevation of the Hieronauticon on paper, $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet square.

Amongst the enrichments of this elevation, are personifications of the sea-port and river-towns of Great Britain and Ireland; personifications of the winds; various heavenly constellations; Alfred amidst his compeers in Elysium,

"Seated, for deeds like his, on radiant thrones,"—Trident, p. 87.

rehearsing, in epic song, the glories of Britain; his present Majesty, attended by his three eldest sons, his victorious admirals, his ministers and others, receiving a drawing of the Hieronauticon, and pointing out the place for its erection; occupations subservient to naval greatness, in six circular bas-reliefs; thirty naval engagements; a grand column in a new order of architecture, called the Nautico-triumphant, crowned with a pedestal adorned with Tritons on sea-horses, supporting a statue of the Genius of Britain, directing the attention of his children to their Trident,

"Dominion's symbol; and bright Glory's sign."—Trident, p. 90.

Upon the plinth of the temple are introduced the sea-lion, the whale, the narwhal, and other gigantic inhabitants of the deep; at the foundations of the first story, are projections of the stem and the stern of the state ship of Edward III.; and, in like manner, from the towers of the upper story, likewise project the celebrated galleys of Alfred, the first ships of war ever built by the English, and consequently the germ of the English navy.

J. C. inv^{t}.
J. Gandy, archit.
W. Hamilton, hist. painter
T. Stothard, ditto
W. Anderson, marine painter
} delin^{t}.

2. A ground-plan; shewing the vaulted cemetery, cellars, &c. under one half of the building, with which the other half corresponds; and shewing also the solidity of the foundations on which every part of the superstructure would stand. Here, also, is seen the chapel, corresponding with the registry in the opposite front.—J. C. inv. J. Gandy delin.

3. A longitudinal section of half the cellar F (see No. 2.), and the same of half the pantry, which is above that cellar, and on a level with the banqueting room.—J. C. inv. J. Gandy delin.

4. A transverse section of the south central tower of the lower socle, corresponding with its opposite; shewing the apartments into which it is divided; namely, G, staircase; H, lobby of the vestibule; I, retiring room; K, coffee-room for ladies.—J. C. inv. J. Gandy delin.

5. Fig. I, is a diagonal section of one angle tower of the lower socle, to which the other three are similar; containing L, the staircase for ascending to M, the lobby of the banqueting room; N, a retiring room; O, a gun-room; P, lobby of the terrace, with its screw staircase for ascending to the battery. Fig. II, is also a diagonal section of the NE. angle tower of the upper socle; to which the SW. tower is similar within: each contains Q, a lobby; R, a retiring room from the royal apartments; S, a retiring room from the terrace; T, a lobby and gun-room: but in the NW. and SE. towers of this socle, the whole space between the floor of the state apartments, and the terrace above, is an open staircase. The landings which form the lobbies to the state apartments, are to be as large as the interior of these upper towers will admit; because these lobbies are to be entered from the lower terrace, by doors under the first landings of the external staircases.—J. C. inv. J. Gandy delin.

6. A double plan, on one half of which is shewn the plan of the banqueting room, corresponding with the hall of emulation; also half the vestibule, and half the saloon; all within the lower socle; likewise the hall of Alfred, corresponding with the hall of victory; half the hall of audience, and half the pavilion; all which belong to the upper socle. The other half of this plan exhibits half of each of the terraces, or parades, with which the apartments are roofed; the lower of which, at 76 feet from the ground, is wider than the street before the admiralty gate; and the other, at an elevation of 133 feet, is wider than Oxford Street, at the Pantheon.—J. C. inv. J. Gandy delin.

7. A longitudinal section of half the banqueting-room, and half the hall of Alfred; together with the cemetery below,

corresponding with the opposite apartments in the west front. —J. C. inv. J. Gandy delin.

8. A longitudinal section of the hall of audience, corresponding with the pavilion.—J. C. inv. J. Gandy delin.

9. Sections of the eastern half of the temple, at the centre; containing, besides the arched cemetery, U, a transverse section of the chapel; V, a transverse section of the pantry; W, a transverse section of the banqueting-room, with its central portico; X, a like section of the trophy room; Y, gentlemen's coffee-room; Z, a transverse section of the hall of Alfred, with three retiring rooms within the adjoining tower; and the upper termination of the external staircase, by which you arrive at the terrace from below.—J. C. inv. J. Gandy delin.

10. A window of the lower story, the grand plate of which is 11 feet long, and 8 feet 7 inches broad, and an inch thick after grinding and polishing.—J. C. inv. J. Gandy delin.

11. A study of a navigation school.

12. A ditto of boat-building.

13. A ditto of the pilchard fishery.

14. A ditto of the whale fishery.

15. A ditto of ship-building.

16. A ditto of the Eddystone, and a stone boat.

The preceding six numbers are part of 24 emblematic designs taken from trades and occupations which are instrumental to naval power and greatness.—J. C. inv. W. Hamilton delin.

17. The pattern of the balustrades of the terraces and external staircases; with a parapet wall of one landing.—J. C. inv. J. Gandy delin.

18. A design for the ornament of one of the parapets, in bas-relief, together with two studies for the same purpose.—J. C. inv. W. Hamilton delin.

19. Drawings, with sections of the frames of the entablatures for the naval engagements, of three different dimensions, adapted to inscriptions.—J. C. inv. J. Gandy delin.

20. A drawing, to shew that the united spears of Albion, Erin and Caledon, or England, Ireland and Scotland, constitute the sceptre of the sea. It has wings which bear it, at pleasure, to every coast from the Thames to the Antipodes.—J. C. inv. J. Gandy delin.

> " Trident far fam'd! the gift of Ocean's god,
> His will to do where'er his billows roll;
> So that sweet peace and intercourse may reign
> 'Tween land and land; and busy commerce spread
> To ev'ry kissing wind her countless sails;
> That earth, well cultur'd, may abundance yield;
> And science, art, and elegance abound,
> The sum of human happiness to swell:
> Where'er audacious Wrong shall rear his head,
> Or curs'd Oppression mar the general good;
> Swift as the eagle, speed thee to oppose,
> The injured to redress, and right restore!"—Trident, p. 86.

21. A self-moving vessel; the repetition of which forms the frieze under the balustrade of the lower terrace.—J. C. inv. J. Gandy delin.

In Homer's Odyssey, the king of Phæacia says to Ulysses,

> " Say from what city, from what region toss'd,
> And what inhabitants those regions boast,
> So shalt thou instant reach the realm assign'd,
> In wond'rous ships self-moved, instinct with mind;
> No helm secures their course, no pilot guides,
> Like man intelligent, they plough the tides,
> Conscious of every coast, and every bay,
> That lies beneath the sun's all-seeing ray."—Pope, B. 8.

22. A compound nautic frieze, seen under the balustrade of the upper terrace; its recurrences are marked by erect tridents.—J. C. inv. J. Gandy delin.

23. A piscal enrichment of the cymatium of the pedestal of the column.—J. C. inv. J. Gandy delin.

24. A nautic frieze for enriching the string-courses which divide the basements of the towers from the superstructure. —J. C. inv. J. Gandy delin.

25. A British nautic lyre. Its three strings symbolically denote the music and lyric poetry of Albion, Erin and Caledon; as the termination of those three strings, in the form of a trident, emblematically expresses that which is the subject to be celebrated.—J. C. inv. J. Gandy delin.

26. A Tritonic frieze, that adorns the parapet of every tower.—J. C. inv. J. Gandy delin.

27. Lightning issuing from a cloud; an ornament frequently introduced; but, in allusion to naval prowess, it always receives a tridental form.—J. C. inv. J. Gandy delin.

28. A frieze of male Tritons training to naval war the children of Britain. It covers the plinth of the pedestal, which could not, according to the custom of architecture, be left naked, as it rises in the midst of a grand parade.—J. C. inv. W. Hamilton delin.

29. A frieze of female Tritons educating British infants to naval pursuits, but without allusion to war. It is for adorning the Attic part of the upper towers, above the cornice, throughout the quarter which is next the terrace.—J. C. inv. W. Hamilton delin.

30. The study, from which was copied the above-mentioned group of Alfred and his compeers in Elysium, to whom the royal bard is rehearsing the glories of Britain.—J. C. inv. W. Hamilton delin.

> " Thy storm-train'd hardihood, thy matchless skill,
> Thine eagle energies, fierce, swift, and strong,
> He sings :"—Trident, p. 88.

31. A personification of the SSE. wind in a state of repose.—J. C. inv. W. Hamilton delin.

32. A ditto of the S. by E. wind preparing for action.—J. C. inv. W. Hamilton delin.

33. A ditto of the S. wind, about to rain after thunder.—J. C. inv. W. Hamilton delin.

34. A ditto of the S. by W. wind in a state of indetermination.—J. C. inv. W. Hamilton delin.

35. A personification of the SSW. wind in a state of composure after vehemence.—J. C. inv. W. Hamilton delin.

36. A ditto of the SW. by S. wind in full exertion.—J. C. inv. W. Hamilton delin.

37. A ditto of the SW. wind reposing after fatigue.—J. C. inv. W. Hamilton delin.

38. A ditto of the E. wind, scattering snow, and preparing to send forth his "arrowy sleet."—J. C. inv. W. Hamilton delin.

NW. This wind was here classed by a mistake of the author.

39. A study for the bas-relief of the pedestal, representing the king receiving a drawing of the Hieronauticon, and pointing to the hill on which it is to be erected. His Majesty, 1; is attended by the Prince of Wales, 2; the Duke of York, 3; the Duke of Clarence, 4; Lords, Howe, 5; St. Vincent, 6; Duncan, 7; and Nelson, 8; First Lord of the Treasury, 9; of the Admiralty, 10; and Comptroller of the Navy, 11; Admiral of the Fleet, 12; Secretary of the Admiralty, 13; of the Treasury, 14; Governor of the Bank, 15; Chairman of the India Company, 16; Secretary of the Committee, 17; Master of the Trinity House, 18; Master-General of the Ordnance, 19; Home Secretary of State, 20; President of the Board of Control, 21; Admirals, Young, 22; Sir J. Colpoys, 23; Sir C. M. Pole, 24; Second Secretary of the Admiralty, 25; Commandant of Marines, 26; Lord Mayor of London, 27; Chairman of the West India Merchants, 28; Chairman of Lloyd's Underwriters, 29; Captains, Sir W. S. Smith, 30; of the Frigate, 31; Lieutenant of ditto, 32; Second ditto, 33; President of the Royal Academy, 34; its Professor of Antient Literature, 35; Surveyor-General of the Board of Works, 36; and the Architect of the Design presenting the Drawing, 37.—J. C. inv. W. Hamilton and T. Stothard delin.

40. A personification of the Genius of Britain, from which was copied the figure on the elevation, No. 1, that crowns

the column. He is "directing the attention of Britons to that Trident on which depends the protection of their colonies and their commerce, and the chastisement of those who insult their coasts." Trident, p. 152.—J. C. inv. W. Hamilton delin.

41. A new order of Architecture, called the Nautico-Tuscan.

42. A ditto, called the Nautico-Doric.

43. A ditto, called the Nautico-Ionic.

44. A ditto, called the Nautico-Corinthian.

45. A ditto, called the Nautico-Composite.

46. A ditto, called the Nautico-Triumphant; being the same as that of the great column of the Hieronauticon, intended for the central point of triumphal celebrations.

All the orders invented by J. C. and drawn by J. Gandy.

No. X.

Vol. I., page 311.

Admiralty Office, 23d Nov. 1803.

SIR,

Having laid before my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty your letter of the 19th instant, respecting some improvements you have made in guard pikes, I am commanded by their Lordships to acquaint you that the adoption of these pikes does not rest with them, and that the model has been sent to the Master General of the Ordnance.

I herewith return the enclosure of your letter,

And am, Sir,

Your very humble Servant,

EVAN NEPEAN.

JOHN CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

31, Arundel Street.

No. XI.

Vol. I., page 312.

COPY of a LETTER to the SPEAKER of the HOUSE of COMMONS, sent with a Copy of the Tract on "Congregational Courts".

1st of February, 1785.

SIR,

The fatal effects of suffering the *antient civil polity* of this kingdom to become obsolete were notoriously exemplified by the burglary, last year, in the house of the *Lord Chancellor*, when his Lordship was robbed of *the great seal;* and also in the daring attack made on *your own house* last Saturday, when *the robe* of the *Right Honourable the Speaker of the House of Commons* was, with other valuable property, violently seized and carried off; an account of which I read in the *Public Advertiser* of this morning, and have, therefore, taken the liberty to send you a tract, not yet published, on the *Ancient Division of the Kingdom into Hundreds and Tithings;* whereby all the *liberty, property* and *peace,* of all inhabitants were effectually secured by the admirable system of *mutual frank pledge;* insomuch, "*that a poor girl might travel safely with a bag of gold in her hand*" (says Heylin, p. 305), "*and none durst meddle with her.*" But much more eminent historians than *Heylin* bear unanimous testimony to the *effectual* security of the inimitable polity of *frank pledge,* and the contrast of those times with the present is surely striking; for who can be secure when even the *Lord Chancellor* and *the Speaker of the House of Commons* cannot find an asylum in their own houses from the midnight attacks of common robbers! And though some gentlemen, to whom I have communicated the subject, have objected, that, howsoever efficacious *frank pledge* was *in former times,* when England was less populous, yet it could not at all be applicable to the *present* overgrown state of the

metropolis; but the objection is superficial, and without foundation, occasioned merely by those gentlemen having connected their ideas of *tithings* and *hundreds* with *local* situations (a mere *corruption* of the system), instead of the *persons* of the *house-keepers*, or *deciners*, to whom alone the terms of *tithings* and *hundreds* are properly applicable, so that the *increase* or *decrease* of cities and districts makes not the least difference in the efficacy of the system; because the civil officers and courts in every district (if the system is duly maintained), will be always in exact proportion to the *number* of the *house-holders*, whether they are more or less; and though men are at present, perhaps, more dissolute, if possible, than formerly, yet, the undue influence and corruption of *government* and civil *polity* have manifestly occasioned this unhappy degeneracy in the people. But as men have not changed their *nature*—as *man* is still *man*—doubtless the *same remedy* will be as efficacious now as when Alfred, Arthur, or even Moses himself (p. 3 and 210, to p. 222) first applied it; and that it may certainly be once more deemed "*summa et maxima securitas*", (see p. 6,) if duly revived and *maintained*, or "*wholly kept*", as Magna Charta directs, see p. 98.

The application of the system to great towns and cities, you may see explained in a letter at the end of the book, wherein proofs are given that the laws of the city of London still require *frank pledge* to be maintained. The Dean and Chapter of Westminster are also, by the charter of their privileges (20 Hen. VI.), required to maintain "*in perpetuum*" —"*the use of frank pledge*"—"*usum franci plegii*" (see Stow. p. 918). And all the notorious outrages and tumults of the late election, and present endless *scrutiny* are mere consequences of the *disuse* of frank pledge in Westminster, see p. 41 to 43 and 179.

The want of an index to my book (which I have not yet had leisure to complete), has compelled me to trouble you

with so long a letter, though indeed, with no other design than to save your more valuable time, by referring you to the most material points in question.

I remain with all due respect, Sir,
Your most obedient
And most humble Servant,
GRANVILLE SHARP.

No. XII.

Vol. I., page 348.

A PARABLE.

I will open my mouth in a parable, I will declare the customs of old, which our fathers have told us, that we should not hide them from the children of the generations to come.

A certain city contained much people, and the people of that city had all things needful and to spare, and they were hospitable and valiant; and they were a comely people, and walked erect, and had a countenance that pleased strangers; albeit, when they spake not, they had a proud look.

And in that city every man's house was a castle, and the city was compassed round about with a broad river and a deep, dangerous to pass by reason of the waves thereof, so that the city was an island and very strong.

And every man of that city was a warrior, and had harness, and a sword, and a spear, and other weapons, according to his ability, for by a law of the city, no slave could abide therein; and all who had lands or goods beyond three marks, had shields adorned with gold and very beautiful, and the rest had shields of a plainer fashion.

And on certain days in the year, at the time of every full moon, while the days were longer than the nights, and at the second hour after the rising of the sun, all those that were

able to defend the city came forth into the field *Patria*, in the midst of the city, every man with his harness, with his arms, and with his shield.

And on those days, the windows and house-tops were filled with the aged men and the lads, the women and the young children, and the strangers that were within their gates; to see the armed men and all that they should do.

And two times in every year, as soon as the warriors had assembled in the field *Patria*, they were sworn to armour, the footmen in hundreds, and the horsemen in fifties; and the manner of swearing was on this wise:

When the trumpets sounded, they smote with their weapons upon their sounding shields, and the noise was as the roaring of the sea when there is a storm, and it shook the air by reason of the multitude, and the sound rose to heaven.

And when the chief captain raised his spear towards heaven, and the captains of thousands, and the captains of hundreds, and the captains of fifties, had raised in like manner each captain his spear, the silence of the multitude was as the silence of the sea at rest, when its face resembleth the polished shield of the youthful warrior.

And then spake every captain to his warriors, saying, Raise your right hands to heaven and swear; and every warrior raised his right hand and swore; saying, I will keep whole the law, in which it is written, Thine arms and thy harness thou shalt not sell; neither shalt thou buy the arms of another; these things shall not be lent nor borrowed; neither shall they be given or taken in pledge, nor seized by a creditor in payment of a debt; for thine arms and thy harness are for the hue and cry, and for thy use when cry shall be made for weapons to keep the peace; they are for thy neighbour and thy country, against the robber, and the felon, and the peace-breaker; and for defence against the sudden coming of strange enemies into the land:

As thy neighbour pledgeth thee, so shalt thou pledge thy

neighbour; and as thy country protecteth thee, so shalt thou protect thy country:

And thou shalt be at all times ready, thou and thine arms, and thy harness, at the call of the ruler:

And if thou failest thy country, thy country shall fail thee, and thou shalt be clothed with shame, and shalt be cast out; for whoso selleth or buyeth lawful arms or harness, save the armourers, shall be driven with shame from the land of his fathers, which is a land of freemen, and shall sojourn in sorrow amongst strangers for the space of twenty and four moons; or until he make the greater atonement.

And whoso transgresseth this statute in a smaller manner, shall be cast out amongst strangers, and there sojourn in shame and sorrow for the space of twelve moons; or until he make the lesser atonement.

But when thou art stricken in years, and no longer able to exercise in the field *Patria*, then to thy kindred or to him whom thy soul loveth, mayest thou part with thy harness and thine arms, save thy sword; but thy sword thou shalt not part with until death, for thy sword shall be the badge of thy freedom, and even in thine old age thou shalt not endure to be wholly without arms, for that is the condition of a slave, and a slave, as thou knowest, may not abide in the land.

And when the multitude, even all the warriors, had sworn with a loud voice, there was again a deep silence, as the silence of the night season when all creatures take their repose, and when even the wind moveth not the leaf of the aspen.

And when the chief captain perceived that all were waiting for command, he waved his sword on high; and when he waved his sword, a thousand trumpets of brass sounded for the preparation, and the footmen and the horsemen, and those that managed the engines prepared the exercises of war, one half drawing up against the other half in battle-array.

And when the thousand trumpets of brass sounded for the onset, then the footmen and the horsemen strove with each other, and the engines of war whirled over the field with great violence and terrible to behold: and the old men and the lads rejoiced with great joy, and with continual shouting; but the women and young children had joy mingled with fear.

And when the trumpets sounded a retreat, and the strife was over, every warrior went his way, and hung up his arms and his armour in his own house; and washed for the banquet; and all others likewise departed to their houses to prepare for the banquet.

And when all were ready, the whole people of this city, save the sick and the sucklings and the nurses, and such like, took with them victual, and wine, and garlands, and music, and held a feast in the field *Patria*, with mirth, and singing, and dancing; and when the sun was gone down they feasted until the moon had reached the habitation of *Zephyrus*.

And the women ministered unto the warriors, setting all things before them; and then they sat down with them to the banquet; and the lads partook standing.

And when the lads heard the lutes of the minstrels, and looked on the honoured of their country, the more part of them could not eat, for the desire they had to be warriors, and to wield in the field *Patria* the sword, the spear, and the bossy shield.

And before the chief ruler rose up from the banquet, as the custom was at the going down of the sun, the venerable bard of the harp with the silver strings stood before him and raised to sweetest melody the national song. As he warbled on the deeds of the days of his youth, the old men would say within themselves, O that we were again young, to grasp the glittering spear! Then the heart-touching bard perceiving their thoughts, would soften the strain and address them on this wise:

See in your sons, your country's strength, the stedfast pillars of her state; and in your daughters fair, the pearls that give it loveliness supreme.

Now tears of joy would wet their aged cheeks, and with the mounting notes of the harp with the silver strings, their thanks and their prayers would ascend to heaven, for sons and daughters worthy of such praise. And this feast of the warriors was called the Feast of Arms and Freedom.

And this city had commerce with all nations, and much renown: and strangers delighted to behold this city and this people; and they continually came and continually went, and many sojourned.

And after certain days it came to pass that the rulers of this city said unto the people, Why need ye undergo the toils of the field *Patria*, at every full moon while the days are longer than the nights? Are ye not expert warriors, and is not your city an island encircled with a river on which ye have ships in abundance, and galleys of war?

It is not needful that ye should toil any more under arms of steel, or sweat under harness of iron, for ye are wealthy, and for money can hire gladiators to guard the city, and to exercise in the field *Patria*, while ye enjoy the banquet and the feast.

And the people of this city listened to the counsel of their rulers; and so the rulers hired gladiators, and made them guards of the chief ruler and guards of the city, and from that day the rulers and the captains sware not the warriors to armour, and the exercises of war were neglected; so that shortly afterwards none but the hired gladiators exercised in the field *Patria*.

And the chief ruler builded a lofty house to overlook the city, and he called it the citadel; and the walls thereof were strong, and it was compassed round about with a rampire and a moat, and had gates of iron; and this house he stored with munitions of war.

And the rulers again spake unto the people and said, Now

honour your chief ruler and make an offering unto him, to adorn the house that he hath builded; let every man's sword and every man's spear be hung up in the house of the chief ruler that he hath builded, called the citadel, that it may be a glorious house; for, seeing ye have now gladiators for guards of the city, ye have no need of swords and spears. And the people, thinking their swords and their spears were become useless, did according to the words of the rulers.

And when the rulers had hung up in the house of the chief ruler, the swords and the spears, they shewed the people the splendour of the house, and said, But the shields are wanting to the glory of the house; we will send for the shields also. And they sent for the shields and took them.

And they again said unto the people, Ye have much wealth both within the city and without, we will therefore hire more gladiators for its defence, and to be your protectors. And they hired gladiators in great numbers; and gave them food, and raiment, and dwellings, and arms and harness, and they took of the people's substance to defray the expense.

And the rulers now having so many gladiators at their command, many times vexed other cities, and brought war upon their own city; and they continually increased the number of the gladiators; and these wars impoverished the people, and the maintenance of the gladiators became very burthensome.

And the rulers made their own kinsmen and servants captains of the gladiators, captains of fifties, captains of hundreds, and captains of thousands; and the son of the chief ruler made they captain over all.

And as the people began to be discontented, the rulers, not liking to have the wisdom of their counsels brought in question, contrived to fill the hall, called the hall of speech, with their kindred, and stewards, and menial servants, and with the captains of the gladiators by land, and the gladia-

tors by sea, and with many scriveners and base persons, with whom they had much traffic for the munitions of war, and to whom they gave great wealth out of the substance of the people.

And so, in the hall of speech, the rulers had evermore great praise, even when their counsels were not wise.

And the rulers of this city did oft times much greater evil than they intended; for shallow counsel is like the labour of the unskilful worker in brass, who stoppeth one hole and maketh five, and in stopping the five maketh fifty.

And it came to pass, that although the lands of this people were fruitful, and they had commerce with all nations, and were expert in making all manner of things good for merchandize, and excelled all other nations in knowledge and diligence, yet were they burthened with debts and with taxes beyond any other people, whether Pagan, Mahomedan, or Christian.

And so much of every man's land as was equivalent to a temporary tax upon the whole, the rulers called the land of the state, and they sold it, and quickly spent the money upon the gladiators; for the gladiators had just said unto the rulers, Ye shall double our wages: And they had doubled them: and then the rulers again taxed the land that remained.

And because at one season the rulers thought their doings were not well-pleasing to the people, fearing their opinions, and the freedom of their speech, they took from the people the law itself; so that any one whom a ruler should fear, or envy, or dislike, might be cast into prison, and lie there without redress.

But in one thing these rulers did wisely; for they prevailed in the hall of speech in obtaining a law to indemnify themselves, for taking away the law from the people, and for casting into prison, and evil entreating such as had become objects of their displeasure.

And after certain days it came to pass, that a mighty na-

tion, a great and terrible, came up against this people, and camped before this city, and beleaguered it round about, and made proclamation, saying, This city hath offended the great nation, and it is come up to take vengeance; one stone of this city shall not be left upon another; the city shall be no more; but in the place of it shall rise up a smoke and a stink.

And behold, the people of this city now perceived that they were disarmed; and that the gladiators, although they should be more in number, than all the lands, and all the merchandize, and all the money of the citizens could maintain, could not defend the city; and the people were greatly ashamed; even as our first parents were ashamed, when they had sinned, and perceived that they were naked.

And the people said, Our fathers of the middle time did amiss in following the counsel of the rulers, in ceasing to exercise in the field *Patria*, and great was their folly in hanging up their swords, and their spears, and their shields, in the house of the chief ruler, for every man's arms and harness ought to be in his own house; and this generation also hath done amiss in following the evil example of our fathers of the middle time.

And in those days there was a ruler, the keeper of the treasury, a meek man, and next in authority to the chief ruler, who gave counsel, saying:

The people are a valiant people, and will disdain to submit to the nation that is come up against them, to spoil them, and to take away their property, their rights and independence.

Let all therefore enrol themselves for this war; that the chief ruler may select such and so many as he shall think expedient for defending the city; and the chief ruler will lend them arms and harness which hang up in his house called the citadel; and when the war is over, the arms and the harness shall again be brought back, and be hung up for the glory of the chief ruler.

And the people assembled in their districts, and they communed together, and when they saw how their city was insulted by the nation that had camped before it, they were wroth: and the spirit of their fathers was kindled within them.

And there stood up in the midst of them a man full of years and experience; and he said unto them, Countrymen and brethren, if ye will hearken unto my speech, and give ear unto the words of my mouth, I will declare unto you the law of your city, and what were the customs before the middle time, even in the times of old, when every man was a warrior, and practised the exercises of war in the field *Patria;* so that, as soon as an enemy could appear before the gates, the people, from one end of the city to the other, were at all times ready for the battle.

And the people said, We will hearken unto thy speech, and we will give ear unto the words of thy mouth, while thou declarest unto us the law, and what were the customs of our fathers; speak on; for it is our desire to be warriors, and to exercise regularly in the field *Patria*, that, in time to come, we may be ever ready before an enemy arriveth at our gates, that our city may never more be disgraced by having a nation great and terrible camped before her gates, and her people not in readiness for the battle; for lo, we have no arms, and all the exercises of war we have to learn, for we are ignorant of them; but the nation that is come up against us is an armed nation, and full of experience and skill in all things appertaining to war, and is ever ready for the battle.

And the man full of years and experience spake on, saying, The counsel of the ruler who keepeth the treasury is in part good; I would that in all things it had been wise and just; for it is happy for any people, when their rulers are guided by wisdom and justice, and when there is no need of the counsels of private men.

Ye know, countrymen and brethren, that we have two kinds of law; one ordereth what is expedient, but the other

only declareth what is right; ye know also, that as expediency changeth according to circumstances, so the law of expediency may be changed also; but as rectitude changeth not, for God and nature are ever the same, so the law which declareth what is right, can never be changed nor taken away.

We have therefore, at this day, the same law touching the duty of bearing arms, and the duty also of being practised and skilful, and at all times ready for the defence of our country and its peace, that our fathers had in the times of old, although the rulers of our city in the middle time suffered that law to fall into disuse and forgetfulness, that they might have pretence for hiring gladiators, who should be more subservient to their will than the free citizens.

Study therefore the law of arms as ye shall find it written in the books of the sages; but more especially in the book of him whom our present chief ruler made judge over those who dwell by the river of the east; for was he not a sage versed in all learning, a man full of eloquence, and wisdom, and virtue, and love of his country, and one who revered the law of the land?

When this man had read the law as he found it in the books of the sages of old time, and observed how our fathers and the rulers of the city had not kept the words of the law, to do after all that was written therein; he remembered how Josiah king of Judah, when the book of the Jewish law was found and brought unto him, rent his clothes for grief, saying, "great is the wrath of the Lord that is kindled against us, because our fathers have not hearkened unto the words of this book, to do according to all that is written therein."

So the sage that judged the people of the east, collected into one book, even a little book that thou mayest read in less time than thou canst read the book of Daniel the prophet, all the law of arms as he found it dispersed in the books of the sages before his time, and thou mayest rely on the words of that book.

And in that book he made lamentation, saying, The law hath been disgracefully neglected, and ought to be restored to full vigour and energy.

And it was his desire that the chief ruler, and all the rulers under him, and the inhabitants of the city, and the priests and the people great and small, should assemble in the field *Patria*, and that a herald of the chief ruler should read in their ears all the words of the book that he had written; for he greatly loved his country, and devoutly revered the law of the land.

Now when ye shall read the law of arms in this book, ye shall perceive that the ruler who keepeth the treasury, how great soever may be his desire that the people be armed for defending the city, and giving thereunto permanent peace and security, hath not as yet much understanding in these matters.

For, according to that part of our law which changeth not, nor can be taken away, (and which our forefathers of old time wisely strengthened by an oath taken unto the Lord two times in every year,) no man of our nation can be a borrower of arms, neither can a ruler be a lender thereof, without breaking the law.

Wherefore the keeper of the treasury had spoken more wisely, had he said, Every man who hath ability shall buy himself arms and harness, but to the poorer sort they shall be given; and all shall be supplied out of the house of the chief ruler called the citadel, because all the arms and harness therein have been bought with the people's money, and have been proved, and may be trusted to in the battle; for unless a man have arms in his own house, and be at all times in readiness at the call of the ruler, to keep the peace, or to drive back the invader, he is not in a condition to perform the duties of a citizen; neither can the rights and independence of the people be maintained, and if a free man were disarmed, he would be dishonoured; for to be without arms is the condition of a slave.

And ye shall know, that if the people shall keep the words of the law, to do after all that is written therein, and shall read in each other's ears all the words of the book of the sage that judged the people of the east, that then that law which hath been "disgracefully neglected shall be restored to full vigour and energy", and although the rulers shall not abound in wisdom, yet the city shall be saved.

And the man full of years and experience ceased to speak; and the people said, one unto another, we like this man's counsel, because he boasteth not of his own wisdom but referreth us unto the antient law of our city, and unto a sage whose name is renowned over the whole earth for learning, and eloquence, and wisdom, and virtue, and for the love of his country, and who revered the law of the land.

And the people departed; and when they had procured from Mawman the book-merchant, the book of the sage who judged the people of the east, they read it in each other's ears, and they did according to all that was written in that book; and they became warriors as their fathers in the old time had been; and they speedily drave away from their gates the great and terrible nation that had camped before them, and they saved their city.

And the debts of that city were then speedily discharged, by reason of the great savings in the hire of gladiators, which had become the chief expense of the city. And when the debts were greatly reduced, the most burthensome of the taxes were remitted, to the great relief and happiness of the people.

No. XIII.

Vol. II., page 10.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM MEETING.

UNDER the sanction of those whose names are subjoined,

a general meeting of friends to a Reform of the House of Commons, will be holden at . on the day of this month, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, for taking into consideration the best means of promoting a measure equally essential to the independence of the Crown and to the liberties of the people.

N.B. Towards a subscription for defraying the expences, and giving publicity to the proceedings, those gentlemen whose names are distinguished by a †, have subscribed three guineas each.

Subscriptions are received by

Sir J. Throckmorton, Bart. Chairman of the Committee, 81, South Audley Street.
Brookes, S. Treasurer, 110, Strand. Miller, S. Skinner Street.
Favell, S. St. Mary Axe. Waithman, R. Fleet Street.
Langley, L. 103, Edgeware Road. Wishart, J. Coventry Street.
And J. Davies, Secretary, 4, Little Ryder Street, St. James's.

Adams, W. Esq. Westminster.
Atkins, E. M. Esq. Berks.
Atkinson, J. Esq. Yorkshire.
Austin, J. T. Esq. Cornwall.
†Barnard, S. Esq. Boston.
†Barnard, W. Esq. Ditto.
Bates, J. Esq. Mayor for the entire Corporation at Nottingham.
Bearpark, R. Esq. Yorkshire.
Beevor, Ar. Esq. Norfolk.
Benson, T. Esq. Cumberland.
Birch, J. Esq. Staffordshire.
Blackbourne, Rev. F. Yorkshire.
†Blount, E. Esq. Staffordshire.
Blount, G. Esq. Ditto.
Booth, T. Esq. Liverpool.
Booth, G. Esq. Lancashire.
†Bosville, W. Esq. Yorkshire.
Bousfield, R. Esq. Southwark.
Brett, W. Esq. Essex.
†Brooks, S. Esq. Westminster.
Brooksbank, S. Esq. Westminster.
†Brown, Tim. Esq. London.
Brown, G. C. Esq. Cornwall.
†Burdett, Sir F. M.P. Derbyshire.
†Burdett, W. J. Esq. Somerset.
†Burgoyne, M. Esq. Essex.
Byrom, A. Esq. Lancashire.
Canning, F. Esq. Warwickshire.
Canning, R. Esq. Worcestershire.
Carter, E. Esq. Portsmouth.
Carter, Jas. Esq. Ditto.
Carter, John, Esq. Ditto.
†Cartwright, J. Esq. Lincolnshire.
Castley, F. Esq. Staffordshire.
Chamberlayne, W. Esq. Hants.
†Chapman, W. Esq. Boston.
†Church, T. Esq. Middlesex.
Clarke, W. W. Berks.
Clarke, T. J. Esq. Middlesex.
Clarkson, T. Esq. Suffolk.
Clifford, T. Esq. Staffordshire.
†Clifford, H. Esq. Ditto.
†Clive, E. B. Esq. Herefordshire.

†Cochrane, Rt. Hon. Lord. M.P.
Coke, T. W. Esq. M.P. Norfolk.
Collet, R. Esq. Nottinghamshire.
Coombe, H. C. Esq. M.P. London.
Coore, T. Esq. Yorkshire.
Coxe, Rev. R. Berks.
Cradock, Shel. Esq. Ditto.
Cradock, S. jun. Esq. Yorkshire.
Crompton, P. Esq. M.D. Lancashire.
Crompton, A. Esq. Ditto.
Crompton, J. Esq. Middlesex.
Curwen, H. Esq. Cumberland.
Davy, Ald. Norwich.
Deacon, T. Esq. Herts.
Dickinson, C. Berks.
†Disney, Rev. J. D.D. Essex.
Domville, W. Esq. Ald. London.
†Du Cane, P. Esq. Essex.
Duncombe, H. Esq. Yorkshire.
Earle, W. Esq. Lancashire.
†Ellis, J. for the Trustees of the Leeds Cloth Halls, Yorkshire.
Ellis, J. Esq. Westminster.
England, R. Esq. Norfolk.
†Evans, J. Esq. Surrey.
Ewart, W. Esq. Cumberland.
†Favel, S. C. Council, London.
†Fawkes, Wr. Esq. Yorkshire.
Fellowes, J. Esq. Nottingham.
Fleetwood, B. Esq. Monmouthshire.
Fordham, E. K. Esq. Cambridgesh.
Fordham, J. Esq. Ditto.
Foster, J. Esq. Staffordshire.
Fowler, T. Esq. Suffolk.
Gill, W. Esq. near Pepperharrow, Surrey.
Gill, H. S. Esq. Pepperharrow, Surrey.
Glynn, E. J. Esq. Cornwall.
Goodlake, T. Esq. Berks.
Griffinhoofe, B. C. Esq. Middlesex.
Grigby, J. Esq. Suffolk.
Grimston, J. Esq. Yorkshire.
Gwatkin, R. L. Esq. Cornwall.
Haggart, J. Esq. M.P. Edinburgh.
Hale, G. Esq. Middlesex.
†Hallet, W. Esq. Berks.
†Hallet, W. jun. Esq. Ditto.
Halsey, J. Esq. M.P. Herts.
Hancock, J. Esq. Nottingham.
Heming, Rev. B. D.D. Hants.
Hewett, W. N. W. Esq. Yorkshire.
Higginson, Rev. E. Yorkshire.
†Hodges, T. L. Esq. Kent.
Hollick, Eb. Esq. Cambridgeshire.
Hollis, J. Esq. Bucks.
Honywood, W. Esq. M.P. Kent.
Honywood, W. P. Esq. Essex.
Howard, B. Esq. Suffolk.
Hunt, H. Esq. Sussex.
Hutton, J. Esq. Yorkshire.
Jackson, J. Esq. Cumberland.
Johnson, J. Esq.
Johnstone, W. Esq. Edinburgh.
Johnstone, C. P. Esq. Staffordshire.
†Johnstone, G. Esq. Yorkshire.
Jones, T. Esq. Hants.
Jones, J. Esq. Monmouthshire.
Kendall, Rev. N. Cornwall.
King, G. Esq. London.
King, Rev. Shaw, Essex.
Knight, R. Esq. M.P. Warwickshire.
Lamb, W. M. Esq. Newcastle.
Lamb, H. Esq. Bpk. Durham.
Langley, E. Esq. Middlesex.
Langton, G. Esq. Lincolnshire.
Leech, J. Esq. Surrey.
Leech, E. Esq. Ditto.
Leigh, J. Esq. Staffordshire.
Lewis, R. Esq. Monmouthshire.
Lister, M. B. Esq. Lincolnshire.
Lister, G. Esq. Ditto.
Lloyd, G. Esq.
Lofft, Capel, Esq. Suffolk.
†Madocks, W. A. Esq. M.P.
Marsh, H. Esq. Berks.
Marsh, J. Esq. Ald. Norwich.
Martin, J. Esq.
Merest, J. Esq. Cambridgeshire.
Metcalfe, C. J. Esq. Bedfordshire.

Meynell, T. Esq. Yorkshire.
Middleton, Sir W. Suffolk.
Miller, S. Esq. C. Council, London.
Moggridge, J. H. Esq. Monmouths.
Monck, T. B. Esq. Berks.
Morley, C. L. Esq. Nottingham.
Moseley, J. Esq. Norfolk.
Neale, J. Esq. Hants.
†Northmore, T. Esq. Devon.
O'Callaghan, Hon. G.
Onley, Rev. Ch. Essex.
Oxford, Earl of, M.P.
Papillon, T. Esq. Kent.
Payne, W. Esq. Yorkshire.
Payne, J. Esq. Ditto.
Pearson, J. Esq. Staffordshire.
Peter, H. Esq. Cornwall.
†Peter, W. Esq. Ditto.
Philipps, J. G. Esq. Carmarthen.
Phillips, J. Esq. Worcestershire.
Pilkington, W. Esq. Monmouthshire.
Pitchford, J. Esq. Norwich.
Postle, J. Esq. Norfolk.
Postlethwaite, W. Esq. Leicestersh.
Powell, J. H. Esq. Suffolk.
Price, Rose, Esq. Cornwall.
Puller, G. Esq. Westminster.
Quin, E. Esq. C. Council, London.
Rashleigh, J. C. Esq. Cornwall.
Rawson, T. Esq. Yorkshire.
†Reynolds, R. Esq. Huntingdonsh.
Richardson, J. Esq. Liverpool.
Riddell, R. Esq. Northumberland.
Rider, T. Esq. Kent.
Rookwood, R. G. Esq. Suffolk.
Roscoe, W. Esq. Lancashire.
Royle, J. Esq. Canterbury.
Russel, J. Esq. Maidstone.
Savile, Jos. Esq. Essex.
Sayle, B. Esq. Yorkshire.
Sayle, B. Esq. Ditto.
Scott, Rev. R. Portsmouth.
Scroope, S. T. Esq. Yorkshire.
Scudamore, Rd. Philip, M.P. Herefordshire.
Sharp, T. Esq. Portsmouth.
†Sheath, Ch. Esq. Boston.
Shore, S. Esq. Yorkshire.
Shore, J. Esq. Ditto.
Slade, R. Esq. C. Council, London.
Slaney, R. Esq. Shropshire.
Smyth, J. Esq. Maidstone.
Southwell, Sig. Tr. Esq. Norfolk.
Spurrier, Chr. Esq. Poole.
Stackhouse, E. W. Esq. Cornwall.
Stephens, Rev. D. Cornwall.
Stevenson, R. Esq. Staffordshire.
Strickland, H. Esq. Yorkshire.
Strutt, W. Esq. Derbyshire.
Strutt, J. Esq. Ditto.
Sturch, W. Esq. Westminster.
†Sykes, Dan. Esq. Yorkshire.
Symonds, T. Pow. Esq. M.P. Herefordshire.
Tate, Rev. J. Yorkshire.
Taylor, L. Esq. Maidstone.
†Trevanion, J. B. Esq. Cornwall.
Thompson, P. Esq. Middlesex.
Thompson, C. A. Esq. Ditto.
Thornhill, B. Esq. Derbyshire.
†Throckmorton, Sir J. Berks.
Throckmorton, W. Esq. Ditto.
†Townsend, H. H. Esq. Surrey.
Tracy, C. H. Esq. M.P. Gloucestersh.
Waithman, R. Esq. C. Council, London.
†Walker, P. Esq. Westminster.
Walker, Rev. R. Cornwall.
Walker, T. Esq. Lancashire.
Wardle, G. L. Esq. M.P.
Watt, R. Esq. Yorkshire.
West, J. R. Esq. Warwickshire.
Western, C. C. Esq. M.P. Essex.
Western, Rev. T. Essex.
Westfaling, T. Esq. Herefordshire.
Wharton, J. Esq. M.P. Yorkshire.
Wheble, J. Esq. Berks.
†White, T. Holt, Esq. Essex.
White, H. Esq. Portsmouth.
Wilbraham, G. Esq. Cheshire.

Williams, G. Esq. Liverpool.
Wilson, C. Esq. Yorkshire.
Winniatt, Rev. Reg. Gloucestersh.
†Wishart, T. Esq. Westminster.
Wolferston, S. P. Esq. Staffordshire.
†Wolseley, Sir W. Ditto.
Wolseley, C. Esq. Ditto.
†Wood, M. Esq. Ald. London.
Wood, O. Esq. Manchester.
Wright, A. Esq. Norfolk.
Wright, J. Esq. Yorkshire.
Wycliffe, T. Esq. Ditto.
†Wyville, Rev. Chr. Ditto.
Yate, W. H. Esq. Gloucestershire.

Allen, J. Esq. Bath.
Brown, G. Esq. Lanarkshire.
Bury, F. Esq. Monmouthshire.
Cobbett, W. Esq. Hants.
Dawes, G. Esq. Westminster.
Ewing, W. Esq. Edinburgh.
Ferrie, A. Lanarkshire.
Foote, R. Esq. Kent.
Gillibrand, T. Esq. Lanarkshire.
Gray, W. Esq. Ditto.
Grylls, Rev. R. G. jun. Cornwall.
†Harvey, D. W. Esq. Essex.
Hutchison, J. Esq. Lanarkshire.
Irton, J. Esq. Cumberland.
Jones, W. Esq. London.
Lacey, Rev. R. Yorkshire.
Losh, J. Esq. Cumberland.
Matthews, W. Esq. Somerset.
Ralston, W. H. Esq. Ayrshire.
Ramsay, J. Esq. Lanarkshire.
Russell, J. Esq. Ditto.
Sheddon, W. Esq. Ditto.
Smith, J. Esq. Ditto.
Smith, T. Esq. Ald. London.
Stewart, W. Esq. Lanarkshire.
Stirling, W. Esq. Ditto.
†Thomson, T. Esq. Middlesex.
Thomson, J. sen. Esq. Lanarkshire.
Thomson, J. Esq. Ditto.
Watson, R. Esq. Ditto.
Watson, W. Esq. Ditto.
Weitson, Ad. Esq. Ditto.
Wills, C. Esq. London.
Wills, G. Esq. Ditto.
Wingate, J. Esq. Lanarkshire.

No. XIV.

Vol. II., page 24.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to state to you, that in consequence of more than one hundred assents having been received, a meeting was held of our intended Society of Friends to Parliamentary Reform; when, on an objection taken to its being bound by, or enabled consistently to proceed according to rules formed before it existed, it was, on full debate, admitted that the objection was fatal.

For getting out of the difficulty, and for preventing any loss of time, it was judged the wisest and the shortest way

for those present to form themselves into an association *de novo*, assuming a new appellation to prevent a confusion of denominations, and proceed to business, not doubting but that the assents already given would be readily transferred to the new institution.

Another strong reason for thus proceeding was, that it would be for the interest of the cause to reduce to one-third the necessary annual contribution, the dinners being at the expense of those present, and providing for exertions through the press by a subscription.

Besides which, it was thought that improved rules might be adopted.

An abstract of material proceedings is subjoined; but the rules could not be added, as after having been read on the 17th, they were ordered to stand over for confirmation until the next meeting. It may however be observed, that besides mere provisions for order, regularity, and auditing accounts, &c., they propose an Annual Committee of Consultation, to consist of twelve;—that all writings and books which may be presented to the Union, as well as all its own books, papers, funds, and property, be under the guardianship of the said Committee of Consultation, and all use made of the press be under its superintendence and direction.—N. B. An entire edition of a short pamphlet, on the principles of the Union, of 1000 copies, has already been presented.

It is also proposed that there shall be a general meeting *monthly*, and in February a dinner: and that if in March it shall be thought advisable, the general meeting of that month may convene, for the third Wednesday in April, a general national meeting in the metropolis of friends to the Reform, without limitation.

The word 'Society' being applicable to a vast variety of associations, it was judged politic to adopt the title of Union; especially as the great object of the appeal (hereafter mentioned) is to promote a National Union.

At a meeting held at the Freemasons' Tavern, on Wednesday, 10th June, 1812,

EDWARD BOLTON CLIVE, Esq. IN THE CHAIR,

Resolved unanimously:

I. That an association, denominated the "Union for Parliamentary Reform", according to the constitution, is now established.

II. That the basis or constitution of this Union is expressed in the three following propositions, namely,

1. Representation—the happiest discovery of political wisdom—is the vital principle of the English Constitution, inasmuch as it is *that alone*, which in a state, too extensive for personal legislation, constitutes political liberty.

2. Political Liberty being a common right, *representation* co-extensive with direct *taxation*, ought, with all practicable equality, to be fairly and honestly distributed throughout the community, the facility of which cannot be denied.

3. The *constitutional* duration of a Parliament cannot exceed one year.

Resolved—That the truth of the third proposition in the constitution of this Union is made evident by the following, among other considerations;

1st. An Englishman, at twenty-one years of age, enters on his *inheritance*, whatever it may be. 2d. "A greater *inheritance* descends to every one of us from right and the laws than from our parents", on which maxim Sir Edward Coke in his 2d Institute remarks, "Right is the best birthright the subject hath; for thereby his goods, lands, wife, children, his body, life, honour, and estimation are *protected* from wrong." 3d. To no other "Right" than that of a people either personally or representatively, *making their own laws*, whereby they may be "*protected* from wrong", can this remark of Sir Edward Coke possibly apply. 4th. When election is withholden for seven years, then all who came of age since the preceding election, are kept out of

their inheritance and best birthright. 5th. Even supposing the representation of our country were in other respects quite perfect, yet *septennial* parliaments would still deprive the whole nation of its political liberty for *six parts in seven of human life;* and *triennial* parliaments must have a like effect for *two years in every three;* whence it follows that parliaments of any duration exceeding one year, instead of a *protection* from, would be an infliction of "wrong", contrary to the constitution, against right, and destructive of liberty.

Resolved unanimously:

III. That towards the current expenses of this Union each member shall pay only one guinea per year.

IV. That no person holding a pension or place of profit under the Crown shall be a member of this Union.

V. That in the unprecedented and most awful crisis of our country, Major Cartwright be requested to prepare an *Appeal to the Nation,* to be submitted to the general meeting on Wednesday next.

At the meeting on the 17th,

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, IN THE CHAIR.

Resolved unanimously:

VI. That the rules which have been read, stand over for confirmation until the next meeting.

Resolved unanimously:

VII. That for the "Appeal to the Nation", which has been read, the thanks of the meeting are given to the author.

VIII. That the adoption of the said appeal stand over until the next meeting.

Resolved:

IX. That a subscription be now opened in aid of our original funds, for enabling the Union to extend its services in the cause of Parliamentary Reform, according to the constitution, by means of the press.

Adjourned to Wednesday, the 24th instant.

N. B. For want of time the following was postponed:

That the charges attendant on the exertions of last year not being completely defrayed; a remuneration of Mr. Davis having, through hurry, been omitted; and the subsequent expenses to this time not being quite provided for; the gentlemen now becoming members of this Union, at one guinea a-year, in place of three as was intended, are requested to contribute one pound each, for liquidating all arrears, and putting a small balance in the hands of the treasurer.

Hoping to be favoured with your early determination to transfer your assent to the Union, I have the honour to be with much respect,

Sir, your obedient Servant,

Chairman of the Committee.

Freemasons' Tavern, June 1812.

Adams, W. 159, Drury-lane.
Allen, W.
Bell, H.
Bell, R.
Bell, W.
Barker, John, Great Russell-st. ditto.
Barnard, R.
Barnard, S.
Barnard, W.
Bates, J.
Benson, Thomas, Wreykall, Carlisle.
Birch, Thomas.
Bosville, W.
Brookes, S.
Brown, Timothy.
Burdett, Sir Francis.
Burdett, W. Jones, Stowey-House, Old Down, Somersetshire.
Campbell, C. Surrey-street.
Campbell, J. Worm Leighton, Halifax.
Canning, F.
Cannon, G. Staples-Inn.
Capel, William, 69, Cornhill.
Cartwright, J.
Castley, John.
Chapman, Richard
Chapman, W.
Charrington, T. jun.
Clarke, T. J.
Clive, E. B. Wilford, near Bedford.
Cobbett, W.
Collet, Russell.
Curwen, H. Ryton Grove.
Davy, J.
Dean, Robert, Worm Leighton, Halifax.
Dickenson, Charles.
Doyle, ——, Tavistock-Row, Covent-Garden.
Duncombe, Henry.
Duncombe, Henry.
Ellis, J. 18, James-street, Pimlico.
Fawkes, W.
Gill, W.
Goodbehere, Alderman.
Graves, Admiral.
Graves, S. C.
Griffinhoofe.
Hallet, W.

Hallet, W. jun.
Ham, J. Salisbury-court.
Hancock, John.
Harris, George, 42, Gerrard-st. Soho.
Hawkes.
Houston, G.
Hulme, T. Great Lever.
Hunt, Henry, 16, James-street.
James, C.
Jones, T.
Jones, W. Watling-street.
Langley, E.
Langton, G.
Lochée, John, 38, King-street, Covent Garden.
Long, George, Great Newport-st.
Maclean, Dr.
Marcett, J. Angel row, Hammersmith.
Margrave, T.
Marten, John.
M'Creery.
Metcalfe, C. J. G. Roxton House, near St. Neot's.
Miller, S.
Monck, T. B.
Munnings, J. S.
Nelson, George, Esq.
Nightingale, Rev. Joseph.
Payne, William.
Payne, John.
Pearson, J.
Phillips, Thomas.
Puller, G.
Rawson, T.
Reynolds, Richard.
Rogers, George, 58, High-street, Bloomsbury.
Satchell, S. Timber-merchant, Limehouse.
Sheath, Charles, Boston.
Slade, R.
Spratley, W.
Strutt, J.
Strutt, William.
Thomson, C. A.
Thomson, P.
Thomson, T.
Waddington, F. F.
Walker, P.
Walker, Thomas.
Wardle, G. L.
Watkins, W. B.
Wishart, T.
Wolferston, S. Pipe.
Wolseley, Charles.
Wood, M.

No. XV.

Vol. II., page 26.

HAMPDEN CLUB.—MEMBERS' NAMES.

Those marked thus * were the Founders of the Club.

Aislabie, Rev. W. I. Holywell Parsonage, St. Ives, Hunts.
*Alston, R. Esq. Rowney Lodge, Sawbridgeworth, Herts.
Barnard, W. Esq. Boston, Lincolnshire.
*Blount, E. Esq. Bellamore, Staffordshire.

*Blount, G. Esq. Burford, Staffordshire.
Blount, M. jun., Maple Durham, Reading, Berks.
Bosville, W. Esq. Gunthorpe, Yorkshire.
*Brander, J. Esq. Priory, Christchurch, Hampshire.
*Brooksbank, S. Esq. Geddington, Northamptonshire.
*Broughton, Sir T. D. Bart., Ham, Surrey.
*Burdett, Sir F. Bart. M.P. Foremark, Derbyshire.
*Burdett, W. J. Esq. Stowey, Old Down, Somersetshire.
*Burgoyne, M. Esq. Mark Hall, Essex.
Byron, Right Hon. Lord, Albany.
*Canning, F. Esq. Foxcote, Warwickshire.
*Canning, R. Esq. Houndshill, Worcestershire.
*Cartwright, J. Esq. Brothertoft, Lincolnshire.
*Clarke, J. T. Esq. Swakesley, Middlesex.
*Clive, E. B. Esq. Whitfield, Herefordshire.
*Clifford, H. Esq. Lincoln's Inn.
*Clifford, T. Esq. Tixall, Staffordshire.
Cochrane, Right Hon. Lord, M.P. Portman Square.
*Dalrymple, I. Esq.
Deacon, T. Esq. Bury Park, Rickmansworth, Herts.
Dickenson, C. Esq. Farley Hall, near Reading, Berks.
*Disney, Rev. Dr. J. The Hyde, Essex.
*Du Cane, P. Esq. Braxted Lodge, Essex.
Elsee, J. Esq. Chigwell, Essex.
*Fawkes, W. Esq. Farnley Hall, Otley, Yorkshire.
*Fergusson, R. Esq. Fifeshire.
Fitzherbert, T. Esq. Swinnerton, Staffordshire.
Gallini, F. Esq. Yattendon, near Reading, Berks.
*Geary, Sir W. Bart. M.P. Oxon Hoath, Kent.
*Glynn, E. J. Esq. Glynn, Cornwall.
Goodlake, T. Esq. Benham, Wantage, Berks.
*Graves, Rear Admiral R. Hembury Fort, Devonshire.
*Graves, S. C. Esq. Hembury Fort, Devonshire.
Greathead, H. Esq. Uddings, Dorsetshire.
*Grigsby, J. Esq. Drinkstone, Suffolk.
*Grimstone, J. Esq. Neswick, Yorkshire.
Gwynn, J. F. Esq. Ford Abbey, Chard, Devonshire.
*Hales, J. T. Esq. Hardingham, Norfolk.
*Hallet, W. Esq. Denford, Hungerford, Berkshire.
*Hallet, W. jun. Esq. ditto.
*Handford, C. E. Esq. Strensham Court, Worcestershire.
*Heygate, J. Esq. Southend, Essex.
*Heygate, W. Esq. Alderman, London.
Hodges, T. Law, Esq. Hempstead, Kent.
Hollick, Ebenezer, Whittlesford Lodge, Cambridgeshire.

*Honeywood, W. Esq. Marks Hall, Essex.
Howard, Bernard, Esq. Farnham, Suffolk.
*Hussey, ——, Esq.
Hemming, Rev. B. Capel Greys Rectory, Henley, Oxon.
*Johnstone, G. Esq. Hackness, Yorkshire.
*Jones, T. Esq. Sway Cottage, Hampshire.
*Jones, J. Esq. Lanarth Court, Monmouthshire.
Johnson, John, Esq. Seymour Court, Great Marlow, Bucks.
*Knight, R. Esq. M.P. Barrolles House, Warwickshire.
*Langton, G. Esq. Langton, Lincolnshire.
Leigh, Capel, Esq. Pontypool, Monmouthshire.
*Lewis, R. Esq. Llantillo, Monmouthshire.
*Lister, G. Esq. Girsby, Lincolnshire.
*Lys, H. Esq. Sway, Hampshire.
Mackaness, J. Esq. Paper Buildings, Temple.
Maddocks, W. A. Esq. M.P. Tremadoc, Carmarthenshire.
*Maule, Hon. W. M.P. Forfar.
Merest, J. Esq. Lyndford Hall, Brandon, Norfolk.
Moggridge, J. Hunter, Esq. Lanrumcy, Monmouthshire.
*Monck, J. B. Esq. Coley Park, Reading, Berks.
*Moseley, J. Esq. Tofts, Norfolk.
Mayne, W. Park Street.
Norfolk, Duke of, Arundel Castle, Sussex.
*Northmore, T. Esq. Cleve, Devonshire.
*O'Callaghan, Hon. G.
*Oswald, R. A. Esq. Airshire.
*Oxford, Earl of, Eywood, Herefordshire.
Papillon, T. Esq. Acrise, Kent.
Peach, S. Esq. Idlicote, Shipston-on-Stour.
*Penleaze, J. Esq. Highcliff, Hampshire.
*Perry, J. Esq. Tavistock House, Middlesex.
*Peter, W. Esq. Harlyn, Cornwall.
*Pilkington, Sir W. Bart. Chevet, Yorkshire.
*Powell, J. H. Esq. Fuary, Suffolk.
*Prest, W. jun. Esq. Aldborough Lodge, Yorkshire.
Parry, R. jun. Hereford Street.
Parkins, J. W. Charlbury, Oxfordshire.
*Rashleigh, J. C. Esq. Prideaux, Cornwall.
*Rider, T. Esq. Boughton Place, Kent.
Rookwood, R. G. Esq. Coldham Hall, Suffolk.
*Rowlls, C. Esq. Kingston, Surrey.
Scudamore, R. A. Esq. M.P. Herefordshire.
Sheath, C. Esq. Boston, Lincolnshire.
*Sleat, R. W. Esq. Christchurch, Hampshire.
*Southwell, S. T. Esq. Wroxham, Norfolk.

*Stackhouse, E. Esq. Pendarves, Cornwall.
Taylor, J. Esq. Hartly Court, Reading, Berks.
Thomas, J. Esq. St. Albans, Monmouthshire.
Thomson, P. Esq. Turnham Green.
Thomson, C. A. Esq. ditto.
Thomson, T. Esq. ditto.
*Throckmortom, Sir I. Bart. Buckland, Berks.
Townsend, H. H. Esq. Busbridge, Surrey.
*Trevanion, J. B. Esq. Caerhays, Cornwall.
Turner, W. Esq. Old Buckenham, Norfolk.
Waithman, R. Esq. Winchmore Hill, Edmonton.
*Wallace, W. Esq. Lasswade, Edinburgh.
*West, J. Esq. Alscot, Warwickshire.
*Wheble, J. Esq. Woodley Lodge, Reading, Berks.
*White, T. Holt, Esq. Chase Lodge, Enfield.
*Wilbraham, G. jun. Esq. Delamere Lodge, Cheshire.
*Williams, W. Esq. Weymouth, Dorsetshire.
*Wolseley, C. Esq. Wolseley Park, Staffordshire.
*Wood, M. Esq. Alderman, London.

No. XVI.

Vol. II., page 203.

INFLAMMATORY PLACARD.

"Evil be to him who evil thinks."

THE Queen's friends, whenever and however assembled, will not content themselves with empty professions, but give solid proofs of their zeal, by effectually promoting the subscription for such a service of plate as may be worthy of this noble country; and shew her Majesty's nefarious persecutors that it is not in the power of an infamous government, a corrupt judicature, or bribed majorities of execrable perjurers, suborners of evidence, or malignant conspirators, to shut the hands of the people of England, after they have opened their hearts. Eternal disgrace would be stampt upon the nation if this measure did not thoroughly succeed. Mighty events are probably in the womb of time. Except from the merit-

less accidents of sex and primogeniture, what claim has the King upon the nation which the Queen does not possess in common with him? She as well as he, is only third in generation from one King of England. She is the niece and daughter-in-law of another king; and without preaching any doctrine tending to civil convulsion, the historical truth is undeniable, that England never was greater or happier than in the "golden days of good Queen Bess", and the glorious ones of Queen Anne. Some among the most remorseless of Queen Caroline's enemies might bear in mind, that there is an express act of Parliament which makes it penal to question the right of the nation to limit the succession of the throne. Whilst the wife, with the magnanimity of a Semiramis, is propounding a system that must shortly regenerate this enslaved land, "and crush the tyrant while it rends the chain", the husband is playing the dandy. "Nero fiddled when Rome was burning."

Never will the generous hearts of Englishmen, after the plan has been so promulged of supplying to her Majesty that plate, which, though denied to the niece of George the Third, has been made a boon to her newspaper traducer—never will the public, whose annihilated liberties are sure of resuscitation in the providential instrumentality of this noble-minded princess, (of which, by the way, a recent glorious acquittal even in one of those right arms of tyranny called courts of law, is auspiciously portentous)—never will the British public permit the dishonour to her cause which would be inseparable from failure of the subscription for the plate. Subscriptions continue to be received at the following places, viz.:

Messrs. West, 329, Strand, Wire-worker.
Parr, Russell-street, Covent Garden, Tailor.
Ireland, Holborn Bridge, Hosier.
Cahuac, Blackman-street, Borough, Publisher.
Dennison, West Smithfield, Cutler.
Watling, opposite the Adelphi, Strand, Publisher.
Whittaker, Surrey Coffee-house, Union-street, Borough.
Benbow, 269, Strand, Printer.

Being the original receiving-houses: also by Mrs. Carlile, Fleet-street; and by all the other subsequently added members of the committee.

TRUSTEES:

The Duke of Leinster. Lord William Fitzgerald.
The Earl of Oxford.

And the following Members of Parliament and Gentlemen:

Sir Gerard Noel.
Sir Francis Burdett.
Sir Robert Wilson.
Sir John Newport.
Sir H. Parnell.
Honourable D. Kinnaird.
Alderman Wood.
Peter Moore, Esq.
Joseph Hume, Esq.
John C. Hobhouse, Esq.
Charles Calvert, Esq.
Edward Ellice, Esq.
Major J. Williams.
Alderman Thorpe.
Mr. Sheriff Waithman.

N. B. All friends to the glorious revolutions of Spain, Portugal, Naples, Sicily, and to unburlesqued liberty in England, will not fail to attend the Crown and Anchor dinner on the 2d of October. Sir Robert Wilson, M.P. K.M.T., T. and S. St. G., St. A., and B.E. in the Chair.

A passing word on the general cause.

Even in their festivities, the resisters of the detestable Government which enslaves this once-free nation, should not forget those who are now suffering for their past well-proved virtues in the cause. Scaffolds have been the melancholy lot of some. Others are languishing in chains and dungeons. A few weeks only, unless the nation be roused in time, will see *two more of our foremost champions** "laid in basest bonds" by the corrupt judgment of ermined fiends. A long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether may save us all. Let the regenerators of their country discard all petty jealousies; and keep in mind the motto of that brave people, which, by a glorious revolution, cast off a tyrant's sway, and established independence.—

"Concordia res parvæ crescunt, discordia maxumæ dilabuntur."

* The champions here alluded to, were probably Major Cartwright and Mr. Wooler, who, though convicted, had not then received sentence.

No. XVII.

Vol. II., page 242.

A SUGGESTION SUBMITTED TO THE LAWGIVERS OF GREECE.

SECTION I.

1. Whereas the Greek nation, through the organ of its authorized representatives in congresses assembled, did, in successive consultations which were respectively holden at *Epidaurus* in January, 1822, at Corinth in April, 1823, and at Astros in the same year, agree upon, put in writing, and publish a "*Provisional Constitution.*"

2. And whereas, while the collecting more than the final arranging of matter, was of primary consideration, the several congresses were naturally influenced by other modern lawgivers, who, in the framing of written instruments for setting forth the forms of government which they respectively proposed, had all of them, without exception therein, inadvertently blended together constitutional and legal matter.

3. And whereas, on mature reflection, it appears that a *constitution* being, not identical with, but essentially different from, *law;* not being the stream, but the fountain, whence law must flow; therefore a *constitution* ought ever to be kept distinctly, separate, and apart from *law.*

4. And whereas a *constitution* being that in which a state's existence is visibly recognised, it may be esteemed its very life; while *law* being only the occasional expression of what to that life is convenient, it thence follows, that *the constitution is a law to the legislature;* a sacred rule which, in all cases, and on all occasions, it is bound implicitly to obey;—a boundary which it cannot, without criminality, pass.

5. And whereas, should a legislature, in any possible conjuncture, or under any possible pretence, enact a violation, or to any degree, the suspension of a constitution, such an

outrage, on the part of such a legislature, would be a heinous treason; while, in reference to the people, it would be at once a nullity without legal force; a tyranny they would be in duty bound to resist; and a measure in which, without wickedness, they could not participate or acquiesce.

6. And whereas the POLITY of five parts only, now by the Greek nation approved and agreed upon, being unincumbered with aught that is superfluous; while, from its inherent provision for legislation, nought can be wanting; it is thence apparent that the fewness of its elementary principles, being in accordance with the simplicity of Nature, as well as with that which always constitutes the perfection of science, is a proof of such excellence, that a possibility of farther improvement is not reasonably to be imagined.

Wherefore, for the causes assigned, and other abundant reasons not necessary to specify, the confederated states and people of united Greece, humbly attentive to the glory of Almighty God, who created man a social, moral, and responsible being, endowed with reason for discerning good from evil; and with free-will for determining his choice; as well as dutifully tendering the particular welfare and happiness of their country and posterity, do now, through their authorized representatives in council assembled, make known that their "*Provisional Constitution*", hitherto by all public authorities and private persons cheerfully and patriotically conformed to, being hereby repealed and ended, is declared to be no longer in force.

And, in place thereof, the said confederated states and people of united Greece, through their authorized representatives in council assembled, do now, by this their CONSTITUTIONAL ACT AND DEED, finally determine, will, decree, declare and proclaim, the perpetual establishment in and for each commonwealth of their union, one and the same definitive POLITY OR CONSTITUTION, as hereafter constitutes the entire subject of the second section of this present instrument, where it is distinctly defined and set forth.

The said PÓLITY or CONSTITUTION being framed agreeably to the eternal laws of God and rights of man, it may be expected, that, under the Divine Providence, the inestimable blessings of good government, unimpaired and unendangered, shall, through all time to come, be fully enjoyed, and have assured conservation; that so the unspeakable benefits of a political conduct in the people and their functionaries, which shall be morally correct, as answering to the declared compendium of our holy religion, namely, that we "*obey God and benefit our neighbour*", may, as practical Christianity, conspicuously shine in *Greece;* and in due time, by a diffusion of knowledge, and the resistless force of truth, likewise benefit the human race on a scale the most extended.

And as the Omnipotent is wont to confound the machinations of the proud and mighty of this world, by showing that the race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong; so *Greece*, now raised from her late forlorn condition, is encouraged to hope she may be thought not unworthy to benefit other nations of the earth by her present example.

SECTION II.

THE CONSTITUTION.

ELEMENT I. Those principles of truth and morality, on which political liberty and social order depend.

II. A militia of all men capable of arms-bearing.

III. An assembly of the wise in each separate commonwealth, and a congress of union, elected by the people, for enacting laws.

IV. Grand and petit juries of the people fairly drawn, for applying the laws.

V. A magistracy, elected by the people, for performing all executive duties.

SECTION III.

The sovereign people, through their authorized representatives in council assembled, farther will and decree, that the five several series of *fundamental principles*, for respectively illustrating the five elements of the constitution; that the three *fundamental laws*, for respectively giving practical effect to the theory of the second, third, and fourth elements; and that the seven collections of *admonitory declarations*, for warning future assemblies of the wise and future congresses, against erroneous legislation;—all which principles, laws and declarations are now approved and adopted, be placed at the head of the legal code of each commonwealth, as well as at the head of the legal code of the union.

NOTES.

1. Although the foregoing preamble may, in a *suggestion*, be allowable, most of its arguments may perhaps be more advantageously addressed to the present generation, through some other vehicle; that so, nought might remain but what would *in perpetuo* be a suitable introduction to the national polity.

2. In an actual instrument, the first, second, third and fifth paragraphs might doubtless be omitted; and if the fourth and sixth should be esteemed of more value, the law-givers may still substitute a composition better adapted to their object, while they should attend to the great importance of *brevity*.

3. A constitutional instrument of dignified *brevity* would, doubtless [if printed and framed], become a piece of sacred furniture, a sort of lares, and a family heir-loom, in the dwelling of every Greek; whereby his children, and his children's children, from generation to generation, would be inspired with a reverential attachment to the constitution of his country.

4. The five elements of that constitution as defined in the

second section of the suggested instrument, might likewise be made an inscription, to be borne on the two faces of a current copper coin of small value, which coin might be denominated *a polity*, thus rendering money a circulating medium of constitutional knowledge, as well as of traffic.

5. Perhaps for the word *senate*, in the *provisional*, it might, in a *definitive* constitution, be desirable to substitute a word equivalent to the phrase in the third element of the definition in the second section of the suggested instrument.

6. The word *senate* inevitably recals to the imagination that of Rome, where the *senate* was far from an institution congenial with true freedom; whereas the Saxon word *Wittenagemote*, signifying *The assembly of the Wise*, and who were the annually elected representatives of a free people, may be thought more worthy of imitation.

7. The admonitory declarations spoken of in the third section of the suggested instrument, are as follow:

1st. Against the annual expenditure exceeding the annual resources, as being beyond the *competency* of an annual legislature to enact, and producing one fatal funding system, to be supported by a constant taxation of generations yet unborn.

2d. Against *erroneous* colonization, and its mischievous effects.

3d. Against errors respecting foreign commerce; a thing to be permitted, but not to be patronized on principles leading to corruption and to immoral wars.

4th. Against treaties on false principles, binding a state to favour the ambition and tyranny of despotisms, or preventing the aiding of oppressed nations.

5th. Against the suffering or tolerating hereditary power or privilege, hereditary titles or honours, or rewards.

6th. Against making religion a state-engine for supporting illicit power.

No. XVIII.

Vol. II., page 255.

A PROBLEM.

9th of February, 1824.

How are human beings in their several communities, as one affectionate family, to become indissolubly united, for acquiring the strength necessary to the full establishment of political liberty, in opposition to despotism, upheld as it is by standing armies, standing priesthoods, hereditary nobles, and all the corrupt satellites of arbitrary power; and that despotism having in its hands a discretionary taxation of the people, thus made to furnish the means of their own debasement, and of perpetuating their chains?

AN ANSWER.

The grand fundamental is, an accurate knowledge of the principles of political liberty, for it is agreed that "knowledge is power."

The nature and the means of political liberty must be completely understood. They are, happily, level with the capacities of the multitude, and they as happily lie in a narrow compass.

All minds must be taught to see them in the same light, or there can be no unanimity, nor any effective union of action for rising superior to adverse circumstances; amongst which is not to be forgotten tyranny's leading maxim, "divide to conquer." Mere union is not unanimity. Unanimity is being of one mind. Unions without unanimity are no better than ropes of sand, or castles in the air; or earthly edifices of materials loosely piled without science or cement. Unanimity can only proceed from knowledge.

In geometry and mathematics, demonstrations produce a unanimity which, while it laughs at hostile power, converts the sceptic to a believer. For producing a political unani-

mity, which, in time, shall alike be able to laugh at all that is arbitrary, political liberty must be demonstrated, and its means must be defined. This done, the definition will cause a clear conception of a right system of government, in the form of a polity or constitution which shall include all that is necessary to political liberty, and exclude whatever is superfluous. Here is the *ne plus ultra* in this branch of the science of government. Such a polity may be called the basis on which the superstructure, to be durable, must be erected; or it may be styled the compass for guiding the statesman and the orator*. The present writer, here dispensing with the more metaphysical abstractions, thinks it may suffice to say, that, when a people, collectively or representatively, make their own laws; are universally armed; and when, through fairly-drawn juries, they apply their own laws, such a people are politically free. In those three practical securities centre all that is vital to freedom. Those securities, therefore, need to be well and accurately understood; and the multitude, if honestly dealt with, may be made clearly to comprehend, and rightly to value them.

* * * * * * *

All being pure and genuine, the result will be, a strict unity of form universally applicable; and exhibiting its subject, political liberty, as evidently a common right and inheritance of every people or nation; for, to talk of English liberty, and French or Spanish, or Italian, liberty, as different in nature, is contrary to reason. As political liberty, therefore, is a common right, so, to secure it in every state, and every confederacy of states, is a common cause, indicating a common duty.

* The age of vague generalities is passing fast away: before we can obtain what we esteem desirable, we must be able to describe with accuracy what we wish to attain, and abstain from the employment of terms which no two individuals understand in the same sense.—Mr. Moore is a poet, and therefore not a reasoner.—Westminster Review, No. I. p. 21.

Hence it is that we deduce the sole justifications of war, which are only two; namely, first, defence of our own nation's freedom, or, in other words, its liberty and property; and secondly, aiding in defence of any other nation whose liberty and property are invaded or violated. Such are the duties of men to men in their common cause. All other war is robbery, murder and madness.

But, to return to our present argument, the unity or sameness in the forms of constitutions by no means implies a sameness in laws; for, although freedom is the same in all countries, the laws must be different, according to locality, to climate, and to natural productions, as well as to other peculiar circumstances. This shows that in every constitutional instrument, what defines the polity itself, and what relates to the laws, ought to have different places, so as to mark their difference, and to exhibit their essential distinctions.

A perfect polity seems to be expressed and defined in the five elements here following: namely—

1. Those principles of truth and morality on which political liberty and social order depend.
2. A militia of all men capable of arms-bearing.
3. A legislature elected by the people for making laws.
4. Grand and petit juries of the people, fairly drawn for applying the laws.
5. A magistracy elected by the people, for duly performing all executive duties.

In words, the definition might vary; but, to be correct, the meaning must be identically the same. As the Creator, for conferring the infinitely diversified capabilities of man, embracing all sciences and all subjects, hath endowed him with only five senses; so, it should seem, for man's political purposes, the Creator in like manner hath ordained, that five elements of a polity shall suffice.

The foregoing definition being as abstract as popular language will admit, care in the work from which it is a quota-

tion*, hath been taken completely to vindicate each separate element by ample illustration.

Towards an efficacious union of opinion among the several nations, as well as among the people of each, on the common cause, and the common duties respecting freedom, it should seem expedient that, as a simple and intelligible standard, around which all might promptly, simultaneously, and energetically rally and unite, the enlightened patriots, who must be their instructors and their leaders, should adopt one and the same definition for the use of all.

The fugitive, self-exiled survivors of the murdered, and the representatives of the persecuted patriots of France, of Spain, of Portugal, and of Italy, in all which countries it hath been attempted by means of imperfect polities, having mixtures of heterogeneous materials, to build up systems of free government, each of which systems, like the Babel Tower of old, fell ere half finished, burying many of the builders in the ruins—these patriots may now be well prepared for discovering that pure Republicanism in its simplest form, wherein the rays of perfect monarchy, perfect aristocracy, and perfect democracy, agreeably to the foregoing polity and its illustrations, shall, in an all-potent focus, be concentrated, is the only standard around which the founders of free and time-defying states can completely unite in operative opinion and available action.

For, being satisfied that such are the right means to the end in view, have they not before their eyes an exemplification in the magnificent constellation of five-and-twenty sovereign states revolving round a sovereign congress, as so many suns of eternal fire, and light and life, vivifying in all enlightened countries the seed, and cherishing to a full maturity the grand all-shadowing tree of universal freedom? Then shall we not, in the emphatic words of the thirteen original states, which words, when struggling for emancipa-

* The English Constitution Produced and Illustrated, p. 85.

tion, they inscribed under a typical serpent cut in thirteen pieces, now to France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, exclaim—"Unite or die!"

It is not intended to affirm that the constitutional instruments of all or any of the American States are absolutely perfect, since all of those suns have, in fact, specks of darkness, discernible by the philosophic telescope of the close observer; particularly in blending together constitutions and laws. These specks are not discernible by the unaided eye of an admiring world in general, and by American wisdom may soon be made to disappear.

No. XIX.

Vol. II., page 234.

LINCOLN COUNTY MEETING FOR REFORM.

TO SIR R. HERON, BART. M.P.

London, 19th March, 1823.

DEAR SIR,

FULL twenty years have now elapsed, since you and I were occasionally in the habit of conversing on the subject of parliamentary reform; although I do not recollect, that you ever appeared inclined to come to close quarters in argument.—I advert to these circumstances, because within that period discussion has done more, in demonstrating the principles of political representation, than has yet been done in proving the powers of steam, in enabling vessels, formerly subject to the tyranny of winds, tides and currents, to pass from port to port, within a given number of hours, in defiance of those tyrants.—With regard to the powers of steam, much is probably yet to be discovered; whereas, those principles of representation, which define the means of reforming the Commons House, are now so completely as-

certained, that a man of ordinary education cannot mistake them without exciting astonishment in all who know any thing of the matter.

As to the affected ignorance of the corruptionists, and the pertinacity with which they talk nonsense on this subject, the cause is perfectly well understood; and no man gives them credit for their conduct, on the grounds of their being "honest", which, according to my recollection, was the whimsical but mistaken reason you last year, at the Lincolnshire County Meeting, (according to newspaper report,) gave for some of the parliamentary reformers not having yet agreed on any specific plan for modelling representation.

It is because another county meeting is now called, you being one of the callers, that I now address you, and through you the inhabitants of the county; and I am taught to take the present mode, because of what took place, when I last year attempted to make my sentiments known to the meeting held on the 19th of last April.

In consequence of age and infirmity, disabling me, without extreme inconvenience and hazard to my health, to attend in person, I endeavoured to perform my duty by writing a letter to the chairman, which I requested might be read at the meeting; but that letter was not so read, although I was afterwards informed that it was delivered to your friend the sheriff, and in your presence, prior to that gentleman being called to the chair. If this information were correct, it was within your knowledge that the letter was suppressed.

Considering the ordinary usage and courtesy on such occasions; considering also that the writer had been for forty-six years bestowing no slight or superficial attention to the great question to be argued, it certainly was reasonably to have been thought that the letter might have been otherwise treated: especially when it turned out, that the principles of "universal suffrage, annual parliaments, and election by ballot," which it advocated, were in your speech very point-

edly reprobated, you saying, you "disapproved of the whole of them."

I must here, Sir, charitably suppose, that, although the letter was delivered to your friend the sheriff in your presence, yet that neither yourself nor he had the curiosity to peruse its contents; for I must conclude, that knowing the doctrine it contained, you would not have consented to its suppression; but have allowed that doctrine to have been expressed to the meeting, that so by the force of your reasoning its fallacy might clearly have been proved to the satisfaction of the assembled people.

Such as aforesaid being the doctrine advanced, a doctrine which, forty-seven years ago was maintained in the first of many essays I have published on the subject, and which doctrine an active controversy by first-rate learning and genius, combating such learning and such genius in opponents, has been long established on a rock of truth; it is not my present purpose to criticise the different doctrines which in that county meeting you endeavoured to maintain.

If any there be who desire to know how your sentiments were then criticised, they may be referred to a letter which appeared in Drakard's Paper, May 10, 1822, signed Peregrine Falcon; who seems to have done it in a way likely to satisfy any radical reformer.

My present object is, to observe that the identical doctrine of my suppressed letter, has in all its parts been since adopted as true, by a general meeting of the metropolitan county of Middlesex—the very centre of national illumination! It was not there brought forward under auspices, such as commonly usher to the notice of a county an important question; not a single member of the aristocracy was its patron; nor had it one for a mover, or a supporter in debate. Its introduction was purely democratic, without any means of influencing a single individual to attend in its favour; while, on the contrary, it is known that previous meetings, and consultations of persons in an adverse and powerful interest were

held, and a counteraction, in the form of an amendment, was planned: which amendment was accordingly moved, and was supported by speeches from both the county members, as well as by an eloquent gentleman who sat in the last parliament.

In consequence of the previous meetings and consultations of powerful adversaries, which have been mentioned, it cannot be doubted that many attended who came to the meeting considerably prejudiced against what was to be proposed; yet, notwithstanding all these disadvantages—and though the meeting consisted of only "freeholders", who as among the present monopolists of representation, were under all that influence which, in the bosoms of the unreflecting, is but too prevalent among freeholders against the unrepresented being lifted up to the same level with themselves—against these combined disadvantages, the true principles of reform nevertheless triumphed, and, as the sheriff declared, "by a large majority."

Here then, Sir, is an important precedent set in a general meeting of the metropolitan county—the centre, as already remarked, of national illumination!—That precedent has already been followed by the county of Somerset, and by Birmingham, a town containing a population of nearly a hundred thousand persons.

Hence, Sir, as the county meeting of Lincolnshire is not to consist of freeholders only, but of the inhabitants at large, what may not be augured in favor of the true principles of freedom, provided the people be fairly dealt with, by having both sides of the question impartially set before them—namely, on one hand, "a complete reform, in strict accordance with the constitution"; and on the other hand, "a partial amendment or half measure", leaving plenty of the matter of corruption for future inoculation!

In what is already said, there is, I trust, a sufficient warning against any resolutions or petitions expressly against complete reform, or expressly for any half-measure; and here,

Sir, it may be presumed that one clause in the Middlesex petition will be found worthy of your serious attention. It is the clause which immediately follows the specific statement of the four propositions on which constitutional reform depends, and is in these words:—

"Your petitioners, in thus particularizing what they conceive to be national rights, utterly disclaim any thing so presumptuous and factious, as the setting up, on the present occasion, any mere opinions, conceits, fancies, or projects of their own, for the modelling a parliamentary reform; but, having dutifully submitted their minds and their wills to the voice of truth, to the weight of evidence and to the force of demonstration, the aforesaid four propositions are the conclusions which, whether agreeing or not agreeing with their former opinions or wishes, they feel themselves bound to declare."

There is yet another point I wish to press on your serious reflection. In the present state of positive knowledge in the science of representation, as well as in the present crisis of our country, for deciding its fate as in future it shall be free or enslaved, can it become men who are at once enlightened and honest, to suppress a manly, patriot declaration of the specific measures to be contended for, as essential to national salvation? and in their place to deal out only general, indefinite expressions, which go to nothing, and have no better merit than not grammatically to exclude any of the four measures requisite to a complete reform? seeing that such indefinite language does not ever point to any one measure to be contended for, but leaves the mind at a loss on so cardinal a motive to action and exertion; and consequently without such a stimulus as an ordinary knowledge of human nature, as well as all experience, shows to be sufficient to any important end.

What, Sir, has been obtained in consequence of the indefinite language of the Bill of Rights, which "claimed, demanded, and insisted upon the rights and liberties of the

people of England"? How infinitely more emphatic is this language, than the tame petitions now in fashion, that the Commons House, as now constituted, will, forsooth! "inquire into the state of things, so injurious to themselves, and dangerous to their posterity, and by a steady and effectual reform, to adopt the measures which alone can remedy the evils of which the people complain, and restore that good agreement and perfect sympathy which ought ever to prevail between the House of Commons and the people."

What, it is asked, hath followed even that emphatic, but indefinite declaration of the Bill of Rights, other than constant disappointment for a hundred and thirty-five years; together with innumerable violations of the constitution; perpetual invasions of liberty; and, by means of the accursed funding system with its taxation of unborn generations, threatened confiscation of all property, into an insatiable exchequer? Is not this enough to fill the people with both dread and disgust at vague indefinite words, which are mere delusive blossoms that cannot stand the subsequent blights of the factious spirit in which they put forth, but never fructify?

Can confidence be placed in men, who are studiously silent on rights to which millions know they are entitled? Can patriot exertion be called forth by empty words which indicate no patriotism? Can determination and enthusiasm be inspired by that which chills the heart with suspicion?

Not so is it, when the real golden fruit of true liberty—fruit as delicious as nutritive—is held up to view as the prize to be contended for!—When those specific rights that would put every Englishman, without exception, into full and secure possession of that sacred birth-right, freedom, that inestimable franchise, which is the gift of God, but is withheld by the tyranny of man, is boldly and honestly proposed! And how is the dormant spirit of patriotism awakened, cheered, and animated? When it is seen that the all of the glorious prize is contained within the narrow compass of

four plain, undeniable truths, so simple and so obvious that every human being, learned or unlearned, can perfectly understand them!

These same truths no sooner went forth in the Middlesex petition, than they produced proofs of warm applause from different quarters; and in particular an application for the service of a district, vying with the most distinguished for populousness, intelligence, and public spirit, of a form of petition that should be adapted to the case of the unrepresented: it likewise caused meetings for considering the case of the unrepresented and its legislative remedy, in one of which was voted the form I enclose; and in respect of which I have merely to express a hope that every English gentleman who has hitherto dissented from any proposition which it contains, will first publicly confute such proposition before he publicly proposes aught on the same point that shall be incompatible with the same. Truly sorry that age and infirmity will not allow me to meet you on the 26th*,

I remain, dear Sir,

Sincerely yours,

JOHN CARTWRIGHT.

No. XX.

[The following is the only written copy which was found among Major Cartwright's papers of any of his public speeches. It is conjectured to have been spoken in the year 1808, but as the exact day is not ascertained, it is inserted in the Appendix.]

GENTLEMEN,

I am going to ask a favour that may perhaps surprise you; for I am about to ask you to believe that which is

* It will be seen in Vol. II. p. 234, that Major Cartwright was induced, immediately after writing this letter, to alter his intentions, and to proceed to Lincoln.

contrary to the evidence of your senses. I therefore desire you to believe, that the person you see sitting in the chair of this meeting, is not sitting in that chair. Fancy him, if you please, sitting in his study, summing up the millions of which, under the denomination of Droits of the Admiralty and Droits of the Crown, he believes the country, in violation of an Act of Parliament, to have been defrauded. Or believe that he is taking a solitary survey of the solitary cells in a certain prison, ruminating on the pangs occasioned by false imprisonment, and the cruelties of hardened gaolers. Unless you would rather suppose him preparing a bill for restoring to his country liberty and peace.

Having now disposed of him in one of these ways, I have two or three words to say concerning him. I begin with observing, that, although not yet arrived at the meridian of life, he has attained to one species of wisdom which, in our day, among political characters of any eminence, is as rare as it is valuable. He has discovered the true road to political power, in a country under a free form of government; namely, that of real public confidence. By manifesting an abhorrence of the knavery of faction, by despising the duplicity of party, and proving himself perfectly disinterested, he has acquired a degree of public confidence, superior to that of any other political man of this day; and which, in fact, likewise outweighs the confidence of any entire party in the state.

I believe, Gentlemen, I do not rate this confidence in him too high, when I offer it as my opinion, that, were parliament at this time again dissolved, and were either of the leading parties in the state to select their ablest, their most accomplished, and their most popular individual; were the whole party to attend the person so selected to a Westminster hustings, and there, with all their weight of connexion, of property, and influence of every kind, to recommend and support him, he would not have the smallest chance of success against the man whom you have once pressed into your

service against his desire, and elected from your belief of his inflexible integrity. I call this the right road to political power; and if the person of whom I am speaking shall display a diligence equal to his talents, such will become the influence of his personal character, there is nothing wanting towards the recovery of our constitution, which, in my judgment, he may not achieve.

When I speak of political power, you must not misunderstand me to mean the power of a minister. I simply mean that power which enables a man to do great political good, whether in or out of place. I very well know, that the road to power, of which I speak, is thought by most men, too steep and rugged to be attempted; but nevertheless it is the only sure road. Perhaps, indeed, none will pursue it but men of energetic and elevated minds. Inferior men will be tempted into devious and circuitous paths, and flatter themselves they shall thereby sooner arrive at their journey's end: but when once men quit the straight road of strict fidelity to the constitution, public confidence is shaken, and it continues more and more to fall from them every step they take. It is then they meet with the briars and brambles, the quicksands and quagmires, the pits and the precipices they did not foresee while blinded by the prejudice of party, or seduced by the lures of ambition. Thus circumstanced, they cannot escape the ambushes of court faction: and, having lost the support of the people, they must either become as vile jobbers as any who have preceded them, or they are discarded with contempt, and fall without any public regret.

These observations are general, although I do not affect to exclude from my allusion men who have lately fallen into the error I have described. Some of those persons I am willing to believe have done wrong as much through error of judgment as deficiency of virtue; and though I should be glad to see them totally abandon all the crooked ways of faction and selfishness, and imitate the example of your favorite representative, yet I should not wish to see them mere

partisans of him, any more than of any other leader. Sound principle and sound sense are sufficient bonds of union; and when once like-minded men in any assembly heartily embark in labours for the public good, each will be a leader in turn, as he brings forward any measure on which he has made himself better acquainted with all that relates to it than any of his associates.

But, to say one word more on the want of intrinsic wisdom, which prevents statesmen, who have an ambition to hold the reins of government from keeping steady in the straight, steep, and rugged road of unbending virtue, I shall give it you as my decided opinion, that, had the most considerable men who, in my time, have figured on the political theatre, professing to be patriots and reformers, strictly adhered to that line of conduct, had they perseveringly pushed onward, without turning to the right hand or to the left, neither those of them now living, nor their country, would have been at this time in the situation in which we see them. As individuals, they would have been idolized; as a party, adored; parliament would long since have been reformed, and the constitution, in all particulars, restored; the war we all deplore would never have existed; and, in all probability, the liberty which sprung up in France, would gradually have blessed the remainder of the continent, without the effusion of blood, or the shedding of a tear. Such I take to be the natural effects of genuine political virtue.

Having said a word in praise of your representative, and shewn the happy effects of following his example, I must now, for I think it right to hold even the scales of impartiality, say a word in his dispraise. In his speech on Lord Castlereagh's Local Militia Bill, there was, towards the close of it, a tone of despondency. I hope the voice of his country will soon convince him there is no cause for despondency. Agreeing with him who remarked, that if the English constition had perished and were forgotten, and its principles should be afterwards collected and made known, it would

again revive as a phœnix from its own ashes, I never can despond, and I never can like to hear tones of despondence from English lips, and least of all from the lips of him who is the hope of his country*.

No. XXI.

[The following just tribute to the memory of Major Cartwright, appeared in print soon after his decease, and was written by the Rev. Thomas Jervis, to whom his character was well known, and who was also connected with his family, that gentleman having married the only daughter of Major Cartwright's first cousin, the late Dr. Disney. It is hardly necessary to add, that the biographer of Jebb was as nearly allied to Major Cartwright by congeniality of sentiment as by the ties of relationship.

It is not surprising that Mr. Jervis should have fallen into an error, which has commonly prevailed respecting Major Cartwright. It has been seen in the preceding work, that he never "relinquished" the naval profession, though he lost the advantages offered by the patronage of Lord Howe—advantages which, falling to the lot of another officer, raised him to that rank and wealth which, but for a rigid sense of duty, would, in all human probability, have been enjoyed by Major Cartwright himself.]

* Since the foregoing pages were in the press, the writer has been informed by a gentleman who was in the habit of witnessing Major Cartwright's exertions in public, that though his delivery was usually cold and deliberate, he was observed on some few occasions to give way to more animated feelings. One of them was when noticing the unjust aspersions thrown on Sir Robert Calder's naval conduct, his indignation, combining probably with the enthusiastic recollections of his own favourite profession, drew from him a burst of impassioned eloquence, which excited the loud and continued plaudits of the assembly.

MAJOR CARTWRIGHT.

There are few men who have been so long known to the public, or whose virtues have so much entitled them to regard, as this distinguished individual. He was the third son of William Cartwright, Esq. of Marnham, in the county of Nottingham. A gentleman by birth and education, as well as by his mild and liberal manners, his correct habits, and his manly and independent sentiments, he occupied a considerable share of public attention during the space of more than half a century. Endowed with a vigorous understanding, matured by reflection, his mind was richly stored with various knowledge and information. As a younger brother, he had been originally destined to the navy; but he soon relinquished that profession, and evinced an early predilection for subjects of political disquisition, which eventually became the leading object of his attention; and, though his active and enterprising spirit was occasionally directed to other pursuits, yet, in the course of a long life, he never relaxed in the ardour of his application to this favorite subject. Engaged in such speculations and inquiries, he cultivated politics as a science; and devoted his time and his talents to this study, as a rational exercise of the understanding, and as the means of being useful in promoting the welfare and happiness of his country. Ever observant of the great events of his time, he cherished a vigilant and jealous regard to the rights of the people. With this important object in view, the cause of parliamentary reform opened to him a wide field of discussion, and employed all the powers and energies of his mind. An able and experienced combatant in the arena of political controversy, he repelled the attacks of his opponents with unshaken firmness and dexterity. His writings in favour of civil and religious liberty, were numerous; and though they were sometimes, perhaps, too speculative and elaborate to be what is termed

popular, in the common acceptation of the word, yet they were, generally speaking, the result of deep thought, and of close research into the nature and origin of the British Constitution, the fundamental principles of legislation and government, and the true grounds of the liberties of the subject. They display great acuteness and ingenuity in detecting abuses, a just discrimination in tracing the artifices of corruption, a fearless intrepidity in exposing the intrigues and struggles of ambition, and in resisting the encroachments of arbitrary power. It cannot be matter of surprise, that the principles so warmly asserted by Major Cartwright*, as the champion of freedom and reform, together with the corresponding consistency of his political conduct, should have rendered him an object of calumny and misrepresentation amongst the advocates of passive obedience and non-resistance, the corrupt and unprincipled votaries of interest, and the determined supporters of absolute power and unrestricted prerogative.

However some might view the principles maintained by Major Cartwright, through the dense medium of prejudice and party-spirit, those who knew his real character, esteemed him an ardent, honest, conscientious patriot, and, as such, long will his memory be held in veneration. He was, as might naturally be expected, deeply interested in the result of the Spanish revolution, and in the misfortunes of those unhappy exiles from their native soil, who sought protection in this country, which has, on various other occasions, afforded an asylum to those who have suffered under the rigours of persecution, or the baneful influences of tyranny and oppression. He especially revered the high and heroic virtues of the brave Riego, that victim of the basest treachery, cruelty, and injustice; while his benevolent and sympathizing nature was sensibly affected by the untimely fate

* Many years ago, Mr. Cartwright held the rank of *Major* in the Nottinghamshire Militia.

of the interesting relict of that illustrious chief, whom she soon followed to the mansions of innocence, purity, and peace, where "they hear not the voice of the oppressor."

To the character of Major Cartwright may be justly applied, what he himself, not long since, observed of another person, with an originality of expression, peculiarly his own, and with an energy and warmth of feeling unimpaired by age—"In his praise, I need not say more, than that he is a true friend to civil and religious liberty; having a rooted abhorrence of tyranny, and a lively sympathy with all who suffer under its impious cruelties":—after which, he thus proceeds to mention "those relatives of the martyred Riego, who have taken refuge in this country, and bear his honoured name;—a name which, in the dispensations of Providence, I trust, will prove of no small potency in raising up a moral force, against which, the brute force of despotism, alike offensive to God and man, will not long be able to stand."

In a detail of the political life and labours of Major Cartwright, the character of such a man, while it presents an object of contemplation of no inconsiderable interest to the calm and dispassionate mind, affords also an instructive lesson to every man of observation and reflection. We see one, whose benevolence, simplicity, and purity of intention, are unimpeached; whose dignified and philosophic mind, with a zeal and ardour paramount to all personal and selfish motives, was wholly devoted to the grave consideration of such measures as might be most condusive to the benefit of his countrymen; and whose patriotic exertions, in forwarding that important object, yielded to no obstacles, were discouraged by no difficulties, but were pursued with unwearied diligence, and the most steady and determined perseverance, "in season, and out of season, through good report, and evil report."

The differences of opinion, upon questions of policy, which too often divided the friends of freedom, and unhappily disturbed their mutual harmony and cordial co-operation, were

a subject of deep regret to those who had the good of the public really at heart, while they afforded occasion of triumph and exultation to the enemies of reform. Amidst these discordances*, Major Cartwright maintained that entire composure and unruffled serenity of temper, which seemed never to forsake him. We can now only take a melancholy retrospect of the transactions of his time, accompanied with the reflection that, as far as he was concerned, all political contention, animosity, and party-feeling, are buried with him in the tomb, where he now lies "quietly inurned."

In appreciating the merits of this excellent man, we have dwelt only on those points of character which mark him as an example of public virtue unawed by power, and of political integrity uncorrupted by interest or ambition; and we have no hesitation in designating the virtuous and venerable Major Cartwright, as a patriot in the fullest extent of the term—an able, enlightened, sincere, and tried friend to the liberties of his country and of mankind. In truth, he possessed, in an eminent degree, the virtues of a pure and disinterested patriotism.

But, amongst the valuable qualities that adorned his upright and honourable mind, it is impossible to forget, though perhaps it were needless here to record, the private and social virtues that distinguished him as a member of the community, as a husband, a brother, and a friend;—his memory will never cease to be cherished by those who were best

* That Major Cartwright was not insensible to these discordances, though he did not suffer them to abate his zeal, is sufficiently evident from the following passage in a letter to a confidential friend, written in the year 1809. "I have in truth", says he, "been sadly sickened by the despicable emotions of vanity, folly, and presumption with which I have been harassed, and the plentiful disregard of public consequences in the gratification of those base passions; but although I cannot any longer co-operate with those who have so acted, I am as much as ever disposed to promote the great cause of public liberty."—Note by the Editor.

qualified to appreciate his excellence and value in the endearing intercourses of domestic life. This amiable man died, beloved and lamented, at his house in London, on Wednesday, the 23d of September, 1824, having nearly completed the 84th year of his age—" without a struggle or a groan, or any expression of pain during his illness, but what arose from witnessing the affliction of his family."

That his attachment to the great cause of liberty was warm and unabated, and his " ruling passion" still " strong", even in his latest hour, appears by an affectionate farewell address to his friends, as delivered in his own words to a beloved relative, who, with unremitting attention, administered to him the soothing balm of tenderness:—" Say to my friends, that I have never ceased to entertain the most consoling hopes of the ultimate establishment of civil and religious liberty; but to this end, there must be *virtuous* instruments, which, it is to be hoped, the times will supply."

T. J.

October 22, 1824.

INDEX.

ABINGDON, Earl of, letter to, published by Major Cartwright, vol. I. 103; letter from, to Major Cartwright, 120, 121; in 1794 a staunch courtier, 212.

ACLAM, Mr. appointed one of a committee, I. 144.

ADAIR, Serjeant, his opening speech at Thelwall's trial, I. 211.

ADAMS, Daniel, apprehended for high treason, I. 203.

ADAMS, his Excellency John Quincy, Major Cartwright's letter to, II. 132, 133, 134; his reply, 135, 136. 242.

ADDINGTON, Right Honourable H. letter to, on the supply of oak timber for the navy, I. 301, 302.

AGESILAUS rode on the hobby horse of his children, I. 408.

AIKIN, Dr. remarks on his life of Jebb, in "General Biography", I. 165, 166, 167.

ALFRED did not rely upon desolation, a calculation of chances, or upon a navy for defence, I. 333, 334; the Saxon successors of, their ignorance, &c. 397; his name engraved on a seal, II. 109; his division of hundreds referred to Mr. Jefferson, 269; his laws, 274.

ALLIX, Major, his speech at the Lincoln county meeting, II. 236.

ALMON, Mr. I. 97. 115.

ALTHORPE, Lord, his speech at the Lincoln county meeting, II. 236.

ALTHORPE, Mr. appointed on a committee, I. 144.

AMATT and Co., their piracies of Dr. Cartwright's inventions, I. 299.

ANSLEY, Sheriff, requisition to, I. 339.

ANSON, Lord, accompanied by Captain Baird, I. 16.

ARGUELLES, Señor, Major Cartwright's letter to, II. 15; second letter to, 66, 67, 68. 247.

ARISTOTLE, days of, I. 50.

ARISTIDES, alluded to by Dr. Jebb, I. 155; lines addressed to the modern Aristides, II. 196.

AGUILON, Duke d', a representation made to, by Lord Howe, I. 13.

ASHBURTON, Lord, Mr. Tooke's letter to, I. 223.

Bagot, Sir W. approves of Major Cartwright's timber plan, i. 54.
Baird, Patrick, captain of the Defiance, anecdotes of, i. 16.
Banham, Henry, a faithful and valued servant of Major Cartwright, ii. 283.
Banks, the sculptor, dines at Mr. Horne Tooke's, i. 211.
Barrington, Honourable D. his work "On the Possibility of approaching the North Pole", i. 44.
Barrington, Judge, communication from, i. 52.
Barry, the painter, pays Major Cartwright's design many compliments, i. 300.
Bathurst, Earl, "Ægis" sent to, i. 354.
Bathurst, Mr. calls Major Cartwright's petition an expostulation, i. 400.
Batley, Mr. i. 161.
Bayley, Chief Justice, his eulogium on Major Cartwright when passing sentence upon him, ii. 213.
Beattie, his work on "Truth", worthy of the subject, i. 47.
Bedford, Duke of, remarkable passage in his letter to Major Cartwright, i. 322; a series of letters to, entitled "State of the Nation", 324, 325, 326. 337; Major Cartwright's letter, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380. ii. 136; Major Cartwright publishes a series of letters to, 152. 154; Major Cartwright sends a requisition to, 226.
Bentham, Jeremy, his work on "Parliamentary Reform", ii. 144. 181; letter to, 276, 277, 278.
Bentinck, Captain, his chain-pump eulogized by Major Cartwright, i. 42.
Bentinck, Lord E. delegated as a deputy, i. 132; appointed on a committee, 144.
Bentley, Mr. partner with Mr. Wedgewood, member of the Society for Constitutional Information, i. 134; resolution seconded by, ii. 103.
Berkely, Bishop, i. 50.
Berkeley, Honourable G. took pleasure in speaking of Major Cartwright's kindness to him in early life, i. 32.
Best, Mr. Justice, his indisposition occasions the trial of Major Cartwright and the other defendants to be postponed, ii. 182.
Beverley, B. M. Esq. extract from Major Cartwright's letter to, ii. 262, 263, 264.
Bevile, Rev. M. his account of a Westminster meeting, i. 145.
Birch, Captain of the Cabalva East Indiaman, ii. 16.
Birkbeck, Dr. Major Cartwright's letter to, ii. 251.
Blackstone, makes use of the word "Commonwealth", i. 103. 295.
Blanchard, his balloon, i. 158.
Bond, Serjeant, member of the Constitutional Society, i. 135.
Boscawen, i. 27.
Bosville, Colonel, one of the founders of the Union Society, ii. 129.
Boucherett, Ascough, Esq. High Sheriff of Lincoln, i. 231.
Bowles, i. 390.
Bowring, ii. 231.

Bowie, Mr. II. 156.

Bowyer, Dr. Prebendary of Durham, his life devoted to benevolent purposes, II. 116.

Brand, Honourable T. Major Cartwright's exertions in favour of, I. 322; Major Cartwright writes to, 404; Major Cartwright's letter to, II. 1, 2, 3, 4; particular pains taken to bring him and Sir Francis Burdett together, II. 5.

Bridgen, Mr. member of the Society for Constitutional Information, I. 134.

Brookes, Mr. II. 104; Sir Francis Burdett's letter to, 162.

Brooklesby, Dr. member of the Society for Constitutional Information, I. 134; one of its earliest members, 214. II. 296.

Brougham, Mr. II. 36. 39; a meeting at Liverpool to compliment him on his success in resisting the orders in council, II. 41; present at a Westminster meeting, 122.

Brownlow, Earl, the estate at Marnham in Nottinghamshire becomes his property, I. 177.

Brunswick, Duke of, manifestoes of, I. 197.

Buckinghamshire, Lord and Lady, I. 302.

Buisson, Monsieur Gerard, Major Cartwright's letter to, II. 259, 260.

Burdett, Sir Francis, Mr. Whitbread's letter to, I. 343; his apparent neglect of Major Cartwright's bill, 355, 356; calumnies against him, 390. 397. 399. II. 2, 3. 5; his great anxiety for a union of reformers, 6; Major Cartwright proposes a vote of thanks to, 93; his letter to Major Cartwright, 97, 98; thanks voted to, 107; one of the founders of the Union Society, 129; Major Cartwright's letter to, 136; his election, 145, 146, 147. 150; his speech at Kennington, 151, 152; Major Cartwright's letter to, 154, 155. 162; his letter to Mr. Brooks, pronounced by Major Cartwright to be above all praise, 171; petition respecting the packing of juries, presented by, 180; Major Cartwright's letter to, 181; in the chair at a meeting at the Crown and Anchor, 291; his speech.

Burgoyne, M. Esq. his prompt attention felt by Major Cartwright, II. 30; one of the founders of the Union Society, 129.

Burke, E. considered the American question as one of expediency, not of right, I. 67; letter to, 103, 104; his answer, 105; the inveterate enemy of reform, 148, 149; a good farmer, 274. 320.

Buonaparte, Napoleon, his plan of survey on the field of battle, I. 130. 309, 310. 328. 333. 351. 356. 368. II. 97; Major Cartwright's remarks on his character, 225, 226.

Byron, Honourable John, continues Mr. Cartwright his surrogate in Newfoundland, I. 42.

Byron, Lord, his speech on presenting Major Cartwright's petition, II. 53, 54.

Campbell, his Lives of the Admirals, I. 48.

CAMDEN, Earl, to be made a marquess, I. 158; the Ægis sent to, 354; constitutional petition of, II. 25.

CANNING, F. Esq., one of the founders of the Union Society, II. 129; letter to, 143. 166, 167, 168, 169. 296.

CANNING, Right Honourable G., the Ægis sent to, I. 354; calls Major Cartwright the old heart in London, II. 130.

CAPULETS, tomb of, II. 105.

CARLILE, his persecution, II. 156.

CARNEGIE, Mr. II. 113.

CARTER, Sir John, member of Society for Constitutional Information, I. 135.

CARTWRIGHT, Anne, Major Cartwright's mother, I. 2.

CARTWRIGHT, Charles, his disinterestedness, I. 3. 25.

CARTWRIGHT, Colonel, his representations in favour of New England, mentioned in Evelyn's Memoirs, I. 60.

CARTWRIGHT, Rev. E., D.D., his mechanical inventions, I. 25; poetical compositions, 30; appointed on a committee, 145; loses an amiable wife, 163; his inventions pirated, 257; 10,000*l.* granted to, 412; dies at Hastings, II. 245. 285; his eldest daughter married to H. E. Strickland, Esq. 289.

CARTWRIGHT, Edmund, marries Cranmer's sister, I. 1.

CARTWRIGHT, Rev. E. (only son of Dr. Cartwright); letters to, I. from p. 263 to 287; confirms the fact of Major Cartwright's refusing to write to members of Parliament on his brother's account, 412; anecdote of his eldest son (now in the service of the Honourable East India Company) II. 11; Major Cartwright visits him in Sussex, 185; Major Cartwright's last visit to, 244; attends his uncle's funeral, 289.

CARTWRIGHT, General, letter to, 354.

CARTWRIGHT, George, author of "A Journal in Labrador", I. 2. 140. 188, 189. 313; his plan for a life-boat apparatus, II. 16; visited by his brother in his last illness, 158; his character and appearance, 159, 160.

CARTWRIGHT, John, born, I. 1, 2; sent to a grammar-school at Newark, 4; great part of his childhood spent at Belton, 5; his gentleness, 6; obliged to his father for not consenting to the wish of a neighbouring squire, 7; letter to his mother, 10, 11; chosen by Lord Howe to accompany him, 13; his letter to Lady Tyrconnel, from p. 14 to 21; turns his attention to the improvement of the exercise of the great guns, 26; saves four different persons from drowning, 26; inaction irksome to him, 27; his letter to his sisters, 27, 28, 29; difficulties he had to encounter as surrogate in Newfoundland, 31; beloved by his brother-officers, 32; discovers Lieutenant's Lake, 32; appointed to the Antelope, 41; continued as surrogate, 42; invited by Lord Howe on board the Queen, 43; consults the celebrated Dr. James, 44; relates an anecdote of Fuseli, 46; passage in his copy of Price's Dissertations, 50; goes to Bath, 51; writes to E. Burke, Esq., 52; proposes his plan of union with the United States, 60; the early production of his pen is

become scarce, 62; his opinion that the Jewish and Christian dispensations are remarkably favourable to human liberty, 64; publishes his second edition of "American Independence", 69; appointed Major of the Nottinghamshire Militia, 69; the first officer who procured for the British soldiery the comfort of a great-coat, 71; Lord Howe wishes for his professional assistance, 72; Lord Howe's note to him, 76; his reply, 77, 78, 79; receives offers to serve in the American navy, 80; place in America called after him, 81; his first work on reform in Parliament, 82; his experience of the lower orders, 84; the remainder of his life almost wholly political, 85; his character similar to that of Samuel Adams, 86; his general style of composition, 87; Lord John Russell's mistake respecting Major Cartwright, 91, 92; Dr. Price's letters to, 95, 96, 97; Duke of Portland to, 97, 98; presents an address to the King, 100; his letter to Lord Abingdon, 103; to Mr. Burke, 103, 104, 105; Mr. Burke to, 105, 106; Lord Shelburne to, 112; letter from the Earl of Effingham to, 113; speaks of a pamphlet by Dr. Price, 115; anxious to form a society of political inquiry, 120; letter to, 121; proposed for the county of Nottingham, 122, 123; writes to the Duke of Portland, 124, 125, 126; forms a plan for naval surveying, 130; promotes a county meeting, 131; appointed deputy, 132; anxiety of Mr. Moore to sneer at his memory, 133; mentions Mr. Rutt, 134; author of the "Declaration of Rights", 135; little accustomed to boast, 136; writes letters to the Deputies, 139; encamped at Gosport, 140; purchases the estate of Marnham, 141; introduction of Mr. Wyvill to, 142; vexations experienced by, 144; promotes another meeting, 145; speech at a Westminster meeting, 146; writes to Mrs. Cartwright, 146; relates an anecdote respecting a debate on reform, 148; his enjoyment in listening to Mr. Pitt's speech, 149; involved in agricultural business, 152; adverse to the coalition, 154; continues to take an active part, 162; his first acquaintance with Mr. Wilberforce, 163; feels the loss of Dr. Jebb very keenly, 165; co-operates with Mr. Clarkson, 167; letter to, from Granville Sharp, 168, 169, 170; his uprightness, anecdotes of, 174, 175, 176; his skill in agriculture, 178; his opinion of Mr. Pitt, 180; invited to stand for Retford, 181; his letter to the President of Committee in France, 183, 184, 185; publishes "Plain Truths", &c., 186; celebrates the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastile, 187; the treatment he experienced in the militia, 188; goes out to meet the regiment, 191; anxious to counteract the efforts of Payne, 192; his opinion of moderation, 194; takes care to quote the petition presented by Lord Grey, 197; interested for Mr. Muir, 198; his letter to the Duke of Richmond, 199; publication composed by, 199; his minute regard to truth, 200; his situation critical, 202; his letter to the Duke of Portland, 203, 204, 205; his letter to inform his family of Hardy's acquittal, 208; his evidence, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220; his account of

Nicholls, 222; Mr. Horne Tooke's opinion of, 223; letter to a relation, 225, 226, 227, 228; speaks of the French revolution, 229; could accommodate his conversation to different persons, 230; Mr. Fox's letter to, 232, 233; Mr. Fox presents his petition, 233; his letters on the election, 234, 235; writes to Admiral Young, 240; attempts to procure a meeting at Boston, 241; consulted on the formation of societies, 243; remarks on the defective representation of the Spanish constitution, 245; his intentions said to be dangerous to the state, 246; Lord Stanhope's letter to, 247; Mr. Fox to, 248; Mr. Granville Sharp to, 249; difficulty experienced by, in finding a publisher, 253; his "Appeal" occasions the loss of two intimate acquaintances, 255; had one idea which engrossed him, 256; occupied in his brother's affairs, 257; acknowledges Lord Eldon's attention, 259; anecdote of his conduct at Sheffield, 260; letter to, from Mr. Horne Tooke, 260; his letters to his nephew, from p. 263 to 287; his ardour in the execution of a design for a naval temple, 289; his acquaintance with Mr. Hardy, 290; his letter to Mr. Hardy, 290, 291, 292, 293; anxious to promote meetings in the different counties, 295; publishes his letter to Wyvill, 296; letters to, from Mr. Wyvill, 297, 298; goes to London, 299; letter to, from the President of the Royal Academy, 306; his letter to the electors of Nottingham, 309, 310; letter to, from Mr. Fox, 315; his reply, 316, 317, 318; lets his estate, and removes to Enfield, 322; his letter to Mr. Wyvill, 323, 324, 325, 326; never seems to have found out the happy moment for agitating the question of reform, 327; his letter to Mr. Cobbett, 328; publishes the second part of the Ægis, 328; examines a flat-bottomed vessel at Southend, 333; his letter to Mr. Wilberforce, 339, 340, 341; result of his application to the British Institution, 341; declines attending the Whig Club, 342; called to the chair, 343; his letters to the electors of Boston, 344, 345, 346, 347; indisposed, 347; to the electors, 350; Mr. Stephens' letter to, 353; sends his Ægis to a variety of distinguished persons, 354, 355; draws up two bills, 355; his letter to Sir Francis Burdett, 356; his opinion of expediency, 358; his letter to Viscount Materosa, from p. 359 to 367; Earl Stanhope's letter to, 367; has it much at heart to convene a meeting on the affairs of Spain, his speech thereon, 368; letter to Viscount Materosa, from p. 369 to 375; his principles of military defence, 376; Mr. Whitbread differs in opinion from, 376; Lord Charlemont's opinion agrees with that of Major Cartwright, 377; his letter to the Duke of Bedford, from 376 to 380; writes to Mr. Wyvill, 381, 382; Mr. Wyvill's reply to, 382; if urgency be excusable, it was in Major Cartwright, 383; his letter to Mr. Northmore, 383, 384, 385; his anxiety to urge others whom he considered of more consequence in society, 385; his letters to Mr. Northmore, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391; Lord Selkirk's letters to, 392; friendship which subsisted between Lord Daer and Major Cartwright, 393; resolutions

moved by, 393; promoted at the Jubilee, 395; letter to, from Mr. Whitbread, 395; his reply, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400; from Mr. Whitbread to, 400; writes to Mr. Whitbread, 401, 402; presents a petition to the Prince Regent, 403; writes to Mr. Brand, 404; his indulgence to children, 408; his favourite poney, 410; his conduct in a case in which he was peculiarly interested, 412.

His letter to Mr. Brand, II. 1, 2, 3; Sir P. Francis to, 4; his letter to Mr. Wyvill, from p. 5 to 10; extract from his letter to the Marquis of Tavistock, 10; his unguardedness, 11; the attachment he inspired, 11; appears against a swindler, 12; letter to Sir Samuel Romilly, 12, 13, 14, 15; to Señor Arguelles, 15, 16; accompanies his family into Nottinghamshire, &c. 17; his letter to Lord Holland, from 17 to 21; writes to Lord Fingal, 22; a seceder, 26; reform and Cartwright synonymous, 27; letters from Mr. Northmore to, 29; Mr. Burgoyne's prompt attention felt by, 30; his letter to Mr. Wyvill, 30, 31, 32; resolutions moved by, 33; his letter to Mr. Knight, 35, 36; his political tour, 36; letter from Mr. Brougham to, 39; experiences the loss of 800 copies of the Ægis, 44; does justice to the lower orders of society, 46; a warrant executed against, 48; his letter to a merchant, 50; returns to town, 52; petition signed by, 53; his letter to Samuel Whitbread, 56, 57, 58; his letters to Lord Stanley, 59 to 65; to Señor Arguelles, 66 to 68; to T. Northmore, Esq. 69, 70, 71; sells his estate, 71; anxious for the Hampden Club, 72, 73, 74; address seconded by, 75; concurs in supporting Lord Cochrane, 78; his letter to Mr. Northmore, 79, 80; to Samuel Whitbread, Esq. 80, 81, 82, 83; Mr. Whitbread's reply to, 83, 84; proposes to make the slave-trade piracy, 84; his reiterated protests, 86; his speech in Palace Yard, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93; alluded to by Mr. Wyvill, 95; possesses the documents omitted in Wyvill's political papers, 97; letter to, from Sir Francis Burdett, 97, 98; he writes to Sir Francis Burdett, 98; his speech on the property tax, 101; his superabundant zeal, 105; letter to, 105; notes in his hand-writing, 106; his wish respecting Mr. Northmore, 108; travels into Scotland, 109; his arrival there, 111, 112; always spoke with gratitude of his reception, 117; his laconic reply, 119; addresses a variety of persons, 120; takes a part in a meeting at Covent Garden, 122; meetings originating with, 123; report drawn up by, 125; his pleasure of short duration, 127; one of the founders of the Union Society, 129; designated as "the old heart in London", 130; example of the species of attack made on him, 131; his letter to Mr. Adams, 133, 134, 135; reply of Mr. Adams to, 135, 136; addresses seven letters to Sir Francis Burdett, 136; his letter to Mr. Northmore, 137 to 141; visits Cleve, 141; advocates the ballot from the earliest period of his political researches, 142; his letter to Mr. F. Canning, 143, 144; his pretensions disregarded, 145; his letter to Mr. Walker, 145, 146; receives petitions for reform, 147;

speech of Mr. Kinnaird in proposing the health of, 149, 150; speech of Sir Francis Burdett in favour of, 151; recovers from illness, 152; mis-translates the title of Prynne's work, 153; publishes letters to the Duke of Bedford, 154; his friends propose him for Westminster, 155; his correspondence with the High Bailiff, 156, 157; his hopes in his brother's amendment of short duration, 158; result of election unfavourable to, 160; misunderstanding between him and Mr. Hobhouse, 161, 162; visits Mr. Hobhouse in Newgate, 163; visits Birmingham, 164; proceeds to Leamington, 167; his letter to Mrs. Cartwright, 168; tenders his bail, 169; his letter to Mr. Bentham, 170 to 173; to P. Payne, Esq. 173; twelve resolutions drawn up by, 174; republishes a tract by Sir W. Jones, 175; attends the striking-off of the jury, 179; Mr. Peel alludes to the case of, 180; grievance resisted by, 181; arrives at Warwick, 182; postponement of his trial, 183; petition from, presented to the House, 184; his letter to the Duke of Norfolk, 185; sets out again for Warwick, 187; addresses the court, 188; concludes his defence, 193; brings no witnesses, 194, 195; lines in the Morning Chronicle after the trial of, 196; continues his exertions, 197; letter of Dr. Parr to, 198; gives an account of the Spanish dinner, 201; his letter to a Spanish patriot, 202; receives information respecting hand-bills, 203; preserved among his papers, 205; sets on foot a requisition, and publishes a letter to Mr. Lambton, 206; guardian of parliamentary reform, 207; called up for judgment, 209; the small share he had in the proceedings, 211; mistake with regard to his age, 212; to pay a fine, 213; anxiety of his brother defendants for his safety, 214; answer to congratulations, 215, 216; the society of General Pepe affords him the highest gratification, 217; his letter to Mr. Northmore, 218, 219; publishes another letter to Mr. Lambton, 219; thinks himself libelled, 220; visits Southend, 221; his remarks on "The Voice from St. Helena", 224, 225; sends a requisition to the Duke of Bedford, and publishes letters to the Edinburgh Reviewers and Lord J. Russell, 226; his letter to Mr. Northmore, 227; Mr. Whitbread's committee wait upon him, 227; "as gentle as a child," 229; last Middlesex meeting attended by, 229; resolution proposed by, 230, 231, 232; had the satisfaction of knowing that the petition was registered on the Journals, 233; receives a letter from a Lincolnshire gentleman, 234; proposes a petition, 236; Mr. Chaplin considers it more manly and explicit than that moved by Sir R. Heron, 236; addresses a letter to Earl Stanhope, 239; confines himself in his early works to the question of reform, 240; visits his nephew-in-law, 241; his suggestions to the provisional government of Greece, 242; visited by Dona Quiroga, &c. 243; causes medals to be struck, 244; addresses a letter to a gentleman at Mexico, 245; causes a translation to be made of the abridgement of his "Constitution", 246; did not live to know how his suggestions were received in Mexico, 247; deeply

sympathizes in the sufferings of the family of Riego, 248; spares neither time nor trouble, 250; his increasing weakness, 251; his note to Dr. Birkbeck, 251, 252; addresses a letter to Don Miguel del Riego, 252 to 255; the last of his printed compositions, 255; his letters, 258, 259, 260; his want of memory lamented by himself, 264; letter received by him from Mr. Jefferson, 265; returns an answer, 275, 276; his health declines more and more, 278; removes to Hampstead, 279; speaks of the American College, 280; last days of his illness, 283; model of him by Mr. Macdowell, 285; remark of a young lady in speaking of his appearance, 285; intended monument to, 291. 294, 295, 296; list of his works, 298.

CARTWRIGHT, William, eldest son of Mr. Cartwright, dies before his father, I. 2.

CARTWRIGHT, W. Sen. possessed great energy of character*, I. 3; letter 9. 22; his death, 140.

CASAUBON, his monument in England, II. 250.

CASTLEREAGH, Lord, the Ægis sent to, I. 354; his bayonet, II. 151.

CHADS, Captain, I. 8. 31.

CHAPLIN, Mr. M.P. for Lincolnshire, his speech, II. 236.

CHARLEMONT, Earl of. Ireland enjoys repose under his auspices, I. 153; his opinion coincides with that of Major Cartwright, I. 377, 378.

CHARLES the First, I. 1.

CHARLESWORTH, Rev. Mr. I. 168. 171.

CHARLOTTE of Mecklenburgh, I. 42.

CHATHAM, Earl of, approves of the Declaration of Rights, I. 136.

CHATHAM, Earl of (son of the preceding), Ægis sent to, I. 354.

CHRISTIE, Mr. offers the use of his room, I. 305.

CICERO, II. 124.

CLARENCE, Duke of, examines Major Cartwright's design, I. 302.

CLARKE, Dr. one of Major Cartwright's favourite authors, II. 287.

CLARKSON, Mr. Secretary of the Whig Club, I. 342.

CLARKSON, T. Major Cartwright co-operates with on the subject of the slave-trade, I. 167; his history of the abolition, 168. 178. 387; his testimony in favour of Mr. Whitbread, 402; Major Cartwright's letters to, II. 79, 80.

CLEARY, Mr. his petition, II. 123. 150, 151.

CLINE, Mr. I. 209. II. 262.

CLIVE, Lord, I. 42.

CLIVE, Mr. (of the Secretary of State's office,) II. 204.

CLIVE, Mr. one of the founders of the Union Club, II. 129.

COBBETT, Mr. letter to, I. 327. 343. 347, 348. 355, 356. 384. 390. 394; his forcible expression applied to Major Cartwright, 403. 406.

COBHAM, Lord, I. 2.

COCHRANE, Lord, his successful enterprise, I. 27. II. 78. 122.

* Some remarkable instances of this occurred when executing the office of High Sheriff for the County of Nottingham in the year 1740.

Coke, Mr. (of Norfolk,) i. 195. ii. 2, 3.
Coke, Sir Edward, ii. 25.
Coldham, Mr. (town-clerk of Nottingham,) ii. 20.
Coleman, his unfortunate fate, i. 222.
Colpoys, Sir C. i. 303.
Conflans, Admiral, i. 11. 13. 17.
Cook, Captain, i. 32.
Cooke, Mr. i. 54.
Cooper, Mr. i. 145; noble conduct of, 188.
Cope, Mr. letter to, i. 235 to 239.
Cousens, John, i. 34.
Cranmer, Archbishop, i. 2.
Crosby, Alderman, i. 135.
Cunningham, W. E. Esq. i. 135.

Daer, Lord, i. 135. 393.
Dalrymple, i. 19. 22.
Dartmouth, Earl of, i. 48. 101. 340.
Dashwood, S. Esq. Mrs. Cartwright eldest daughter of, i. 139.
Davis, Sir John (attorney-general to Queen Elizabeth), i. 295.
Davison, Mr. A. i. 299.
Day, T. Esq. i. 135; disapproved of the coalition, 154. 156.
Debbige, General, i. 300.
Dehany, Dr. i. 135.
Demosthenes, ii. 76.
Denman, Mr. a powerful impression made by, ii. 181; Major Cartwright's entertains a high opinion of his skill and integrity, 186; his speech in the King's Bench, 211, 212.
Dennison, Mr. ii. 42.
Derby, Earl of, Member of the Society for Constitutional Information, i. 135.
Despard, Colonel, i. 309.
Devonshire, Duke of, his ancestor's remark, ii. 120.
Dickenson, Mr. i. 406.
Disney, Dr. his "Life of Jebb", i. 92. 144.
Doblado, Don, his Letters on Spain, ii. 280.
Docilli, a young Neapolitan gentleman, ii. 223.
Doddridge, his "Rise and Progress", i. 49.
Dodsley, i. 14.
Dolben, Sir W. i. 103.
Douglas, Dr. his remark on Major Cartwright's plan, i. 44. 52.
Drakard, his Stamford paper, ii. 234.
Draper, Rev. W. ii. 207; seconds a resolution, 230.
Duff, Mr. i. 15.
Dumourier, his monument at Henley-on-Thames, ii. 250.
Dundas, i. 211.

DUPPA, I. 304.
DYER, George, II. 184.

EAMER, Mr. John (of Preston), II. 59.
EDEN, Mr. (Secretary to Lord North), I. 54.
EDMONDS, G. indicted for a conspiracy, II. 168.
EDWARD, Prince, afterwards Duke of York, I. 10. 12.
EDWARDS, Dr. I. 135.
EFFINGHAM, Earl of, his refusal to serve in the American war, I. 113; his letter to Major Cartwright, 113, 114, 115; Member of the Society for Constitutional Information, I. 135.
ELDON, Lord, his patient attention in the causes respecting the piracies of Dr. Cartwright's inventions, I. 259. 354.
ELIZABETH, Queen, I. 294, 295.
ENSOR, G. Esq. II. 207.
ERSKINE, his wonderful exertions in Hardy's trial, I. 206; his remark to Horne Tooke, 209. 212. 239.
ESTRADA, Flores, Major Cartwright's letter to, II. 201, 202.
EYRE, Chief Justice, urges Mr. Tooke not to acknowledge his hand-writing, I. 212; his summing up, 214; his remark on Major Cartwright's want of prudence in his evidence, 218. 220.

FALCONER, author of the Shipwreck, I. 26. 30.
FAVELL, Mr. attends Major Cartwright at Warwick, II. 186. 250.
FAWKES, W. Esq. I. 382. II. 24; letter from, 200. 222.
FELLOWES, Rev. R. Major Cartwright's letter to, II. 142.
FINCH, referred to by Mr. Jefferson, II. 272.
FINGAL, Lord, Major Cartwright writes to, II. 22; his Lordship's reply, 24.
FITZPATRICK, General, I. 134.
FITZWILLIAM, Earl, refuses to go to Ireland with the militia, I. 280.
FLETCHER, alias Forbes, alias Franklin, II. 203. 205.
FOLKESTONE, Lord, I. 355. II. 6.
FORBES, see Fletcher.
FORDHAM, Mr. G. Jun. treasures in his memory a remarkable saying of Major Cartwright's, II. 85.
FORTESCUE, Sir John, his excellent book "De Laudibus", &c. I. 251.
FOX, C. J. his insincerity in the cause of reform, I. 132; meeting of electors, 146, 147; supports the motion for reform, 148; his system of government in India, 154. 160; letter to, 231; his answer, 232; presents Major Cartwright's petition, 233; letter from, 247, 248, 249. 315; letter to, 316. 323. 326; dedication to, 329. 337. 382. II. 240.
FRANCIS the First, I. 331.
FRANCIS, Sir P. his letter to Major Cartwright, II. 4.
FRANKLIN, see Fletcher.

FREDERICK of Prussia, I. 7. II. 7.
FREEMAN, Admiral Peere Williams, attends Major Cartwright's trial, II. 186; Major Cartwright's last visit to, 256. 258.
FUSELI, anecdotes of, I. 45.

GAINSBOROUGH, Earl of, I. 11, 12.
GALEANO, II. 277.
GALLOWAY, Mr. his speech at the Crown and Anchor, II. 296.
GANDY, the celebrated Architect, I. 288. II. 249.
GARDINER, Colonel of the Nottinghamshire Militia, 188.
GAYTON, Captain of the Antelope, I. 41.
GENLIS, Monsieur de, I. 196.
GEORGE the Second, II. 233.
GEORGE the Third, II. 233.
GEORGE the Fourth, II. 84.
GIBBON, II. 131.
GIBBS, Sir Vicary, I. 107. 239.
GILCHRIST, Dr. II. 114. 296.
GILMER, Mr. II. 275. 277.
GIRARDOT, J. C. Esq. attends Major Cartwright's funeral, II. 269.
GOODBEHERE, Alderman, one of the founders of the Union Society, II. 129.
GRANBY, Marquis of, I. 2.
GRATTAN, his secession commendable, I. 279.
GREY, Mr. I. 193. 197. 207; II. 176.
GRIGBY, Joshua, Esq. I. 135.
GROSVENOR, Earl, II. 128.
GUISE, Sir W. II. 50.
GURNEY, I. 239.
GUTIEREZ, Llanos, Major Cartwright's letter to, II. 246; his letter from Mexico, II. 247.
GWINN, General, Ægis sent to, I. 354.

HALE, II. 273.
HALLET, Mr. one of the founders of the Union Society, II. 129.
HAMMOND, Sir A. S. distinguished by Lord Howe, I. 21.
HAMPDEN, spoken of in a loyal address, II. 127; his resistance to Ship-money, II. 164.
HAMILTON, Admiral, his visit to Major Cartwright, I. 32.
HAMILTON, (the Painter,) I. 288.
HAMILTON, Sir W. I. 305.
HANWAY, Jonas, I. 305.
HARDY, his Life of Lord Charlemont quoted, I. 153; II. 23.
HARDY, T. 185. 203. 206, 207, 208. 210; Major Cartwright's letter to, 290—293.

Harris, Mr. resolution seconded by, II. 33. 98.
Harrison, Dr. II. 262. 278.
Harwood, Captain, I. 213.
Hastings, Earl of, I. 403.
Hawke, Sir E. I. 13, 14. 16. 19. 22.
Hawkesbury, Earl of, letter to, I. 354.
Hayley, Alderman, I. 135.
Hays, Rev. R. II. 207.
Hayward, Mr. R. I. 254.
Hazlitt, his erroneous view of Major Cartwright's character, I. 256, 257.
Henning, Mr. his elegant friezes, II. 256.
Henry, P. I. 53.
Heron, I. 108.
Heron, Sir H. I. 11.
Heron, Sir R. I. 352; declines the adoption of Major Cartwright's petition, II. 234, 235.
Hewett, Mr. I. 144.
Hewish, Mr. I. 144.
Higgins, Mr. Godfrey, his anecdote of Major Cartwright, I. 175, 176.
Hill, M. D. Esq. his exertions, II. 181. 187. 212. 296.
Hoare, Mr. I. 168.
Hobhouse, J. C. Esq. II. 161, 162, 163. 297.
Hodges, T. L. Esq. I. 302; II. 219; attends his Uncle's funeral, 269.
Hody, II. 219.
Holland, Lord, I. 368; Major Cartwright's letters to 17. 21. 66. his candour, 153; Major Cartwright writes to, II. 197.
Hollis, T. Brand, Esq. I. 134.
Holroyd, Justice, refuses to set aside the panel, II. 177.
Holt, Daniel, his prosecution, I. 199, 200, 201, 202.
Hopkinson, W. Esq. II. 290.
Hoppner, I. 211.
Horton, Sir W. I. 135.
Hottoman, his Franco-Gallia, I. 185.
Howe, Earl, I. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14. 17. 19. 21, 22, 23. 26, 27, 28; proposes to Major Cartwright to accompany him to America, 72, 73, 74. 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81. 143. 147. 240.
Howe, Sir W. I. 116.
Howick, Lord, I. 351, 352.
Hughes, Captain, I. 22.
Hume, David, I. 49, 50; II. 227. 267.
Hume, Joseph, M.P. II. 218, 219.
Hunt, Mr. II. 147.

Iturbide shot at Padilla, II. 248. 283.

JAMES the First, speaks of "The Commonwealth", I. 295.
JAMES, Dr. attends Major Cartwright, I. 43.
JEBB, Dr. I. 91, 92; one of the original founders with Major Cartwright of the Society for Constitutional Information, 134. 146; his letters, 150. 154. 156. 158. 160, 161. 164, 165. 167; his doubts of Mr. Pitt's sincerity, 180. 198, 214. 352; II. 296.
JEBB, Mrs. widow of Dr. Jebb, I. 167. 385.
JEFFERSON, T. his letter to Major Cartwright, II. 265 to 275. Major Cartwright's answer to, 276, 277. 283.
JENYNS, Soame, Esq. Major Cartwright writes an answer to, 162.
JERVOISE, C. J. member of the Society for Constitutional Information, I. 135.
JOHN, King of England, Magna Charta extorted from his fear, II. 8. 107.
JOHNSON, Colonel, II. 235, 236; letter to, 237.
JOHNSON, Dr. his life of Savage, I. 6; his opinions on the American contest, 68.
JOHNSON, Mr. I. 242; II. 44.
JONES, Sir W. his opinion of the declaration, I. 136; his letter to Major Cartwright, 150; his dialogue, 156. 248; his "Tract on Riots" republished by Major Cartwright, I. 312; II. 175, 176.
JORTIN, II. 287.
JUNE, the Indian boy, I. 38.

KENTISH, Dr. member of Society for Constitutional Information, I. 135.
KENYON, Lord, I. 156.
KEPPEL, Lord, I. 143. 147.
KIDD, trial of, I. 207.
KING, Captain, his regard for Major Cartwright, 32; a friend of Mr. Burke, 103. 105.
KING, Lord, I. 396.
KING, Mr. private secretary to the Marquis of Rockingham, I. 148.
KINGSBURY, Lord, I. 157.
KINNAIRD, Honourable Douglas, proposed by the friends of Sir F. Burdett, II. 145; in the chair at a dinner in honour of Major Cartwright, 149.
KINNAIRD, Lord, member of Society for Constitutional Information, I. 135.
KIRKMAN, Alderman, member of Society for Constitutional Information, I. 135.
KNIGHT, Mr. Major Cartwright's letter to, II. 34.

LAMBERT, I. 385.
LAMBTON, Mr. Major Cartwright's letter to, II. 206. 219.
LANGTON, Mr. I. 352.
LANSDOWN, Marquis of, the sentiment of his father on the subject of equal representation, and short Parliaments, II. 121.

Laurens, President, his remark on the union proposed by Major Cartwright, i. 60; conversation with on the subject of the ballot, ii. 142.
Leach, Mr. ii. 125.
Le Clerc, invasion of St. Domingo by, ii. 239.
Lewes, Sir W. member of the Society for Constitutional Information, i. 135.
Lewis, W. G. indicted for a conspiracy, ii. 168.
Lieven, Count, ii. 84.
Littleton, Lord, his "Treatise on the Conversion of St. Paul", i. 47.
Liverpool, Earl of, ii. 171.
Lockart, Captain of the Chatham, i. 17.
Locke, his reasonableness of Christianity, i. 50; approved only in part by Mr. Horne Tooke, 216. 316.
Lofft, Capel, i. 120. 139. 150. 154, 155. 214; letter from, 242. 385. 387.
Long, General, the Duke of Norfolk's declaration in the presence of, ii. 185; his remarks on Major Cartwright's hints to the Greeks, ii. 219.
Losh, Mr. Major Cartwright spends three days at his house, ii. 116.
Lowry, i. 305.
Luriotes, Signor, letter to, ii. 241.
Lushington, Mr. Master of the Crown Office, ii. 179.

Macdowell, Mr. executes a striking likeness of Major Cartwright in plaster, ii. 285.
Machiavel recommends retaining the shadow of old forms, i. 192.
M'Laurin, ii. 123.
Maddocks, Mr. i. 352.
Madocks, C. indicted for a conspiracy, ii. 168.
Mahon, Lord, i. 164.
Mansfield, Lord, i. 158; ii. 273.
Marbois, ii. 265.
Martin, James, Esq. i. 160.
Mason, W. Esq. attends Major Cartwright's trial, ii. 186.
Materosa, Viscount, letter to, i. 359. 369.
Maton, Dr. ii. 79.
Maule, Honourable W. his family put Major Cartwright in mind of old days, ii. 113.
Maurice, Mr. and Mrs. their affectionate reception of Major Cartwright, ii. 51.
Mawbey, Sir J. member for Constitutional Information, i. 135.
Maxwell, Sir Murray, ii. 147.
Meadows, Mr. i. 124. 145.
Mellish, Mr. amendment proposed by, i. 369; resolutions opposed by, ii. 103.
Melmoth, author of Fitzosborne's Letters, i. 51.
Melville, Dr. member of Society of Constitutional Information, i. 135.
elville, Lord, i. 320. 323.

MERCIER and Co., their bankruptcy, and consequent loss of the copies of Major Cartwright's *Ægis*, II. 44.
METCALFE, I. 29.
MICHELENE, General, Major Cartwright dictates a letter to, II. 281; his kind message, 283.
MIDDLETON, Sir W. member of Society for Constitutional Information, I. 135. 164.
MILNES, R. Esq. member of Society for Constitutional Information, I. 135.
MINA, y Espoz, General, his arrival in England, II. 252; his reluctance to appear an object of admiration, 252, 253, 254.
MOORE, Sir John, his approbation of Major Cartwright's design for a flying bridge, I. 311.
MOORE, Peter, Esq. II. 226.
MOORE, T. his mis-statement in his Life of Sheridan, I. 132, 133.
MORE, Sir T. his virtue and integrity, I. 51.
MORRIS, A. Esq. Major Cartwright's letter to, II. 156, 157.
MUIR, his prosécution, and Major Cartwright's letter on the subject, to the Duke of Richmond, I. 198.
MULGRAVE, Lord, I. 354.
MUNNS, I. 39.
MUNTER, his account of the conversion of Struensee, I. 49.
MURRAY, General, *Ægis* sent to, I. 354.

NELSON, Lord, I. 14; his wish respecting the situation of the Hieronauticon, I. 305.
NEVILLE, I. 144.
NEWCASTLE, Duke of, I. 188, 189, 190.
NEWENHAM, Sir E. member of the Leinster Committee, I. 157.
NICHOLLS, J. Esq. author of "Reminiscences", &c. I. 188.
NICHOLLS, his remarkable history, I. 222.
NICHOLSON, Peg, I. 309.
NORCLIFFE, Sir James, member of Society for Constitutional Information, I. 135.
NORFOLK, Barnard, Duke of, letter to, II. 184.
NORFOLK, Charles, Duke of, II. 176. 184. 326.
NORFOLK, Duke of, proposes the abolition of vales, I. 3.
NORTH, Lord, I. 47. 52. 54. 56. 101. 115. 301.
NORTHMORE, T. I. 4. 245. 255; his letter to the writer of these memoirs, I. 256, 257; letter to, from Major Cartwright, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389. 407; combats Major Cartwright's intention of seceding, II. 27, 28, 29; letter to, 69. 74. 79, 80. 86. 104, 105. 108. 137. 177, 178, 179. 184; attends Major Cartwright at Warwick, 186. 203. 207. 217. 222. 238.
NORTHMORE, Mrs. II. 71. 141. 178. 219.
NORTHUMBERLAND, Duke of, I. 71. 321.

O'Bryen, Captain, bears an excellent character, i. 25.
O'Bryen, Dennis, his trial, ii. 205.
Oglethorpe, General, i. 136.
Oldfield, his representative history, i. 181.
O'Meara, B. Esq. his "Voice from St. Helena", ii. 224.
Onley, i. 156.
Orange, Prince of, his declaration, ii. 123.
Ord, Sir John, one of Major Cartwright's early companions in the navy, i. 32.
Orford, Lord, his letter to Governor Pownall, ii. 172.
Orlando, Signor, deputy from Greece, ii. 243.
Otis, life of, i. 86.
Overton, Colonel, relates the sensation caused by the word "independence" as used by Patrick Henry, i. 53.
Owen, meeting called by, ii. 137.

Padilla, i. 358.
Paine, T. labours to introduce pure republicanism into various societies, i. 192; goes farther in his opinions than Mr. Horne Tooke, 215, 216, 217. 311. 320, 321. 332, 333; ii. 156. 265.
Pallisser, Sir Hugh, i. 34.
Palmer, Mr. F. ii. 186.
Paoli, ii. 250.
Parkes, Mr. i. 155.
Parr, Dr. ii. 183; his letter to Major Cartwright, 198; his opinion of Major Cartwright's style of writing, 240.
Parry, Captain, i. 44.
Paull, Mr. his election, i. 343. 347.
Payne, P. Esq. bail for Major Cartwright, ii. 169; Major Cartwright's letter to, 173.
Pearson, C. employed to discover Fletcher alias Franklin, ii. 204, 205.
Pearson, J. Esq. i. 392; ii. 186.
Peel, Mr. amends the system of juries, ii. 86. 180.
Pelham, Honourable C. A. ii. 236.
Pepe, the patriot general, ii. 217.
Percival, Honourable S. i. 354. 400.
Percy, Lord, his handsome conduct towards Major Cartwright, i. 71.
Pericles, ii. 225.
Perry, editor of the Morning Chronicle, ii. 33.
Pitt (afterwards Lord Chatham), i. 25.
Pitt, William (son of Lord Chatham), his motions for Parliamentary Reform, i. 148, 149; letter to, 153. 155; promises to support reform, 159. 161; Jebb's opinion of, 180; not a member of the Society for

Constitutional Information, 200, 201. 211. 233. 261. 320. 324. 350. 382.
PETRIE, Mr. elected for Retford, I. 181.
PHILLIPS, Sir R. I. 153.
PHILO-SELDEN, II. 60.
PHIPPS, Honourable Captain, Major Cartwright anxious to accompany him, I. 44.
PLACE, Mr. Francis, I. 392.
PLATO, II. 124.
PLATT, Mr. visited in prison by Major Cartwright, I. 58.
POCKLINGTON, Mr. I. 144, 145.
POLE, Sir C. I. 27. 302.
POPE, letter of Swift to, I. 82.
PORTLAND, Duke of, letter from, I. 97; Major Cartwright's letter, 124. 132. 144; Major Cartwright's letter to, 203. 354.
PORTLAND, Duke of (son of the preceding), his impartiality, II. 206.
POWNALL, Governor, II. 172.
PRICE, Mr. I. 20.
PRICE, Dr. I. 50; his letters to Major Cartwright, 95, 96, 97; a pamphlet written by, 116. 157.
PRISOT, II. 272.
PROWSE, Mrs. I. 168.
PRYNNE, II. 153.
PURVIS, Mr. I. 275.

QUIROGA, Dona, II. 243.

RANCLIFFE, Lord, II. 125.
RAPIN quoted, I. 294.
RASTALL, Dickenson, I. 144.
RAWSON, T. Esq. his hospitality and kindness, II. 41, 42.
REEVES asserts that the English constitution is a monarchy, I. 310.
REID, his enquiry, I. 49, 50.
REYNOLDS, I. 385.
REYNOLDS, Sir J. I. 45.
RICHARD the Second, I. 294.
RICHARDS, Chief Baron, II. 187.
RICHMOND, Duke of, his singular introduction to Major Cartwright, I. 99. 120; his opinion of Major Cartwright's plan, 128, 129. 135. 142. 147. 156. 158; Major Cartwright's letter to, on the subject of Mr. Muir's prosecution, 198. 214. 320. 335. II. 123. 176.
RICHTER, I. 207.
RIEGO, General, II. 249.
RIEGO, Dona Lucia del, II. 248.

Riego, Don Miguel del, II. 248. 250; letter to, from p. 252 to 255.
Riego, Dona Theresa del Riego y, II. 243, 244.
Robertson, I. 331.
Robespierre, I. 210.
Robinson, Launcelot, I. 145.
Rockingham, Lord, forgets the day of debate, I. 148.
Rogers, Mr. I. 135.
Roland, Madame, I. 254.
Romilly, Sir S. letter to, II. 12. 119; his lamented death, 155. 176. 296.
Romney, Lord, I. 303.
Ross, Captain, I. 44.
Rous, G. Esq. I. 135.
Rousseau, I. 49.
Roxburghe, Duke of, II. 115; letter to, 175.
Ruding, Mr. II. 39.
Rutt, Mr. I. 135. II. 295.
Russell, Lord John, his error with respect to Major Cartwright, I. 91; letters to, II. 226.
Ryder, Mr. I. 394. 400.

Sanderson, Sir James, I. 176.
Sandwich, Earl of, I. 46. 49. 53. 57.
Savage, R. I. 6.
Saville, Sir G. approves of the timber plan, I. 54; epistle dedicatory to, 63. 81. 144; his declaration respecting the House of Commons, 148. 382.
Sawbridge, Alderman, I. 135; seconds Mr. Pitt's motion, 148.
Schomberg, his monument, II. 250.
Scipio gathered pebbles on the sea-shore, I. 408.
Selkirk, Earl of, I. 135.
Selkirk, Earl of, (son of the preceding,) his letter to Major Cartwright, I. 392.
Sempill, Lord, I. 135. 166.
Shank, Captain, his engravings of sliding keels given to Major Cartwright's great nephew, then a naval cadet at Portsmouth, II. 261.
Sharman, Colonel, I. 153. 156. 214.
Sharp, Granville, gives up his office at the Ordnance, I. 59; his character, 100. 135. 136; "Give us our Rights" dedicated to, 150; disapproved of the coalition, 154; his "Claims of the People", 157; his exertions for the abolition of the slave-trade, 167; his letters to Major Cartwright, 168, 169, 170, 171. 208. 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253. 312, II. 175. 295.
Sharp, Mr. William, (brother of the preceding,) I. 136.
Sharp, Mr. William, (the engraver,) I. 135. 211.
Shelburne, Lord, I. 95. 112. 147. 158.

Sheppard, II. 272, 273.
Sherbrooke, W. Esq. his noble conduct, I. 168.
Sheridan, R. B. Esq. I. 132. 134.
Shipley, Dean, his prosecution, I. 156. II. 175.
Sidmouth, Lord, I. 144.
Sidney, I. 316.
Sinclair, Sir J., I. 135.
Sikes, Mr. I. 144.
Slade, R., Esq. one of the founders of the Union Society, II. 129. 250.
Smith, Abel, Esq. stands for Nottingham, I. 121, 122.
Smith, Mr. Adams, II. 85.
Smith, John, Esq. M.P.
Smith, Sheriff, I. 339.
Smith, Sir T. his "Commonwealth of England", I. 295. II. 103.
Smith, W. Esq. M.P. I. 135. 339. 341. 357.
Solander, Dr. I. 48.
South, Dr. I. 350.
Spence, wild schemes of, II. 132.
Spencer, Lord, I. 303.
Stanhope, Earl, I. 82. 246; letter from, 247; excellent legal adviser, 258, 259; letter from, 295, 296. 327. 355, 356; presents Major Cartwright's petition, 367. 394; his opinion on the property-tax, II. 98, 99, 100.
Stanhope, Earl, (son of the preceding,) letter to, II. 239.
Stanhope, Hon. Leicester, recommends a translation of the abridgment of Major Cartwright's "Constitution Produced", II. 246.
Stanley, Lord, Major Cartwright's letters to, II. from 59 to 65.
St. Evremont, II. 250.
Steele, Right Hon. T. offers Major Cartwright the support of Government at Retford, I. 180, 181.
Stephens, his "Life of Tooke", I. 192.
Stephens, author of the "Dangers of the Country", I. 353.
Stirling, Captain W. I. 8.
Stothard, Mr. I. 188.
Stowe, Rev. Mr. I. 34.
Strange, II. 273.
Strickland, Mr. H. E. attends Major Cartwright at Warwick, II. 186. 241; attends his funeral, 289.
Strickland, Sir W. I. 382.
St. Vincent, Earl, I. 299.
Struensee, I. 49.
Sturch, W. Esq. I. 135. II. 296.
Surrey, Lord, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, I. 135.
Sutton, Mr. C. now Primate, his amiable character, I. 144.
Sutton, Lord G. I. 144, 145.

SUTTON, Mr. T. i. 144.
SWIFT, his letter to Pope, i. 82.

TACITUS, motto from, i. 4; ii. 124.
TAVISTOCK, Marquis of, letters to, ii. 10. 30. 33.
TEMPLE, Sir W. ii. 124.
THELWALL, Mr. his trial, i. 202. 210, 211; attends Major Cartwright at Warwick, ii. 186.
THEODORE of Corsica, ii. 250.
THOROLD, Sir John, seconds sir R. Heron's petition at Lincoln, ii. 236.
THROCKMORTON, Sir John, in the chair at a meeting of friends to parliamentary reform, ii. 10. 176.
TIERNEY, Mr. petition drawn up by, i. 197. 241. ii. 176.
TOOKE, John Horne, declares that half a dozen such men as Major Cartwright would have put a stop to the American war, i. 60. 154; objects to the opinions of Mr. Paine, 192; his prosecution, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212. 214, 215, 216. 218. 220; his opinions on universal suffrage, 223, 224; letters from, 239, 240. 260, 261, 262; ii. 136. 296.
TOWNSEND, Mr. Hare, i. 393.
TOWNSEND, Mr. John, i. 135.
TRECOTHICK, Mr. i. 135.
TRENCHARD, Mr. i. 253.
TRUCKNESS, Count, i. 307.
TUCKER, Dean, his opinion respecting the American contest, i. 67.
TURNER, Sir B. i. 135.
TURNER, i. 288.
TURVILLE "on the Main", part of a sea-song beginning "Thursday in the morn, the Ides of May", ii. 245.
TYRCONNEL, Viscount, thinks that nothing but a miracle can mend the Parliament, i. 5.
TYRCONNEL, Viscountess, letter to, i. 14; her death, 138.

VALLIANT, Mr. i. 11.
VANDEPUT, Admiral, i. 40.
VANSITTART. N. Esq. letter to, 319.
VAUGHAN, B. Esq. i. 135.
VAUGHAN, General, i. 116.
VINCENT, General, ii. 239.
VOLTAIRE, writings of, i. 49.

WAITHMAN, Sheriff, opposes Major Cartwright respecting a county meeting, ii. 206.
WAKEFIELD, Gilbert, memoirs of, i. 200, 201. 256.

WALKER, George, II. 19.
WALKER, P. Esq. address moved by, II. 75; Major Cartwright's letter to, 145; attends Major Cartwright at Warwick, 186. 229.
WARDELL, Colonel, I. 391.
WARNER, his History of Ireland, I. 285.
WASHINGTON, I. 116. 389.
WEBSTER, Capt. I. 29.
WEDGWOOD, I. 135.
WELLINGTON, Duke of, I. 219.
WEST, his Pindar, II. 275, 276.
WEST (President of the Royal Academy) declares that Major Cartwright's design would immortalize his name, I. 287; his letter to Major Cartwright, 306, 307.
WESTMORELAND, Earl of, II. 354.
WHARTON, Joseph, recommends Major Cartwright to enter the service of the United States, I. 81.
WHITBREAD, S. Esq. I. 343. 347, 348. 376, 377. 395, 396, 397. 401, 402; letter to, II. 56. 80; his reply, 83.
WHITBREAD, Mr. jun. II. 227.
WHITE, T. Holt, Esq. supplies the writer with a Latin motto, I. 4. 26. 133; Major Cartwright's reply to, 257. 279, 280.
WHITE, Mrs. Holt, II. 278, 279.
WILBERFORCE, Mr. Major Cartwright's first acquaintance with, I. 163, 164. 300; letter to, 339. 341. 350.
WILBRAHAM, II. 172.
WILKES, I. 54. 154; his resistance to general warrants, II. 164.
WILLIAM the First, II. 223.
WILLIAM the Second, associated in the throne with Mary, I. 412. II. 120.
WILLIAMS, Captain, R.N. II. 207.
WILLIAMS, David, recommends what Major Cartwright considered an erroneous mode of election, II. 227.
WILLIAMS, Peere, II. 250.
WILLIAMS, W. Esq. M.P. attends Major Cartwright at Warwick, II. 186.
WILSON, Sir R. II. 140; takes the chair, 201.
WINDHAM, I. 336. 347.
WINGATE, II. 272, 273.
WISHART, Mr. II. 90. 122.
WOMBWELL, Mr. I. 280.
WOOLSTON, II. 273.
WOOD, Alderman, II. 129; Major Cartwright's letters to, 132.
WOOD, Baron, II. 39.
WOOD, II. 273.
WOOLER, II. 137. 165; indicted for a conspiracy, 168. 238. 296.
WORSLEY, Rev. Mr. funeral-service read by, II. 290.

WORTHINGTON, C. A. Esq. letter from Lord Selkirk answered by, I. 392.
WRAY, Sir Cecil, his letter to Major Cartwright, I. 128. 154.
WRIGHTSON, Mr. I. 382.
WYATT, I. 304.
WYVILL, Rev. C. I. 135, 136. 142. 154; his character described by Dr. Jebb, 157. 159, 160, 161; his opinion of the soundness of Major Cartwright's doctrines, 242; letter to, 296; his letters to Major Cartwright, 297, 298, 299. 319, 320, 321, 322, 323. 336, 337, 338. 356. 381, 382. 385. 393. 404; letter to, II. 6; letter to, 30; his attack on Major Cartwright, 37, 38; Major Cartwright's reply, 95, 96, 97. 176.

YATES, Mr. secretary of "The Society for Constitutional Information", I. 155. 178.
YORDS, Mr. I. 24.
YORK, Duke of, I. 354.
YORKE, (Mr. Secretary) writes to the Lord Lieutenant, I. 314.
YOUNG, Arthur, Esq. I. 211; calls the militia "the dregs of the people", 221; Major Cartwright publishes an answer to, 228; introduces himself to Major Cartwright, 229; his survey of Lincolnshire, 230. 242; maintains that the House of Commons is not intended to represent the Commons of England, I. 310.
YOUNG, Admiral Sir William, sends for Major Cartwright on his deathbed, I. 32; Major Cartwright writes to, on the subject of the mutiny at the Nore, 240. 303.

ZANDT, Baron de, II. 259.

THE END.

G. Woodfall, Printer, Angel Court, Skinner Street, London.

00026534

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 02 January, 2016